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MAP OF LIBERIA.

Compiled from data on file in the office of the

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

under the direction of the

REV. WM. LAIN, SECY.

BY
H. COYLE.

1845.

Scale of Miles

Left by H. White & Co. Baltimore.

The Society owns from Digby to Tubacum, and from Tasso to Blue River extending back from 20 to 30 miles from the coast, and wishes to purchase from Digby to Cape Mount, from Tubacum to Tasso and from Blue River to Rock Town.
The Maryland Society owns from Rock Town to Grand Cavalry River and back as is shown on the Map by the broken line.
The Society has Treaties of Friendship and Commerce with various tribes extending back from 60 to 70 miles.

St. Joe King
Capital of Ash County
Ash po County represented in very large and populous
The hills shown in green are. Seven large towns are
engaged in the manufacture of soap.





A HISTORY
OF
COLONIZATION
ON THE
WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

~~~~~  
BY  
ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D.,

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~~~~~

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM S. MARTIEN, No. 37 SOUTH SEVENTH STREET.
NEW YORK, No. 23 CENTRE STREET.
1846.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1846, by

WILLIAM S. MARTIEN,

In the office of the Clerk of the District Court for the Eastern
District of Pennsylvania.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following history was commenced several years since, and was continued until the year 1834, when the author, in consequence of other publications on the same subject, and the pressure of professional duties, laid the work aside, and relinquished the design of publishing what he had written. But being earnestly solicited by some of the friends of Colonization to complete the history, and bring it before the public, he has been induced to revise what he had written; and not being disposed at his time of life to encounter the labour of continuing the history himself, he has committed the work to two young gentlemen, students in the Theological Seminary at this place, who have with great care continued the narrative, and brought it down to the decease of Governor Buchanan, near the close of the year 1841. The more recent events are fresh in the memory of all who take an interest in the prosperity of the colony of Liberia.

PRINCETON, New Jersey,
January 6, 1846.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE best method of disposing of the free people of colour, so as to promote the highest interests both of them and the citizens of this country, among whom they dwell, is a subject of momentous consequence, concerning which very different opinions have been entertained. The idea of providing a place for them on the coast of Africa, met the views of a large number of the most intelligent and benevolent men in this country; and the apparent difficulty, if not impracticability, of removing so great a number of persons to such a distance, furnished, for a long time, the only objection to the enterprize. The obstacles were indeed very formidable, and would have discouraged the efforts of any men not animated by a noble enthusiasm in the cause of humanity. The first difficulty was to obtain a territory on the coast of Africa—a country possessed by numerous savage tribes, all deeply engaged in the slave trade, and jealous of every body, and every measure, which might possibly interfere with this nefarious traffic. The legislature of the state of Virginia had made an effort, through the President of the United States, to acquire such a territory, but without success. How then could it be expected, that a voluntary association,

without funds, and without the aid of civil government, would be able to plant a colony on the shores of a continent more than three thousand miles distant? But great as were the obstacles in the way of success in this enterprise, they have been overcome. LIBERIA, not only exists, but is in a flourishing condition. Perhaps no colony has ever existed where so much that is calculated to render society respectable and happy, was to be found. An undoubted right to a territory of considerable extent has been secured, by fair purchase, from the native kings and chiefs. The country is uncommonly beautiful and fertile, and to the natives, or those who are acclimated, as healthy as any country in the world. The people of the colony live in comfortable houses, and are plentifully supplied with food, with moderate labour. The country is also well situated for commerce, by attention to which, a number of persons have acquired a handsome property, and live in as much elegance and affluence as the majority of merchants in this country. The privileges and security of a regular republican government are fully enjoyed. The people choose their own representatives, and have a legislature and judiciary of their own choice, and their own colour; the only officer appointed by the board of managers in this country is the governor; and for some years, this office has been filled, both at Monrovia, and Cape Palmas, by coloured men. From all accounts, there is as much good order, morality, and subjection to law, in Liberia, as in any other country; and the evidence of it is, the peaceful state of society, and the small number of convictions for transgression of the laws.

The community of Liberia is also distinguished for

its schools and religious privileges. Nearly all the children of the colony have the opportunity of attending school; and almost the whole population are in the habit of regular attendance on public worship, on the Sabbath; and we do not know any community upon earth, where so great a proportion of the people are serious professors of religion. All intelligent persons who have visited the country, however strong their prejudices against the colony before, have come away very favourably impressed in regard to its prosperous condition; and all visiters have concurred in declaring, that the people appeared, almost universally, to be contented with their condition, and to entertain no wish to return to this country. The problem has been fairly solved, that the coloured race are as capable of improvement as the whites, and in every department of government, they have manifested sound sense and discretion, equal to what could have been expected from people of any other nation, with no greater advantages of education, than they have enjoyed. Indeed, we have not seen any state papers which indicate a sounder judgment, and more just discernment of the true interests of the colony, than those of Governor Roberts. Even in his correspondence with officers of the British navy, on points of international law, he appears to great advantage; and we understand, that the administration of Governor Russwurm has given such entire satisfaction to the Maryland Colonization Board, that they are extremely unwilling that he should resign his office.

Two things, in relation to the native Africans, deserve special attention; the first is, that several hundred natives recaptured from slave ships, have been settled in

the colony, in a village by themselves, and are now among the most orderly and industrious of the citizens, having, for the most part, embraced Christianity, and possessing schools and churches, where young and old attend with as much order and solemnity as in any civilized country.

The other is, that many thousands of the natives choose to reside within the territory of Liberia, for the sake of security and peace, which they there enjoy; and willingly obey the laws of the colony.

And although hostile and formidable attacks were made on the colonists, when they were few in number, so that their preservation must be ascribed to the remarkable interposition of Providence—yet, now, they are free from all apprehension of danger, and are at peace with all the surrounding tribes. And so high is the opinion entertained of the government of the colony, that frequently, the disputes among the neighbouring tribes are referred to them for arbitration.

The influence of the colony in putting an end to the slave trade, has been confessedly great. The coast now possessed by the colony, had long been famous for this inhuman traffic; but now along a coast of three hundred miles, there is not more than one or two places, where any slaver dares enter. It may truly be said, that more has been done by the establishment of this little republic of freemen, to suppress the slave trade, than by the combined operations of both the British and American navies. Reflecting men, both in Great Britain and in this country, seem now to be convinced, that the only effectual method of putting an end to the slave trade is to plant colonies along the coast, and to

make trading and agricultural establishments in every accessible part of the interior.

Whether this colony was commenced in wisdom, or imprudently, it now exists, and cannot be abandoned. There it stands on the savage coast of Africa, and is likely to exist for a long time to come. Hitherto, no ill consequence has followed from the prosecution of the scheme of colonization; except the sacrifice of a number of valuable lives on a coast peculiarly unfavourable to the constitution of white men. It has provided a home for some thousands of coloured people, a large portion of whom exchanged slavery for freedom, and a degraded condition in society for one of independence and dignity. Who can doubt that the colonists of Liberia are in a far more eligible state, than if they had remained in this country? And who can tell the beneficial influence which they may hereafter exert on the native inhabitants of the dark continent of Africa? This little free republic may, for aught we know, be the germ of a great and flourishing empire. Look back three hundred years, and you will see a few feeble colonies of Europeans, struggling with the most formidable difficulties, and often on the very verge of extinction, and now behold these small colonies grown to be one of the most powerful nations upon earth; extending its commerce to every quarter of the habitable globe; producing by agriculture, in rich abundance, all the articles most necessary for man's subsistence; and manufacturing clothing far more than is needed by its twenty million of inhabitants. Let it be considered, that the same benignant Providence which watched over this rising country, and raised it to its present eminence

among the nations of the earth, has also smiled on the infant republic of Liberia. The indications of Divine favour toward this colony have been most marked, and some of them truly extraordinary, as will most fully appear, in the events recorded in the following history.

The principal difficulties have been encountered and overcome. A work has been achieved, by a few indefatigable and philanthropic men, which, to posterity, will, we doubt not, appear the most interesting and remarkable event of the first part of the nineteenth century. No such work was ever before accomplished by means so inadequate. Unless Providence had signally prospered the enterprise, the object could never have been realized. It is to us, who have with interest marked every disaster, and every step of the progress, a most astonishing object of contemplation, that a private association, in a little more than twenty years, should, by voluntary contributions, without the aid of the general government, have been able to establish a well ordered and happy republic on the desert shores of Africa, at the distance of three or four thousand miles! This is, indeed, a thing which would scarcely be credited, if its truth depended on common historical testimony.

The idea of removing all the coloured population of this country, has been ridiculed as fanciful and impracticable. But however short the enterprise may come of accomplishing all that would be desirable, in regard to this unhappy race, yet let it be kept in mind, that whatever may be accomplished, is so much clear gain; gain to those who go, by greatly meliorating their condition; gain to those who stay, by diminishing their number;

gain to the white population who desire to be exempt from this class of people, and prospectively an inconceivable gain to Africa, by kindling on her borders the lights of Christianity, civilization, and useful science. If not another individual should be added to the colony from this country, Liberia may still flourish and increase, and become a rich blessing to benighted Africa. It should be remembered, however, that the American Colonization Society never proposed such a thing, as the object of its institution, as the removal to Africa of the whole coloured population of this country. Their plan embraced no others than free people; they carefully avoided any interference with those held in bondage by the laws of the States where they reside. The only influence which the Colonization scheme can have on slavery is indirect: by furnishing a comfortable asylum for such as are free. Many conscientious and benevolent slaveholders, who were restrained from emancipating their slaves, from the consideration that there was no place to which they could be advantageously sent, upon seeing that the colony in Africa furnished such an asylum as they wished, have been induced to liberate their slaves, and in a number of instances, to furnish them with every thing necessary for the voyage, and in some cases, besides giving them an outfit, have generously paid their passage. The Colonization Society, therefore, while it never proposed emancipation as its object, has done more incidentally, to promote emancipation, than all the Abolition societies in the country. Indeed, these have, as far as is known to us, redeemed no slaves from bondage, but without intending it, have, by the course which they have pursued, riveted the

chains which confine the slaves more closely than ever. No one has a right to complain on account of the emancipation of slaves, by the will and free consent of their owners. The abolitionists if sincere in their professions, ought to rejoice in every instance of the kind; and the advocates of slavery, have no right to complain, for the fewer the number left, the more valuable their services. But if Liberia should continue to flourish and increase, it is not so improbable as many suppose, that the greater part of the African race, now in this country, will in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, be restored to the country of their fathers. Why so many of this unhappy race were ever permitted to be brought to America, begins now to appear. They were sent here by a benignant Providence overruling the wicked passions of avaricious men, that they might be christianized and civilized, and might carry back to their benighted countrymen, the principles of religion, freedom, and representative government.

But whether these hopes shall ever be realized or not, much good for Africa may be effected by the Colonization enterprise, much good has already been effected, and the beneficial results of the colony will not stop here. Every thing is in progress; and the time, even the set time to favour this long benighted land, is drawing near. No instrumentality is so likely to be effectual to bring light and civilization to her tribes, as the return of her own sons.

If the pagans of Africa are ever converted, as we believe they will be, it must be by the preaching of the gospel, and in order to this, missionaries must be sent; and it is manifest, that the existence of Christian

colonies in that country, will furnish a degree of safety to preachers of the gospel which they could not otherwise enjoy; and afford facilities for introducing the gospel into the interior, which in no other way could be had. Already these little settlements on the coast of Africa, have become fields for missionary labour; for the natives continue to dwell in the territory ceded to the colony, and while they are under the civil jurisdiction of its government, they retain their own towns and personal property. It is true, that at Cape Palmas, some misunderstanding took place between the government and the missionaries of the American Board, but this furnishes no argument against the utility of colonies as auxiliaries to missions. The occasion of this difference may have been owing to undue rigour in administering the laws, or it may have been owing to unreasonable demands and expectations on the part of the missionaries; on this subject we wish to express no opinion; but surely this difference of opinion between the officers of government and the missionaries, does not in the least prove that the existence of colonies may not be highly beneficial to the operations of missionaries among the heathen. Other missionaries at this same place have found the vicinity of the colony important; and in one instance, a worthy missionary was exposed to imminent danger from the violence of the savages, from which he was delivered by the seasonable arrival of one of our vessels of war; but had there been no colony there, no such relief would have been experienced. Missionaries greatly need the aid and protection of civil authority, as appears by the present unhappy condition of the islands in the Pacific. All that can reasonably

be inferred from the unpleasant disagreement alluded to, is, that missionaries should be very careful to submit to the laws and obey the orders which may be found necessary for the welfare of the colonies where they reside, and gratefully to accept the protection and facilities for introducing the gospel, afforded by the colonies. And Christian rulers in these colonies, should do every thing in their power to aid the missionaries in their arduous work of propagating the gospel among the surrounding pagan tribes. But it is not an unfounded expectation, that the colonists themselves will establish missions among the heathen in their vicinity, for they have already commenced the work. Both the Methodist and Baptist denominations have engaged in this work, and not without encouraging success. Indeed, it is our belief, that this great work of evangelizing Africa, will be accomplished, not so much by missionaries sent from abroad, as by the zeal and Christian enterprise of the various colonies which from time to time will be planted along the whole western coast of Africa. Some very interesting facts have recently occurred, in relation to this subject, in the colony of Sierra Leone. A number of recaptured Africans from countries in the interior, after being instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, were desirous of revisiting their native land; and accordingly were furnished with the means of returning to their friends. The communications of these converted Africans, prepared the way for a visit from missionaries, sent out from Sierra Leone, who have been cordially received by the king of a region of which little was heretofore known; and there is now a pleasing prospect of propagating the gospel in this benighted

region. And it is a well ascertained fact, that some of the African nations, among the most cruel that ever lived upon earth, appear now disposed to receive missionaries, and pay attention to the gospel. Were it not that the climate of Africa is so inimical to the constitution of the white man, there is not a country on the globe, where there is stronger encouragement to missionary efforts. But it seems the ordination of Heaven, that Africa shall be regenerated by the instrumentality of her own sons, chiefly. And it is an interesting fact, that already from among the emancipated slaves of the West Indies, missionaries have gone, or are preparing to go to Africa, to carry the glorious gospel to their benighted countrymen. This view of the effect of the Colonization scheme, is to our minds the most animating of all others. The redemption of Africa from the cruel tyranny of the prince of darkness, and from the most miserable and degrading bondage of the cruelest superstition upon earth, is the object on which our hopes are fixed; and we do believe from the signs of the times, that the period is not far distant, when "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God," and we confidently expect, that the American Colonization scheme will act an important part in achieving this great work.

A most unreasonable opinion was hastily taken up by Abolitionists, founded on some unguarded expressions of Southern men, at the first public meeting to form a Colonization society at Washington, that one object, or rather tendency of the institution was, to render the property in slaves more valuable, by removing from among them the free people of colour, by whom they were greatly corrupted. These declarations of indivi-

dual slaveholders, perfectly innocent when properly understood, were attributed to the society, and tortured into a meaning as foreign from the views of Colonizationists, as they are from those of Abolitionists. As has been repeatedly said, the originators and founders of this society, whatever they might think of slavery, determined to engage in a benevolent enterprise, which should aim to accomplish a great good, without meddling with a subject so exciting, and so difficult to be disposed of, as that of American slavery. They did not even suppose that the scheme which they intended to prosecute, would either stand in the way of any efforts to bring about emancipation, or that it would be a substitute for schemes of this kind. They did, indeed, foresee that, if the enterprise should prove successful, and a well ordered colony should be established in Africa, it would enable those slaveholders, who, from whatever motive, wished to get clear of their slaves, to send them to an asylum, where they would have every opportunity of enjoying the privileges of freemen. But this is in perfect harmony with the laws of most, if not all the slaveholding States, which permit every man who chooses, to liberate his slaves, provided he send them out of the State.

But how the Colonization scheme should have any tendency to perpetuate slavery, is utterly inconceivable. For, though it interfere not with the existing relations between master and servant, as established by law; yet the more slaves are emancipated, the greater work is before them, and the greater the need of some plan by which they might be removed. And so far from tending to perpetuate slavery, if all the slaves in the country were now emancipated, the need of such a scheme

would be ten times more urgent than it is at present; because there would be ten times as many persons thrown into a helpless, degraded state, without the means of comfortable subsistence. The Abolitionists, therefore, instead of setting themselves in opposition to this scheme, ought to have hailed it as one calculated to provide a comfortable residence for all whose emancipation they might be able to effect. Two races of men, nearly equal in numbers, but differing as much as the whites and blacks, cannot form one harmonious society in any other way than by amalgamation; but the whites and blacks, in this country, by no human efforts, could be amalgamated into one homogeneous mass in a thousand years; and during this long period, the state of society would be perpetually disturbed by many contending factions. Either the whites must remove and give up the country to the coloured people, or the coloured people must be removed; otherwise the latter must remain in subjection to the former. And the question for the philanthropist to decide is, whether the relation of master and servant as now existing, or a state of degradation, such as the free people of colour are now labouring under, be the most eligible. In the former case, the weak and poor have a patron and protector, and a kind feeling is generated between the master and servant, where they are disposed to perform, respectively, their relative duties; but, in the other case, the poor coloured race are mere outcasts from society; and no feeling of kindness, but only of contempt and dislike, is generally entertained towards them by the whites, because they are everywhere considered, with few exceptions, bad members of society. And their condition in

the free States is not better than in the slave States, but worse. It does appear, therefore, that we cannot benefit the slaves by obtaining liberty for them in this country; and that liberty which brings with it no benefit, but an increase of misery, is a poor boon. It does appear to me—and I have for a long time most earnestly considered the subject—that we can confer a real benefit on the African race in no other way than by separating them from the whites, and removing them to the country of their fathers, which is still congenial to their constitution. There are thousands of slaveholders who would give up their slaves, if they were fully satisfied that Liberia would be permanently a safe and comfortable abode for them. The attention of many people of the South is now directed intensely towards this rising colony; and more, many are now educating their younger slaves, with some view to a future residence in that land of promise. And the noble example of McDonogh will be followed substantially by many.

In the vast continent of Africa, there are extensive regions which lie uncultivated. It is for the benefit of the human race that men should not be crowded together in dense masses, while so many countries, naturally fertile, are inhabited only by wild beasts, or are roamed over by a few miserable savages. Large cities are justly termed, by a sagacious politician, “great sores” on the body politic. Even in our largest cities, which are comparatively of modern origin, one-fifth of the population, so far from adding to the strength or riches of the community, hang as a dead weight upon the industrious and useful inhabitants. How much better would it be, to have a large portion of these

settled on the fresh soil of our extensive territories! America, however, is in a fair way of having all her valuable lands inhabited and cultivated. The discovery of this continent, and its colonization by Europeans, has been one of the most important events which has occurred for centuries. Millions have found an asylum and a comfortable home here, who, with their posterity, would have been poor and miserable in their native countries. But who shall people the wild regions of Africa? Undoubtedly it is the will of the great Parent of the human race, that this wide continent should be possessed and cultivated by mankind. But Africa is not the country for white men. Europeans cannot colonize these regions, the climate is so deleterious to their constitution: and the same is true of Americans. If ever Africa is settled and occupied, it must be by her sons, scattered over the face of this western world. For although generations have passed away since the forefathers of the present race of coloured people were dragged from their native land, yet it is found by experience, that Africa is a climate adapted to the constitution of the coloured men of this continent. As far as experience has been had, no people are more exempt from disease, after the acclimating fever has been passed through, than the inhabitants of Liberia. It seems plainly, therefore, to be the duty and the interest of the coloured race in this country, where every thing is so unfavourable to their rising to their proper level in society, to turn their eyes to Africa, where there is a free and happy republic, composed and governed entirely by men of their own colour; and where every honest citizen feels that he stands upon an equality

with any other man in the world. And it behoves those who industriously sow prejudices against Colonization, in the minds of the free people of colour, to consider what injury they may be inflicting on them and their posterity. Let them either propose some method by which these degraded and trodden down people may be rendered more comfortable and respectable here, or let them not throw obstacles in the way of their emigration to a country where they might have the opportunity of enjoying the real blessings of freedom. It is in vain to declaim about the prejudice of colour; however unreasonable, it will long continue to exist, and will prove an effectual bar to the possession and enjoyment of the same privileges and advantages which the white population enjoy. If I were a coloured man, I would not hesitate a moment to relinquish a country where a black skin and the lowest degree of degradation are so identified, that scarcely any manifestation of talent, or course of good conduct, can entirely overcome the prejudice which exists; and which is as strong, if not stronger, in the free, than in the slaveholding States: and I would use every exertion to reach a land, where it is no crime, and no dishonour, to appear in a coloured skin—a country where no white superiors exist to look down with contempt upon the coloured race; but where they are the lords of the soil, and the rulers of the nation. I cannot but admire the honest ambition and noble daring of the first emigrants from this country to Africa. Then, no Liberia existed. The Society did not own one foot of ground on that continent, and it was extremely doubtful whether they would be able to obtain any territory for a colony. Yet, these lion-hearted

men, resolved to run every risk; took, as it were, their lives in their hands. They went out, like Abraham, not knowing whither they went, or what destiny awaited them. And the event has proved, that they were called by the Providence of God, to engage in this hazardous enterprise. And I cannot but feel pity for the groveling views of many coloured men, now residing in a state of degradation, in this country, who, in Liberia, might rise to wealth and independence, and, perhaps, to high and honourable office.

One of the first laws given to man, and which is still in full force, was, "Replenish the earth and subdue it;" and after the deluge, God signally rebuked the determination of the people to remain together, by confounding their language, and thus scattering them over the face of the earth. The object of the multitude in erecting this immense tower is plainly declared to have been, "lest they should be scattered abroad on the face of the whole earth;" and the object of the Almighty in the stupendous miracle, now wrought, by which the language of the people was confounded, is distinctly declared to have been, "to scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." It is, therefore, plainly the will of God that the human race should not collect in dense bodies in some particular parts of the world, while large tracts of habitable land lie desert and uncultivated. The command "to replenish the earth and subdue it," is still in full force. And to what people does it equally belong to possess and cultivate the extensive and fertile regions of Africa, as to the sons of Africa in this country, who need a home, where they may enjoy equal privileges with others, and where

they may be the instruments of diffusing among the barbarous natives the lights of Christianity and civilization? If ever the negro race are raised from their degraded state of ignorance and vice, in Africa, it will probably be by the return of the descendants of that race spread over so large a part of this western continent, and over the West India Islands. If the wise and benevolent plan of civilizing Africa, and putting an end to the slave trade, devised by Sir Folsom Buxton, and which was attempted to be carried into effect at so great expense of life and money, had adopted the principle of sending back the emancipated negroes from the British colonies in the West India Islands, instead of attempting to settle colonies of white Europeans in the deleterious climate of Africa, the object sought, so important and desirable, would, in all probability, have been accomplished. And if the colony of Sierra Leone, should need to be recruited, it will be found expedient to invite the most enterprising and best educated of the negroes of the West Indies, to emigrate to that country.

The present difficulties of Liberia, in consequence of the ungenerous conduct of certain officers of the British navy towards the unoffending colonists, will, it is presumed, be of short duration. It would be an indelible reproach to the magnanimous government of Great Britain, to be the means of destroying or injuring an infant republic, just starting into existence, under the most favourable auspices. Liberia may be considered as a star of promise which twinkles in the dense darkness which overshadows the African continent. This community may be said, without exaggeration, to be the most extraordinary upon earth, when all the circum-

stances of its origin and progress are taken into view. Providence has evidently and remarkably smiled on the enterprise, and, we trust with confidence, will defend it against all who may attempt its destruction. Let those, then, who oppose the scheme of African Colonization, beware, lest they be found resisting what God approves. As for himself, the writer is as fully persuaded that the plan of colonizing the free people of colour in Africa, is wise and benevolent, as he ever was of the wisdom and benevolence of any human enterprise.

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

PRINCETON, New Jersey,
January 6th, 1846.

HISTORY OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

FROM Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas the bearing of the Coast of Africa is south-east. Thence it turns almost due east for more than fifteen degrees of longitude, whence it again turns to the south-east.

The general face of the country around Sierra Leone is uncommonly beautiful and attractive. It is covered with stately and umbrageous trees, among which the elegant palm-tree is not the least conspicuous. The soil is various, but is generally fruitful, and yields abundantly all the necessaries of life. The savannahs are least fruitful and consist chiefly of beds of sand or rock. They are usually overflowed in the rainy season, and are covered with tall coarse grass, and a few stunted trees.

Our division of the year into winter and summer, spring and autumn, is not applicable to the climate of this country. They have but two seasons, the wet and the dry; but the rainy season does not occur on all parts of the coast at the same time, but seems to move progressively from one place to another. A continued, heavy rain of thirty hours, without intermission, occurs but seldom, and more frequently twelve hours of heavy rain, are succeeded by a day or two of clear and remarkably pleasant weather. This part of the year from its coldness, is most agreeable to Europeans, and North Americans, but at the same time, it is undoubtedly the most unhealthy. The continuance of this season is about four months. Its commencement and termination are marked with tornadoes. These are violent gusts of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, which come from the east, and are usually accompanied with heavy rain. The violence of the wind seldom lasts more than

half an hour; but while it continues, the scene is one of the most awfully sublime in nature.

The heat has been observed at Sierra Leone, as high as 103° of Fahrenheit, but the mean degree is about 84° ; the heat, however, is greater in places inland, than on the coast.

The longest day at Sierra Leone, is nearly twelve hours and a half, and the shortest eleven and a half. During the dry season, there is a haziness in the atmosphere, which prevents objects from being seen at as great a distance as in clear weather. The freeness with which perspiration flows, and an almost constant breeze, seem to mitigate the severity of the heat on this coast, so that persons are not sensible of its intensity, but experience a refreshing degree of coolness.

The quickness and luxuriance of vegetation in Western Africa is such, that without much exaggeration, the plants may be said visibly to grow. As the trees are not despoiled of their leaves at once, but have a constant succession, they always retain the appearance of summer.

Agriculture is practised along the whole coast, but is in a rude and infant state. About Sierra Leone the rice is thrown upon the ground and scratched into the earth with a kind of hoe. When the crop is nearly ripe, some children or old people are sent to drive away the birds which now appear in amazing numbers, and are ever on the watch to commit depredations. The harvest, of which there is only one in the year, occurs about four months after the time of sowing. The plantations are cultivated by the inhabitants of a whole village, in common, and the produce divided among the families in proportion to their numbers; except that the *head man* of the village claims a larger quantity, as it is his duty to exercise hospitality to strangers and others. Along the whole coast from Gambia to the Gold Coast, rice constitutes the chief support of the natives; but they also cultivate plantain, yams, sweet potatoes, cassada, &c. A variety of excellent fruits grow on the coast, but are little cultivated. Pine apples and oranges are in great perfection; and there are also grapes, cocoa-nuts, guavas, water-melons, plums, &c. The palm here, as in some other countries, is the most valuable tree, and answers the greatest variety of purposes. The leaves furnish an excellent covering for houses, and their fibres fishing lines; while their inner bark is manufactured into a species of coarse cloth; and from the

outer bark of the young tree, baskets, mats, &c. are made. The fruit also, which is nearly as large as a hen's egg, when roasted is esteemed a great delicacy; and the palm-oil is almost a necessary of life, as it is used in all dishes, as butter is in other countries. The palm-wine is also in high esteem among the natives. The diet of the people is very simple, consisting chiefly of rice and palm-oil, with occasionally a small portion of animal food. They have but two meals in a day; the one about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and the other about sunset. The nations living near the coast have oxen, sheep, and goats; and of wild animals, deer, buffalo, wild hogs, &c. The guinea-fowl is abundant, in a wild state, on the Gambia, but not at Sierra Leone. Fish are caught by those on the coast, or in rivers; and in some places, dogs, rats, and monkeys are eaten; and also a large worm, found on the palm-tree, is esteemed a great delicacy.

The Foolahs and Mandingoes, who are Mohammedans, abstain from intoxicating liquors, and from such animal food as is forbidden in the Koran; but the Pagan nations are very fond of ardent spirits, and often drink to excess. All however are addicted to the use of tobacco. Their villages are commonly situated in places difficult of access, to avoid kidnappers, and are commonly built in a circular form, enclosing an area, in the midst of which is placed the *palaver* house, or town hall. The houses are so near together that when one takes fire, the whole are involved in the conflagration. They are usually of no more than one story, and are either of a round or square form. They are composed of posts placed at the corners, and sunk a foot and a half into the ground, and the intermediate space is filled up with smaller posts and branches, and then plastered outside with clay. They seldom contain more than one apartment. By the projection of the roof, which is composed of bamboo, there is formed a sort of piazza, where they spend much of their time.

The government of Africa is generally monarchical, but not hereditary. Among the Timmanees, and Bulloms, the crown remains in the same family, but the *head man* on whom the right of election devolves, may choose a very distant branch of the family. By Europeans many are denominated kings, who have scarcely the shadow of a title to this dignity. Each town or village is usually under the jurisdiction of some person of

age, and distinguished for his good sense and knowledge of the laws of the country, who is called the *head man*, to whom it appertains to judge in every dispute, and to represent his town at any meeting to consult for the general good. The whole village are accustomed to treat him with respect, and to yield him implicit obedience.

That part of the coast in the vicinity of Sierra Leone is inhabited by three distinct races of people: first, the Moors, the descendants of the ancient Numidians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, &c. Between the conquest of Africa by the Arabians, and the year 698, all the inhabitants received the Mohammedan faith.

The second race are the Arabians, who under the Caliphs, the successors of Mohammed, subdued Africa. Some of these penetrated as far south as the Gambia, and the Foolahs appear to be among their descendants.

The third race are the Negroes; they are found from the Gambia to the Cape of Good Hope. Many of the countries inhabited by the negroes are yet undiscovered, and others little known. The Mandingoes inhabit the banks of the Gambia, and are a numerous race, who have long since embraced the Mohammedan religion. They are very strict in adhering to their profession, and solicitous to make proselytes. When the Portuguese conquered this country, about 1420, they settled colonies in it, and intermarried with the natives—hence the Mandingoes will not admit that they belong to the negro race, but consider themselves as belonging to the whites. North of the Gambia there is a people called Jalofs, extending far into the interior. They are remarkable for the glossy blackness of their colour, and the beauty of their features. They are also a warlike people, and are careful to preserve the firmness and hardihood of their character.

The Foolahs live at a considerable distance from the sea. Their capital Teembo is in the latitude of 16° north. They are also Mohammedans, and are chiefly employed in agriculture. The evidence of their being descendants of the Arabians is strong, for their colour is about as tawny, and they speak the Arabic language, which is taught in their schools. Their laws are also written in the same. Although strangers in the country, the Foolahs are the greatest planters in it. They are industrious and frugal, and raise more cotton and grain than they

need for themselves, which they dispose of to the neighbouring nations, by whom they are held in high esteem. They breed many cattle and understand the management of them. They are also great huntsmen, often going in large companies to hunt the elephant and the tiger. Although this is the country of the Foolahs, yet, from the travels of Clapperton and Denham it appears, that by conquest and by emigration they are extending themselves very far into the interior and to the south; and by the Landers they were found upon the river Niger, or Quorra, below the part where it was discovered by these brothers.

The Kroomans are a very remarkable race. They are in colour a dirty black, and their whole appearance is unsightly. They are found along the coast almost every where for fifteen hundred miles, and perform all the hard work which is needed in loading and unloading vessels, and in other laborious employments. They are an honest, industrious, plodding, tractable people, who seem to be formed for mercenary labour, of which they never complain. The country where most of them live, is from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas. They seem to pay little attention to religion, but they are generally Pagans.* The Kroomans, although they bear the heat of the climate without inconvenience, and have little sickness among them, are exceedingly sensible of the cold at Sierra Leone during the rainy season. Their only clothing is a piece of cloth around the body, although they are fond of wearing the cast clothes of Europeans. In their expenditures they are most rigid economists; a little tobacco is the only luxury in which they indulge; in every other respect they are contented with bare necessities. The Krooman will go abroad and labour hard for eighteen months or two years, when he will return home with his earnings. Of this the *head man* receives a portion, his mother a present, and something for every one of his relations, if it is only a leaf of tobacco. All this is done "to get him a good name;" the remainder is given to his father to buy him a wife. After a few months he sets off again to Sierra Leone or some other part of

* Although the Kroomans are found every where along the coast from the Gambia to Cape Palmas, yet they have a country of their own which lies on the coast between Bassa Cove and Cape Palmas. In this country, at Settra Kroo, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions have a missionary station, where the prospects of usefulness are very great, if only missionaries can be found capable of bearing the climate.

the coast to get more money, and feels proud of being acquainted with the "white man's faith," and takes some raw inexperienced youth to be initiated into the mysteries of the craft, a large part of whose earnings he appropriates to himself for his trouble. When his coffers are once more replenished, he returns home again, and gives the money he has gained to his father to "buy him another wife." In this way they will often proceed for a dozen years or more, increasing the number of their wives, and establishing a great character among their countrymen, but applying scarcely a penny of their earnings to their own use. Their wealth consists very much in the number of their wives. A Krooman being asked what he intended to do with so much money as he possessed, answered that he would buy two more wives in addition to the two he already had, and then he would return to Sierra Leone and get more money. His father, he said, had eighteen wives. Their wives, it must be remembered, are their slaves, to labour not only in the house, but in the field.

In this country the Mohammedan races have a manifest superiority over the Pagan, through their attention to education and general improvement, although at the same time they are characterized by greater pride and self-importance. They have gained proselytes chiefly by their attention to the children, to whose education they pay assiduous regard, and in this respect have set an example which may safely be followed by Christian missionaries. The smaller nations immediately around Sierra Leone are the following, viz :

The Timmanees, who formerly lived at a distance from the sea coast, but being of an enterprising and warlike disposition, they forced their way down the river Sierra Leone among the Bulloms. When this change of residence took place their traditions give no information.

The Bulloms inhabit the north side of the Sierra Leone river, as far as the river Scarcies, from the banks of which, however, they have been driven by the Timmanees. Northward they occupy chiefly the sea coast as far as the river Kisse.

The Susoos, who have also made aggressions on the Bulloms, extend from the river Kisse to the river Munes.

But often we find no certain boundary between two neighbouring nations, for they are often considerably advanced within each other's territories. They all have languages peculiar

to themselves, most of which are not merely dialects of the same language, but essentially distinct. Although the extent of the Gold Coast is not above sixty miles, yet within this space seven or eight different languages are spoken. For one hundred and fifty miles north of Sierra Leone, the Susoo language is spoken. It is also understood by a great part of the Foolah and Mandingo tribes.

This language is remarkably simple and easy of acquisition, and has been reduced to writing. Like the languages of all Barbarian people, those of West Africa are exceedingly figurative, and those north of Sierra Leone are said to be softer and more harmonious to European ears, than those to the south. Those of the Timmanees and the Bulloms are considered agreeable to the ear, but the Susoo language excels them all in softness, and may be termed the Italian of Western Africa. The Mandingo, however, is the fashionable language of this region, although it is more difficult of acquisition, and abounds with guttural sounds. The languages to the south of Sierra Leone are generally harsh, and, especially that of the Kissees, is excessively disagreeable, not merely on account of its guttural sounds, but the singing pronunciation given to it. The frequent visits of Europeans on the coast, and their intercourse with the natives, has produced a jargon made up of English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, &c.

The Coast of Guinea is divided into the Windward and Leeward Coast. The first extends from Senegal, in latitude 16° north, to Cape Palmas, in $4^{\circ} 26'$ north. The leeward reaches from Cape Palmas to an indefinite distance to the south and east.

The latitude of Sierra Leone is $8^{\circ} 30'$ north, and its longitude from Greenwich $13^{\circ} 43'$ west. The name signifies *mountain of lions*, and was given to the place by the Portuguese.

The original name of Sierra Leone was Tagrin or Mitomba. The river is conspicuous for its magnitude, and is one of the most beautiful in Africa. Its entrance is formed by two capes, or projecting points; the one on the north-west which terminates the Bullom shore, called Leopard's Island; the other on the north-east extremity of Sierra Leone, and is a narrow strip of lowland, called Cape Sierra Leone. The breadth of the river here is fifteen miles; from this it gradually decreases in width, until it reaches St. George's Bay, about six miles above the

entrance, where it does not exceed seven miles, and for twenty miles up, the breadth of the river varies very little from this. There it ceases to be navigable for large vessels, and is divided into Port Logo and Rokelle rivers. "The land forming the peninsula of Sierra Leone, when viewed from the sea, or from the Bullom shore, appears like a number of hills heaped on each other, in a very singular manner. On a nearer approach, the face of the country assumes a more beautiful aspect. The lower grounds, which are under cultivation, preserve a considerable degree of verdure through the whole year, which, contrasting with the darker hues of the distant hills, forms a spectacle highly grateful to the eye."

"The flat land on the opposite side of the river called *Bullom*, which signifies low land, is also extremely beautiful, and the land finely shaded by lofty, spreading trees. The soil also is remarkably fertile, and though in some places swampy, is for the most part bordered by a fine sandy beach."

It is known to all, that the Western Coast of Africa has been the scene of the nefarious slave trade. From time immemorial slavery has existed in Africa among the natives, and in all cases where their avarice got the better of their cruelty, the conquered nations, or as many as they could get possession of, were reduced to slavery, and carried off from their country. But the slave trade, as carried on by Europeans, commenced about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has been frequently asserted, but by some contradicted, that this detestable traffic originated in motives of humanity; that Las Casas, the distinguished friend of the aborigines of America, had recourse to the expedient of importing African slaves into the Spanish colonies, to save his beloved Indians from servitude. We will leave it to the historians of South America to settle this point. If the fact is true, it is a most glaring instance of the inconsistency of a great philanthropist, who spent his life and fortune in attempts to promote the happiness of the natives of America. There is here no room for one European nation to cast reproach upon others; for it appears that every nation which had possessions in America resorted to this mode of supplying labourers to their colonies. England, France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, have been engaged in it. The government of the United States, since the Declaration of Independence, has never participated in the African slave trade:

neither has any of the States in their separate capacity, except South Carolina; and by the existing laws of the United States, this traffic is declared to be piracy.

Before the Independence of the United States some of the colonies were aggrieved by the multitude of slaves imported into the country, and the House of Assembly of Virginia, remonstrated and petitioned against the growing evil, but in vain. Accordingly, in the Declaration of Independence, this is put down among the reasons why a separation from the mother country was justifiable and necessary.

The English continued to carry on the slave trade, without restraint, until the year 1805, when an act of the British Parliament interdicted the importation of slaves into certain colonies, except in certain specified cases. In 1807 a law was enacted, prohibiting British subjects supplying foreign colonies with slaves. In 1808 this traffic was entirely prohibited, and in 1811 it was declared felony. And in 1824, traffic in slaves was made piracy, by the laws of England. And in 1834 an act was passed to abolish slavery throughout the colonies of Great Britain; and that those who under the sanction of law had acquired this property might have no reason to complain of injustice, £20,000,000 were appropriated for the remuneration of slaveholders in the West India Islands.

The atrocities and enormities practised in carrying on this trade need not be here described; the feelings and imagination of the Christian public have been sufficiently excited and harrowed by the most vivid, and sometimes the most exaggerated, descriptions of these cruelties. It has, for a long time, been a favourite theme of pathetic declamation, by which the people have been roused almost to fanatic madness. While all men of sound moral sense must agree in condemning this traffic, the cool and impartial will agree, that Divine Providence has overruled the slavery of the Africans, and their importation to America, so as to render that which in its origin was most unjust and cruel, the occasion of unspeakable good to multitudes of the African race. While, then, we abhor the iniquity of the slave trade, we may piously rejoice that these degraded heathen were brought to our shores, where they have had the opportunity of knowing the Lord Jesus Christ, the only name given under heaven whereby we must be saved. Hundreds and thousands of native Africans and their descendants, have here

embraced the gospel of Christ, and found eternal life, for it is the glory of the gospel that it brings redemption and salvation as freely to the slave in his chains as to the king on his throne; yea, it is the very genius of the gospel to bring glad tidings to the poor and distressed, and deliverance to the captives.

But the providence of God, in that remarkable dispensation, by which several millions of the descendants of Africa are found in America, is but partially developed, as yet. The signs of the times at present indicate that there is something still more important hidden in the counsels of Heaven, in regard to this people, than any thing which has yet been developed. It may confidently be hoped, that the sons of Africa, now resident in America, will be the honoured instruments of spreading the light of the gospel through the benighted nations of a whole continent. There is something truly animating and sublime in the idea, that the descendants of those brought here in fetters and manacles shall, not only as freemen, but as Christians, carry back to their father-land the Bible, and the various arts and institutions of the civilized world. The dawn of a glorious day for Africa has already appeared. Several colonies have already been auspiciously commenced on her shores; and the very ground which has for ages been the scene of her degradation and wrongs, is now become the site of flourishing Christian colonies, which, by their religion, their morality, their laws, their order, their agriculture, their trade, and their schools, are attracting the attention of all the surrounding nations, and already producing an effect beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. And at this time the colonies oppose a more effectual barrier to the slave trade, than all the laws and navies of Great Britain and America. Indeed, if these colonies prosper as they have done, and others which are in contemplation should be formed, the disgraceful traffic will be excluded from all that part of Western Africa which lies north of the equator. No event which has occurred in the present generation, seems likely to be attended with more momentous and beneficial effects, than the planting of these colonies on the very verge of the kingdom of darkness; and seldom in any period of the world, have colonies been begun under more auspicious circumstances. Almost the only drawback to uniform prosperity has arisen from the deleterious character of the climate; but it possesses this character solely in relation to the white man. No

people appear to enjoy more health than the natives; and the coloured people who have gone from this country, after a short season of acclimation, attended with some danger, appear to be as free from disease as when they resided in the United States.

It has added unspeakably to the success and good influence of these infant colonies, that from the commencement, they have been associated with missionary efforts. Thus far the missionary stations have been necessarily within the colonies;* and the presence of such devoted, pious men, has had a benign influence on the emigrants. The prejudice which has been industriously excited among the coloured people of this country, against African colonization, though widely spread, has thus far been overruled for good. The greatest danger to be apprehended in this whole business, is that the colonists might be disposed to assume the reins of self-government, before they are properly prepared for it. If the colonization scheme had been popular among the free people of colour, the colonies would have filled up too rapidly, and there could not have been so good a selection of emigrants, as it has been in the power of the American Colonization Society to make. The colonies in the meantime are growing in stability, and acquiring, every day, more and more that experience in self-government, which is so important to their prosperity; and as the accession to their numbers is not great, at any one time, the new emigrants naturally fall into the spirit of the Society, and under the regular operation of the laws established: so that they can be incorporated into the body politic without any inconvenience, just as the materials for the growth of the natural body are without pain or commotion, assimilated to the parts before existing. Even the recaptured pagan slaves have, under these favourable circumstances, made progress in improvement which has astonished all who witnessed it. The growth of the colonies has been less rapid, than if multitudes had desired to avail themselves of the advantages of the plan: but this very slowness of growth has been for its health, and perhaps for its salvation.

The virulent opposition of the abolitionists, so unreasonable and unexpected, has also been overruled for the benefit of the

* Since the above was written, mission stations have been established both by the Methodist and Baptist societies without the limits of Liberia.

colonization scheme. When it was first proposed to plant a colony of free coloured people on the coast of Africa, with their own consent, no one seemed to dream of any objection, unless it should come from a certain class of slave-holders; and for years no opposition was made, and the cause languished. Legislatures and ecclesiastical synods and conventions, passed resolutions approbatory of the scheme; and there it rested. The public mind was not sufficiently excited to take much interest in the Society; and its important bearings were unheeded. The violent action of the abolitionists, roused the public attention; led to a careful examination of the principles of the Society, and the important prospects which were open before it: and although the opposition swept off many of the former friends of colonization, yet the cause never prospered so much as since it was attacked and calumniated as the compound of almost all evil. None but a mind distorted by fanaticism could ever have discovered any point of collision between an abolition and colonization society. In fact they aimed at entirely different objects: the one seeking a more favourable situation for as many of the free people of colour as might be disposed to leave this country, with the hope of bettering their circumstances. With slavery, as a society, they had nothing to do: whereas the abolitionists aimed simply at the removal of slavery, and of course free people of any colour, were not the objects of their efforts. But though this is the theory, yet in fact, no two societies have ever existed, in a more hostile attitude to each other; and even slavery itself does not appear to call forth more indignant hatred, than the inoffensive, simple plan of finding a home in Africa, for a certain number of free people of colour, who did not feel themselves comfortably situated in this country. But as the opposition has made new friends for the Colonization Society; so it has increased the zeal and activity of its old friends, many degrees. The prospects of ultimate and great success, have never been so flattering as at present. The plan of planting separate colonies by State societies promises much good: the evil apprehended from a want of capacity for self-government, will by this means be greatly diminished; and no doubt, in due time, all danger of collision between these separate colonies will be prevented by a wise system of confederation, which has already been proposed by the mother society; but for which the infant colonies are not

yet ripe.* It will be good policy to maintain the connexion of the respective colonies with the societies in this country, which planted them, as long as it can possibly be done. The moment when this connexion is severed will be critical in the history of Liberia.

It is a matter of surprise, as well as regret, that the minds of British Christians have been so much prejudiced against the colonization scheme, as conducted in America. This was the less to be expected, as they have on this very coast, a flourishing colony, the situation of which we have had under review, and the history of which we propose immediately to give.†

It must doubtless be attributed, in a great measure, to the extraordinary excitement produced in the nation previously to the passing the act of abolition, by which all their slaves were liberated. When this fever shall subside, they will return again to the habit of sober reflection, and be capable of examining the principles of American colonization, exempt from prejudice.

The writer in the *MISSIONARY RECORDS*, published in London by the Religious Tract Society, from whom I have borrowed the description of Sierra Leone, and the short account of the native tribes, concludes his views of the slave trade with the following just reflections:

“The slave trade, which, like the Upas, blasts all that is wholesome in its vicinity, has, however, in one important instance, been overruled for good in Africa. It has been made the means of assembling on one spot, and that on a Christian soil, individuals from almost every nation on the western coast of Africa. It has been made the means of introducing to civilization and religion, many hundreds from the interior of that vast continent, who had never seen the face of a white man, nor ever heard the name of Jesus. And it will be made the means of sending to nations beyond the Niger and the Zaire,

* Such a plan was adopted in 1833, and Mr. Buchanan went out as the governor of all the colonies planted by Americans, except Cape Palmas, which is peculiarly situated, and being connected with the state of Maryland, cannot adopt the same system which may be convenient to the other colonies.

† Mr. Buxton, the leading man in promoting the abolition of slavery in the colonies of Great Britain, has recently published a book, in which he declares that all that has been done by the British government to abolish the slave trade has eventually tended to its increase, and that the object can never be effected but by establishing trading houses all along the coast.

native missionaries, who will preach the Redeemer in the uttermost parts of the country, and cause their countrymen to hear, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God. European avarice, and native profligacy, leave no part of Africa unexplored for victims, and these slaves rescued by our cruisers, and landed on the shores of our colonies, are received by our missionaries, and placed in their schools. Not only by this means is positive good effected, but valuable information as to the country is procured, the various native languages may be compared and analysed, and under the divine blessing, the ferocious or despairing captive may become the active and zealous missionary.

“If these circumstances display the marvellous *wisdom* of God, whose ways are shown to be as far above our ways as the heavens are above the earth, there is also another circumstance connected with the slave trade which displays the *truth* of God, in the strict fulfilment of a prophecy, which was delivered as early as the time of Noah. In Gen. ix. 24, 25, we read, ‘And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; A SERVANT OF SERVANTS shall he be unto his brethren.’ The following reflections are extracted from Bishop Newton on this passage:

“The curse particularly implies servitude and subjection. ‘Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.’ It is very well known that the word ‘brethren’ in Hebrew comprehends more distant relations. The descendants of Canaan, therefore, were to be subject to the descendants of Shem and Japhet. The same thing is repeated again and again in the following verse, ‘and Canaan shall be a servant unto them,’ or their servant; so this is as it were the burden of the prophecy.

“It was several centuries after this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were the descendants of Shem, under the command of Joshua, invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, made the Gibeonites and others servants; and Solomon, afterwards, slew the rest. The Greeks and Romans too, who were descended from Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining; as, for instance, the Syrians and Carthaginians, the former of

whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. "This fate," says Mr. Mede, "was it which made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul, "I acknowledge the fortune of Carthage." And ever since, the miserable remainder of this people have been slaves to a foreign yoke; first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks who descended from Japheth, and they grieve under this dominion until this day. The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham; and for how many ages have the better parts of the country lain under the dominion of the Romans, then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks! In what wickedness, barbarity, ignorance, slavery, and misery live most of the inhabitants! And of the poor negroes, how many hundreds every year are sold and bought, like beasts, in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the globe, to do the work of beasts in another!"

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE COLONY AT SIERRA LEONE.

IN 1787 a number of gentlemen subscribed a few thousand pounds as a fund for assisting some destitute blacks, then in London, to settle at Sierra Leone. These were among the slaves who had taken refuge in the British army, during the war of the American revolution; and who on the return of the troops accompanied them to England. The question may very naturally arise, why were they not encouraged to remain in London, or to seek a settlement in some other part of the country? This question is peculiarly pertinent at this time, when the British public, or a large portion of them, can see no good reason for the existence of the American Colonization Society; and cannot understand why the free people of colour cannot be permitted peaceably to remain where they are. The fact, that when only a few hundred of these people were carried to London, under a strong pledge that they should be

provided for, they fell into such a miserable condition that men of a benevolent character felt themselves imperiously called upon to contrive a plan for colonizing them in Africa, is a sufficient answer to all objections to African colonization. The English set us the example of seeking a residence for the descendants of Africa on the coast of that land from which their forefathers were forcibly and wickedly carried away. This colony had been fondly cherished by British Christians, and fostered and protected by the government; and when Americans, influenced by the same motives, have engaged in colonizing the same kind of people, on the same coast, why is the enterprise viewed with suspicion, or calumniated as the fruit of unworthy motives, as it is in most of the religious periodicals of Great Britain?

But to return: the gentlemen alluded to procured from the native chiefs, a cession of a considerable district of land for the settlement of their little colony. The British government very liberally seconded their views by taking upon itself the expense of transporting the blacks thither, and of supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa. During the passage of these unfortunate people to Sierra Leone they experienced some share of the same evils which have been so often pathetically described as taking place on board the slave ships, by being crowded into too narrow a space; for out of four hundred and sixty who embarked, eighty-four died on ship board; and when they were landed in Africa their troubles were not ended; for before the close of the first rainy season, a hundred more of the infant colony fell victims to the climate or to intemperance. And in the year 1790, in consequence of being involved in a dispute between the natives and the crew of a British vessel, without any fault of their own, they were driven from the habitations which they had erected. The British vessel, by the imprudent conduct of the crew of which they had thus innocently suffered, had set fire to a town of a neighbouring chief. In 1791, they were again collected, through the agency of the agent of the Sierra Leone Company; and they now fixed themselves in Granville, two or three miles distant from Freetown, where they first settled.

Some of the most distinguished philanthropists of the age were among the projectors of this colonization scheme, and became directors of the company. It will be sufficient barely to mention

the names of such men as Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Joseph Hardcastle, and Thomas Clarkson. The motives by which these men were actuated, are above suspicion, and of the most benevolent kind; and we unhesitatingly ascribe motives of the same kind to the founders of the American Colonization Society. In neither case was there any room for any sinister motives to operate; and we have reason to think, that the suggestion was from heaven, and that this enterprise will to posterity appear to have been one of the most important, as well as the most benevolent, conceived in the present age. The pure and elevated motives which led these excellent men to engage in this scheme, stamp an importance upon it, which would by no means belong to it, if it had originated in the usual motives which lead to such transactions.

The company was incorporated, and a considerable capital appeared likely to be raised for carrying on the undertaking. Another company of negroes, who escaped from slavery during the American war, were conveyed by the British fleet to Nova Scotia. These, finding the severe climate of this northern province uncongenial to their constitutions, and having heard of the colony at Sierra Leone, despatched a delegate to England to request that they might also be transported to Africa. Besides the severity of the climate, they complained of the sterility of the soil; and, especially, that the allotments of land promised to them, when they emigrated to Nova Scotia, had not generally been received. Their petition was received favourably by the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who joined with the delegate in an application to government to give them a free passage to Africa, which was readily granted. To superintend and expedite the emigration of these people of colour, Lieutenant Clarkson handsomely made a tender of his services to go to Nova Scotia and attend to the business. The agreement of the company was to receive all free blacks from Nova Scotia, who could produce testimonials of good character, more particularly as to honesty, sobriety, and industry, and to grant to each family a lot of land, in proportion to their numbers. The company had been led to believe that only a few hundred persons would be the number of those who wished to emigrate, but to their surprise they proved to be no less than eleven hundred and ninety-six. This large and unexpected accession materially affected the whole undertaking, and in-

duced the company immediately to take measures to increase their capital stock, which was now raised to two hundred and thirty-five thousand, two hundred and eighty pounds sterling. They also sent out immediately two vessels, with needful supplies for the colony, and a hundred white emigrants, part of whom were artisans, and part agriculturists. Soon after the arrival of these vessels from England, sixteen vessels came from Nova Scotia, bringing eleven hundred and thirty-one blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, contracted in Halifax, of which sixty-five had died on the passage.

These colonists were located on the ground at first occupied by the former emigrants, and by special direction, the place was named Freetown. Here, huts were erected after the fashion of the country, with as much expedition as possible, that they might be comfortably sheltered before the commencement of the rainy season. The directors at home, apprehending the danger of a want of suitable shelter during this season, had caused a large merchant vessel to be fitted up for their accommodation, which was sent out loaded with various stores, as well as frames of houses, and materials for building: but being driven back by a storm, she did not arrive in time to be of any service, during the first sickly season; though afterwards she was made a good use of, both as a storehouse, and floating factory.

The sickness notwithstanding all the precautions used, was extensive; it being supposed that eight hundred of the emigrants were down at one time; but the fever of the coast with which they were affected, proved much more fatal to the Europeans, than to the black emigrants; and what increased the distress, the medical attendants, with but one exception, were laid up with the disease. During the season, about one-half the white inhabitants on shore, and about one-tenth of the Nova Scotia emigrants died. Of twenty-six upper servants of the company, four, and of fifty-nine lower servants, twenty-nine died. Of the eighteen settlers, thirteen, and of the sixteen soldiers, eleven died.

In the dry season which followed, the lots for the Nova Scotians were surveyed; each of them had four acres assigned him; though twenty had been originally promised; but the land adjacent to the settlement turned out to be not as good as it had been represented. Several public buildings were now

erected, as a church, a hospital, a warehouse, and other buildings, of which the frame work was brought from England, and some measures were taken for the defence of the colony.

The next year the condition of the colony was evidently in an improving state; some new arrangements were made in the police; and some gentlemen of experience were sent out to aid in the government; and the natives uniformly appeared friendly, and seemed to view the increase of the colony, with pleasure. But this prosperity was of short duration. The breaking out of the war in Europe damped the hopes, and interrupted the progress of the rising colony. The destruction of their store-ship by fire, with a considerable quantity of goods, was a heavy disaster. The whole loss sustained was estimated at fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and no insurance had been effected on vessel or goods.

The season, this year, when compared with the sickly season of the last, was marked with very little increase of disease; and contrary to what was then the fact, those on land were less subject to the fever than those on ship board. The expenses of the colony very far exceeded every calculation which had been made. With the loss incurred by the conflagration of the store-ship, it was found, that no less than eighty-two thousand pounds sterling had already been expended on the colony. The feelings of the directors, however, appear to have been of the right kind. They piously remark, "That they must leave the event of success, after all their endeavours, to the disposal of Him who can disappoint utterly if he pleases, the most favourite schemes of men; can obstruct and suspend for a while their accomplishment, or can crown them if he sees fit, with the most signal and unexpected success." A scheme of pure philanthropy, undertaken by men actuated by such sentiments, can hardly fail of ultimate success, however many trials and disappointments, may for a while, put their faith to a severe test.

On the 27th of September 1794, a French squadron made its appearance on the coast; and began to fire on the town. All resistance being vain against such a force, the colony was immediately surrendered into their hands. The conduct of the French Commodore and his men was ferocious, and even cruel, to this helpless, infant colony. They not only seized the goods of the company and of English residents, but robbed the houses of the poor blacks of whatever they could carry away; and

then set the town on fire. Even the church was pillaged, and the medicine store destroyed; which last proved the severest loss of all. After the first conflagration, a second was ordered, in which the church and all the remaining houses were consumed. And most unfortunately, while the French had possession of the colony, the company's largest ship, the *Harpy*, came in sight, having on board several passengers, and goods to the amount of £10,000. Observing the demolition of the company's houses, she put back to sea, but was discovered and pursued by the French; and when captured, all the goods were seized, and even the property of the English passengers was also taken. None of these articles were landed, but immediately carried away. What rendered this calamity doubly severe was the fact, that in this vessel the company had sent out a *plant hatch*, containing many valuable articles received from the king's collection at Kew, which it was supposed would be likely to grow and flourish in this climate. Two other vessels of the company, employed in the coasting trade, were also taken. All the native chiefs appeared to be afflicted on account of the overwhelming calamity which had befallen the colony, except the slave dealers. These, from the beginning viewed the rising colony with an invidious eye, and as they cherished hostile feelings towards it, so they rejoiced in its destruction.

About three weeks after the French squadron had left the colony, sickness broke out among the white inhabitants, induced by fatigue and want of wholesome food; and now the destruction of their whole store of medicines was severely felt. The French had put on shore one hundred and twenty captured sailors, of whom eighty now died.

The loss of the company by this hostile visit was estimated at £40,000, exclusive of the buildings burned, which had cost £15,000. The only good result of the arrival of the French squadron on the African coast was, the robbing and breaking up of many of the English slave factories. The amount of property destroyed or carried away by them, on the whole coast, was about £400,000.

The many disasters of the colony were repaired by the active exertions which the company continued to make. The settlement resumed its prosperity; extended its survey over the neighbouring coast, and received embassies even from remote

African states. For several years nothing remarkable occurred in the exterior or political relations of the colony; and as for the missionary operations prosecuted here, a particular account shall be given in another place.

In the year 1800, a new accession was made to the colony by the Maroons, from Jamaica. The arrival of these emigrants was very opportune, for at that time the Nova Scotia blacks were in a state of insurrection, which these West Indians aided much in putting down.

Shortly after this, a body of Timmanees headed by two of the fugitive blacks, made an attack upon the fort, but were repulsed with loss. The Nova Scotia blacks were so turbulent, that it became necessary to establish a more coercive government over them, and even to bring a small military force from Goree, to keep them in order.

The British parliament allowed the company £7000 for erecting a fort, with a promise of £8000 more for the same object, and £10,000 for the expenses of settling the blacks from Nova Scotia, and £4000 for the expenses of the civil government of the colony. And in 1802, the parliament again voted £10,000 for the expenses of the settlement: and in 1803 it was suggested to the company by the ministry, that it would be for the benefit of the colony to transfer the civil and military power from the company to the government. The cession was accordingly made, and the colony is now under the authority of a governor who resides at Sierra Leone, appointed by, and amenable to the British government. Upon giving up the colony, the directors of the company published a statement, which demonstrated the success of the company, in the attainment of its most important objects; and was calculated to convince every proprietor that his money had been expended to a noble purpose. The following is the substance of the above mentioned statement.

“However great may have been the company’s loss in a pecuniary view, the directors are unwilling to admit, that there has been a total failure in their main object, or that their capital has been expended without effect. It must afford satisfaction to reflect, that the company should both have conceived and attempted to execute those plans of beneficence which led to the institution of the colony; and that they should have con-

tinued to pursue them for so many years, in the face of opposition, disappointment, and loss; in spite of severe calamities, arising from European as well as African wars, and much turbulence on the part of the colonists. The proprietors have the further satisfaction of knowing, that the company have contributed to the abolition of the slave trade, by exposing its real nature before the view of a hesitating legislature, and detecting the artifices and misrepresentations by which the persons engaged in it laboured to delude the public.

“The company have communicated the benefits flowing from a knowledge of letters, and from Christian instruction, to hundreds of negroes on the coast of Africa; and, by a careful education in this country, they have elevated the character of several of the children of African chiefs, and directed their minds to objects of the very first importance to their countrymen. They have ascertained that the cultivation of every valuable article of tropical export may be carried on in Africa; that Africans in a state of freedom are susceptible of the same motives to industry and laborious exertion which influence the natives of Europe; and that some African chiefs are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend, and sufficiently patriotic to encourage schemes of improvement. They have demonstrated that negroes may be governed by the same mild laws, which are found consistent with the maintenance of rational liberty even in this kingdom; and that they may be safely and advantageously entrusted with the administration of those laws, not only as jurors, but even as judicial assessors. They have in some measure retrieved the credit of the British, it may be added, of the Christian name, on the continent of Africa; and have convinced its inhabitants, that there are Englishmen who are actuated by very different motives from those of self-interest, and who desire nothing so much as their improvement and happiness. To conclude, they have established in a central part of Africa, a colony, which appears to be now provided with adequate means both of defence and subsistence; which by the blessing of Providence, may become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilization, and religious improvement to the inhabitants of that continent; and which may hereafter repay to Great Britain, the benefits she shall have communicated, by opening a continually in-

creasing market for those manufactures, which are now no longer secure of their accustomed vent on the continent of Europe."

The settlement of a colony on the continent of Africa attracted the attention of some of the people of colour in the United States. At that time there sailed from the ports of Massachusetts a very remarkable man of colour, by the name of Paul Cuffee. This man was born at New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1759, of an American father and an aboriginal mother. His early years were spent in poverty and obscurity, but possessing a vigorous mind, by industry and perseverance, guided by practical good sense, he rose to wealth and respectability. He was largely engaged in navigation, and in many voyages to foreign countries commanded his own vessel. His desire to raise his coloured brethren in this country to civil and religious liberty in the land of their forefathers, induced him to offer some of the free people of colour a passage to the western coast of Africa. About forty embarked with him at Boston, and landed at Sierra Leone, where they were kindly received. Only eight of these were able to pay their passage: the whole expense of the remainder, amounting to nearly \$4000, was defrayed by the noble-minded Paul Cuffee.

If Captain Cuffee had lived to see the commencement of the colony of Liberia, no man in America would have more rejoiced in the prospect of seeing a place provided for the free people of colour where they could enjoy the real blessings of liberty and independence. With the friends of African colonization this man's name should be held in high estimation; as being the first man who actually conducted emigrants from the United States to the coast of Africa; and that too at expense of his own funds greater than any other individual has ever laid out, in transporting colonists to that country.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

IF the scheme of colonizing the free people of colour, on the coast of Africa, should eventually prove successful, it will hereafter become a matter of curious and interesting inquiry, where, and with whom, the idea of such a colony first originated. As it relates to America, it has commonly been supposed, that the first distinct idea of transporting the descendants of Africans to the land of their forefathers was entertained by the Legislature of Virginia. But it is a fact well known, that the colony of Sierra Leone had been planted on the western coast of Africa, some time before the secret resolutions, on this subject, were adopted by the General Assembly and Senate of the state of Virginia.

There is reason to believe that, in England, Granville Sharpe, always the zealous friend of the African race, was the projector of the scheme for colonizing the people of colour at Sierra Leone. The credit of originating this plan would seem then to belong to that distinguished philanthropist; but I must put in a plea for a person whose name has scarcely ever been mentioned in connexion with African colonization. The person to whom I refer is the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Rhode Island. As the part which he acted in regard to the African race is very interesting, and very little known, I will, from the memoir of his life by the Rev. John Ferguson, extract such facts as have a bearing on this subject. Dr. Hopkins is well known, not only in this country, but in Great Britain and Ireland, as a theological writer. In fact, he is the author of a system of theology, and of a number of lesser works, in which he maintains a number of tenets so much at variance with old Calvinistic opinions, that his system has, with his consent, been denominated Hopkiusianism. That Dr. Hopkins was an eminently pious man was never doubted by any who were acquainted with his character. But we are at present only concerned with his life so far as his conduct had relation to the African race.

At the time when Dr. Hopkins settled at Newport, the slave trade was carried on by the merchants of Rhode Island to a great extent, and the lawfulness of the traffic had not been called in question. Slavery was common in New England; and in Newport nearly all persons able to purchase slaves, were slaveholders. Indeed, Dr. Hopkins himself, while he resided at Great Barrington, was the owner of a slave whom he sold before coming to Newport. The iniquity of the slave trade seems before this time to have occurred to none; at least it had been denounced by no one. The subject was now taken up and seriously considered by Dr. Hopkins, and the result was a deep conviction of the injustice of the trade, and of the evils of slavery itself. He felt that some remuneration was due to Africa for the injuries inflicted on her by our country, and immediately began to think of a plan of educating some persons of the African race, and sending them back to civilize and evangelize the savages of that dark continent. Although the people of Newport were deeply engaged in the slave trade, and derived their wealth very much from this source, and his own people as much as others, yet he determined to lift up his voice against it; and accordingly, several years before the commencement of the revolutionary war, he preached a sermon to his people pointedly condemning this iniquitous traffic. The effect of this discourse was very different from what might have been apprehended; for, instead of arousing their opposition and resentment, as he feared, it produced a general conviction that the whole thing was wrong. The people were surprised that they had never viewed the practice in the same light before. And it was not long before his church passed a resolution, "That the slave trade, and the slavery of the Africans, as it has existed among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church."

In furtherance of the scheme of educating Africans to be sent back to their own country to instruct their countrymen. Dr. Hopkins appropriated the money which he had received for the slave sold by him while resident at Great Barrington. And as he knew that a solitary individual could accomplish little in such a work, he set himself to form an African missionary society, to educate and send out missionaries to carry the gospel to that benighted region. So much was his heart

engaged in this enterprise, that, besides the sum already mentioned, contributed by himself, he borrowed, on his own responsibility, as much as was required to purchase a slave whom he wished, after preparation, to send to Africa. He also exerted himself to procure the emancipation of three others, and to obtain means for their education. To accomplish his object he corresponded with the society in Scotland "For the Promotion of Christian knowledge." And in conjunction with Dr. Stiles, then a pastor of a congregation in Newport, but afterwards President of Yale College, he made an appeal to the public in behalf of the object which he had in view. This address was published in August 1773. The following is the substance of the address:—"There has been a design formed, and some attempts have lately been made, to send the gospel to Guinea, by encouraging and furnishing two men to go and preach the gospel to their brethren there. To all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, in the salvation of sinners, the following narrative and proposals are offered, to excite their charity and solicit their prayers. There are two coloured members belonging to the First Congregational Church in Newport, on Rhode Island, named Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, who were hopefully converted some years ago, and have from that time sustained a good Christian character, and have made good proficiency in Christian knowledge. The latter is the son of a rich man at Annamboe, and was sent by his father to this place for education among the English, and then to return home. All this the person to whom he was committed promised to perform for a good reward. But instead of being faithful to his trust, he sold him for a slave for life. But God, in his providence, has put it into the power of both of them to obtain their freedom. These persons, thus acquainted with Christianity, and apparently devoted to the service of Christ, are about thirty years old; have good natural abilities, are apt, steady, and judicious, and speak their native language; the language of a numerous, potent nation in Guinea, to which they both belong. They are not only *willing*, but *desirous* to quit all worldly prospects, and risk their lives in attempting to open a door for the propagation of Christianity among their poor, perishing heathen brethren. The concurrence of all these things has led us to set on foot a proposal to send them to Africa, to preach the gospel there, if in any good degree quali-

fied for this business. * * * What is now wanted and asked, is money to support them at school, to make the trial, whether they may be fitted for the proposed mission. * * * As God, in his providence, has so far opened the way to this by raising up these persons, and ordering the remarkable concurring circumstances and events which have been mentioned, and there is probably no other instance in America where so many things conspire to point out the way for a mission of this kind, with encouragement to pursue it, may it not be hoped that it will have the assistance and patronage of all the pious and benevolent?

“And it is humbly proposed to those who are convinced of the iniquity of the slave trade, and are sensible of the great inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving so many thousands of our fellow men every year, with all the dreadful and horrible attendants, and are ready to bear testimony against it in all proper ways, and do their utmost to put a stop to it, whether they have not a good opportunity of doing this, by cheerfully contributing, according to their ability, to promote the mission proposed. And whether this is not the least compensation we are able to make to the poor Africans for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice.

“But aside from this consideration, may we not hope that all who are heartily praying, ‘thy kingdom come,’ will liberally contribute to forward this attempt to send the glorious gospel of the blessed God to the nations who now worship false gods, and dwell in the habitations of cruelty, and the land of the shadow of death, especially as the King of Zion has promised, that whosoever parts with any thing in this world for the kingdom of heaven’s sake, shall receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come, everlasting life?”

The preceding address was subscribed by Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins, and dated August 31, 1773.

The effect of this sensible, sober, and pious circular was, that contributions to the amount of more than one hundred pounds, were sent in, of which thirty pounds were received from the society in Scotland for promoting Christian knowledge. The answer to the circular from that society shows that they took a lively interest in the novel enterprise, and deserves to be preserved. It is as follows:—“The perusal of this memorial, gave great satisfaction to the Directors, while it excited their admira-

tion at the various, secret, and most unlikely means, whereby an all-wise Providence sees meet to accomplish his gracious purposes. At the same time they rejoiced at the fair prospect now afforded, to extend the Mediator's kingdom to those nations, who dwell at present in the habitations of cruelty, and in the region and shadow of death. After saying so much, it is almost unnecessary to add, that the plan suggested in your memorial, received the warmest approbation of the directors of the society; and that they highly applauded your pious zeal in this matter, which they earnestly wish and hope may be crowned with success."

They received also communications from several ecclesiastical bodies, expressive of their cordial approbation of the enterprise.

To prepare the two young men before mentioned for their missionary work, it was judged expedient to send them to Princeton, New Jersey, to be for a season, under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the New Jersey College. How long they continued in this place, or what proficiency they made in their studies, we are not informed. The interest which Dr. Hopkins felt in every thing which related to the former history of these young Africans, was remarkable. Having heard that at Cape Coast Castle, there resided a native of Guinea, who had not only been converted from Paganism to Christianity, but had been admitted into the sacred ministry, and was then a missionary under "The Society in London for the Propagation of the Gospel," he wrote to him to inquire respecting the family of John Quamine; and at the same time, informed him of the circumstance of his having been sold into slavery, and also described the several members of his family, who were left in Africa, as received from himself. Philip Quaque, for that was the name of the missionary, upon the receipt of Dr. Hopkins's letter, made the requisite inquiries, and with complete success. This letter is so interesting, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of laying a copy of it before our readers. "It is with inexpressible pleasure that I acquaint you, that my inquiries after the friends and relations of that gentleman have met with the desired success. The minute account he entertained you with, of his family and kindred, is just. His mother's name is as you have written it, who is still alive, and whom I had the pleasure of seeing. But the bowels

of maternal affection—in truth I declare it—seemed ready to burst, and break forth in tears of joy, like Jacob when he heard that his beloved son Joseph was yet alive. The joy it enkindled in expectation of seeing once more, the fruit of her womb, before she with her grey hairs goes down to the grave, fills her with ecstasies of joy, resembling Jacob's; and she breaks forth, and says, 'It is enough—my son is yet alive. I hope, by God's blessing, to see him before I die.' His uncle is called by the same name as that which you have given him. In short, every circumstance is agreeable to the description given in your letter. A great personage in his family, whose name is Oforee, and now enjoys his father's estate, desires with great importunity, that I should petition you, that he may be returned to them, as soon as may be; and promises that nothing shall be wanting, to make him and all about him, comfortable and happy, among his own kindred. And the whole family join in requesting me to render you all the grateful acknowledgments, they are able to return, for your paternal care and affection, exercised toward him; and beg me to tell you that it is not in their power to requite you for all your trouble; they, therefore, hope that the good God of heaven will recompense you hereafter for your labour of love bestowed on him."

In another letter, from the same person, he says, "The mother is still looking with impatience for the return of her son, once dead and lost. She, and the principal cousin, who possesses the estate of his father, join in earnestly entreating that you would, in your Christian love and charity to them, send the lad again, that he may receive their cordial embraces, looking upon themselves able to support him.

"I received the charitable proposals, and sincerely thank you therefor. And I am joyful to hear there are Africans with you who partake of the blessings of the gospel, and in time may be the means of promoting the greatest and best interests, of Africans here. I wish to God for its speedy accomplishment when the nations who are not now called the children of Jehovah, shall become the prophets of the Lord, and the children of the living God. May the benediction of the Almighty prosper all your undertakings to the saving of many souls!"

Some time after this information respecting the family of John Quamine was received, a native of Annamboe arrived at Newport, and confirmed all the accounts given above. He ap-

peared to be a sensible and inquisitive man, and of good moral character. He was also a relative of Quamine. He expressed a strong desire to learn to read, and to be instructed in the Christian religion. He appeared to be sensible that his countrymen were destitute of the knowledge of the true method of pleasing God and obtaining his favour, and said, that he had heard that the Christians were in possession of a revelation from Him, and he desired to become acquainted with its contents. He said, moreover, that there were many young men in his country who had a strong desire to read and write, and would even come to America to be educated, if they were not afraid of being deceived and sold, as was Quamine. He appeared to be much pleased when informed that there was a plan in contemplation for sending back some of the African race to teach the people.

Besides the two already mentioned, who now only waited for a good opportunity of sailing for Africa, there was a third, named Salmur Nuba, a member of the Second Congregational Church, in Newport, then under the pastoral charge of Dr. Stiles; a promising young man, of about twenty years of age, possessing good talents, and, apparently, ardent piety. This young man had his freedom given to him, and was greatly desirous of attempting, in some way, the propagation of the gospel among the Africans. It was much desired to have this young man prepared to be a teacher or preacher in his native country, but the funds which the society had been able to collect were entirely inadequate. It was, therefore, resolved to make another appeal to the Christian public for further aid; accordingly, another address was prepared, an extract from which is as follows:

“Since it has pleased God so far to succeed this design, in his providence, and in such a remarkable manner to open the way from step to step, and given such hopeful prospects, and good encouragement to pursue it, we think it our duty still to prosecute it, and we ask the benefactions of all who are willing to promote an undertaking in itself so benevolent; and which, though small in its beginning, may hopefully issue in something very great, and open the way to the happiness and salvation of multitudes; yea, of many nations who are now in the most miserable state, ready to perish in the darkness of heathenism. We beg leave, also, to observe, that the present state of our

public affairs is so far from being a reason for neglecting this proposal, that it seems rather to afford strong reason to encourage it. For while we are struggling for our civil and religious liberties, it will be peculiarly becoming and laudable, to exert ourselves to attain the same blessings for others, as far as it is in our power. And when God is so interposing, and ordering such a series of events in our favour, in this time of general distress, is there not a special call to pay this tribute to Him, as a likely method to obtain the continuation of his favour?" This circular, as the former one, was subscribed by Ezra Stiles, and Samuel Hopkins, and was dated April 10, 1776, Newport, Rhode Island.

But soon after the publication of the preceding address, the people of Newport, and Dr. Hopkins and his congregation among the rest, experienced the calamities of war. They were driven by the enemy from their homes, and the Africans from their studies. Thus, all opportunity of sending these designated missionaries to Africa was cut off; and not only so, but the pecuniary resources of the country were exhausted, and the members of the missionary society were scattered. Besides these discouraging circumstances, before the war was concluded and peace restored, one of the young men who had been in training for this service, was called away by death. Thus, this promising enterprise, into which Dr. Hopkins had entered with so warm a zeal, was frustrated by the mysterious, but all-wise, providence of God. Yet the agitation of this subject was not without its salutary effects. It was the first movement in behalf of poor, injured Africa. A wave was now put in motion which we trust will not cease its agitations until it bears on its bosom all the sable descendants of Africa to the land of their fathers. Besides, we consider this extraordinary enterprise as one which has a real connection with the scheme of African colonization, now in a course of execution. The connection may be thus traced. It is an ascertained fact, that Dr. Hopkins corresponded on the subject of sending these Africans back to Africa, with Granville Sharpe, the celebrated philanthropist, by whom, in all probability, the plan of settling a colony at Sierra Leone was devised. And the recollection of this scheme of Dr. Hopkins, to send back to Africa some of her sons as missionaries, in all probability suggested the idea of African colonization. Whether this conjecture is correct or not, it is evident

that Dr. Hopkins was the first who conceived the idea of sending converted Africans to their native land, for the sake of communicating the knowledge of Christianity to their benighted countrymen.

After the revolutionary war was terminated, by the acknowledgment, on the part of Britain, of the independence of these United States, Dr. Hopkins and his flock returned again to Newport; and although the prospect of sending to Africa the persons who had been prepared for that mission was rendered impossible, by reason of the decease of one of the young men, and by the total want of adequate funds for the execution of that enterprise, yet his zeal in behalf of the African race was in no degree diminished. He wrote and published a pamphlet in favour of the emancipation of the Africans held in bondage in this country, which was, probably, the first treatise on that subject from any pen. He also reorganized the society which had been scattered during the war, to the funds of which, though poor, he was by far the largest contributor. Having received nine hundred dollars for the copy-right of his *System of Theology*, he gave one hundred to promote the objects of this society, and he still encouraged himself and his friends to proceed in their benevolent enterprise. "The way," said he "to the proposed mission still lies open, and the encouragements in it are as great as ever. All that is wanting is money, exertion, and missionaries to undertake it. There are religious blacks to be found who understand the language of the nations in those parts, who might be employed if they were properly encouraged; and if they were brought to embrace Christianity, and to be civilized, it would put an end to the slave trade and render them happy; and it would open a door for trade which would be to the temporal interest both of the Africans and Americans. As attention to the propagation of the gospel appears to be now spreading and increasing in America, it is hoped that the eyes of many will now be opened to see the peculiar obligations they are under to attempt to send the gospel to the Africans, whom we have injured and abused so greatly, more than any other people under heaven, it being the best and only compensation which we can make them." It is truly wonderful how just and mature were the sentiments of this wise man, respecting the advantages which would accrue from the civilization and christianization of Africa. The very

reasons which are now urged by the friends of African colonization, namely, the suppression of the slave trade, the promotion of a trade mutually profitable to the parties, and the establishment of peace and prosperity among the natives of that continent, are here distinctly referred to. The preceding citation is from Dr. Hopkins's '*Life of Susannah Osborn.*'

But, although Dr. Hopkins was disappointed in the hope which he had so fondly entertained of sending missionaries to Africa, it is a remarkable fact, that two of those young Africans instructed by him with a view to this mission, in extreme old age went to Liberia, when the colony was planted there. One of these was Deacon Gardner, a man well known throughout New England, and especially in Boston. The history of this man is not only remarkable but somewhat romantic. He was a native of Africa, but was brought to this country in the year 1760, when only fourteen years old. He very soon manifested extraordinary talents, and after receiving a few elementary lessons, he quickly learned to read by his own unaided efforts. In the same way he learned music, in which art he became such an adept that he composed a large number of tunes, some of which have been highly approved by good judges. He was long a highly esteemed teacher of vocal music in Newport, where many resorted to his school for improvement in this delightful art. One of the most extraordinary things in the history of this man, was his ability to speak his vernacular tongue with ease and fluency at the age of thirty, when he had been absent from his country for sixteen years, having been brought away when only fourteen years of age. His uncommon talents attracted the attention of Dr. Hopkins, and his ardent piety gained him high esteem. He, therefore, marked him out as a suitable person to be sent as a missionary to Africa, and set himself to work to obtain his freedom, in which, after some time, he was successful. But there is a circumstance connected with his emancipation which is so extraordinary, that if it were not so well authenticated we should hesitate to mention it; as to some of our readers it may probably savour too much of enthusiasm. But in fact it is nothing else than an evident and somewhat extraordinary answer to prayer. Gardner was the slave of Captain Gardner, whose name he assumed. By the indulgence of his master he was allowed to labour for his own profit, in whatever scraps of time he could save from his daily

work ; and all that he gained was devoted to the obtaining his own freedom, and that of his family. Being often discouraged at the slow progress he made, he was advised by a pious deacon of Dr. Hopkins's church to try the efficacy of prayer and fasting, and see if he would not get along more successfully than by labour alone. In compliance with this advice, having gained a day, he determined to spend it in fasting and prayer, but communicated his purpose to no one but Dr. Hopkins and a few pious friends. His master, totally ignorant of the manner in which his slave was occupied, sent for him about four o'clock in the afternoon, but was told that Gardner was engaged about his own business, this being his gained day. "No matter," replied his master, "call him." And when the slave appeared, he put into his hand a paper on which was written the following words, "I, James Gardner, of Newport, Rhode Island, do this day manumit and release, forever, Newport Gardner, his wife and children." Some conditions were annexed which were of easy performance. The slave, thus unexpectedly emancipated, expressed, of course, fervent gratitude to his late master, who now had become his benefactor, but still warmer thanks to his Father in heaven, who had so signally answered the prayers which he had been offering up that day for his freedom, even before he had finished his supplications.

During a long life, this man had his mind directed to Africa, and when the colony of Liberia was established, though advanced to his eightieth year, yet he embraced the opportunity of going to his native country. With a view to his going to Liberia, he and several others were, in Boston, constituted into a Christian church, of which he was immediately ordained a deacon, together with Salmur Nubia, another of Dr. Hopkins's promising young Africans, of whom mention has already been made. The solemn exercises connected with the constitution of this church, were conducted by Dr. Jenks, Dr. Wisner, Dr. Edwards, and Dr. S. E. Dwight. The public solemnity was closed by an anthem, composed by Deacon Gardner, and set to words selected from several passages of the sacred Scriptures, exceedingly appropriate to the interesting occasion. This little band of African Christians embarked for Africa on the 7th of January, 1826, in company with the Rev. Horace Sessions.

This undertaking of Deacon Gardner, to return to his na-

tive land, at an age so advanced, was not the effect of any sudden impulse or temporary excitement, but was the breaking out of that flame of love to Christ and to his kinsmen according to the flesh, which had been enkindled in his bosom, in Dr. Hopkins's study, half a century before. Thus, after an absence of more than threescore years, this patriarchal man set sail for Liberia, to assist in laying the foundation of an infant colony, which he hoped would be the germ of a great and free and happy republic, which might shine as a light to illumine the dark regions of Africa, and be an asylum for the coloured race in this country, who are here destitute of those privileges, and that respectability which the colonists in Liberia so richly enjoy.

What the end was, of this remarkable man, we have not been informed. He was too far advanced in years to take an active part in the affairs of the colony, but his example and his counsels may have been of eminent service to those engaged in this arduous enterprise.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE inconsistency of holding men in slavery, while we ourselves were contending for liberty at the peril of every thing dear, could not but strike the minds of reflecting persons. No sooner, therefore, was independence declared, than several of the States took measures, gradually to put an end to slavery, by enacting laws, that all children born of slaves, after a certain date, should be free, when they arrived at a certain age. When the slaves were few in number, there was no difficulty in this measure for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; but in the Southern States, where they were very numerous, the obstacles to the passing of such laws were so formidable, that the thing was never seriously proposed in any of their legislative bodies. The obstacles were of two kinds. First, the oppo-

sition of the slave holders themselves. As under the laws of these States, they had acquired this species of property, for which they or their forefathers had paid a valuable consideration; they insisted that the legislature had no right to deprive them of this property, without giving them a compensation for the same; and as the majority of the people, in all the Southern States, are slave-holders, it is evident, that until the people were willing, the legislatures, consisting of their representatives, annually chosen, could do nothing towards the accomplishment of this object. The other obstacle, which rendered the thing inexpedient, even with the more enlightened and benevolent, who were the sincere friends of emancipation, was the difficulty of disposing of them, when liberated. The sentiment is almost universal, among all classes of people in the Southern States, that it will never do to emancipate the slaves, and permit them to remain in the country. Hence, almost every scheme of emancipation in the south, has been accompanied by some plan of removal; or which is the same thing, colonization, into some country or territory remote from their present owners. This subject, however, engaged the earnest attention of the leading politicians of the country. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, recommends the emancipation of the slaves by the most powerful arguments; but it has been always understood that his plan was to remove them to some part of the extensive country north-west of the Ohio, which then belonged to the state of Virginia, and was entirely unoccupied, except by the Indians, and a few scattered French settlements. No effort, however, was ever made by Mr. Jefferson to carry his views into effect. If any man could, by his influence, have secured the passing of a law, emancipating the blacks in Virginia, that man was Mr. Jefferson. But he saw, no doubt, that the obstacles in the way of emancipation, were insurmountable. He did no more, therefore, than give utterance to his own deliberate opinions. He did not even give liberty to his own slaves. Perhaps he was convinced, before his death, that their condition would not be alleviated by giving them their freedom; as he had before him many examples of the degraded and unhappy situation of the free negroes in Virginia. Even those emancipated by the last will of General Washington, are said to have been great losers by the acquisition of their freedom. Mr. Jefferson, however, always manifested a decided approbation of the African colonization scheme;

and if he had been so disposed, he might have sent his slaves to Liberia. But the truth is, that Mr. Jefferson was so deeply involved in debt, at the time of his death, that no act of his in granting them liberty, would have taken effect, as they would have been seized to satisfy the demands of his creditors.

As well as can be ascertained by a diligent research, the first man who ever seriously contemplated sending a colony to Africa, was Doctor Thornton, a native of Virginia, but at the time when he conceived this plan, a resident of the city of Washington, where he is still remembered, as at the same time a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist. Dr. Thornton not only formed a plan of African colonization, but actually attempted its execution, intending to become himself the leader of the colony. Therefore, in the year 1787, he published an "Address" to the free people of colour in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, inviting them to accompany him to the western coast of Africa, with the view of planting a colony in the land of their forefathers. Although Dr. Hopkins's plan preceded this many years, yet his was rather a missionary, than a colonization scheme; although, as we have seen, it probably suggested the first idea of the colony at Sierra Leone. But Dr. Thornton was undoubtedly the first who conceived, and attempted to carry into effect, a plan for a colony of free coloured people on the western coast of Africa. The enterprise, as might have been expected, fell through for want of funds to carry it into effect. But it is pleasant to know, that this benevolent and enterprising man lived to see the Colonization Society formed, and in successful operation; to which he gave his cordial approbation, and was one of its first managers.

The condition of the slaves occupied the attention of many serious, sagacious men in Virginia, about the close of the last century. It was often a subject of free conversation among enlightened men, and their opinions generally were favourable to the emancipation of the slaves, both on principles of justice and sound policy. But the great difficulty was to know what disposal to make of them. To obviate this difficulty various plans were devised. Among the rest, the writer, then a resident of Virginia, remembers to have heard a very plausible plan for the emancipation of the slaves, and for their colonization in the northwestern territory, given in detail by William

Craighead, Esq., presiding magistrate in Lunenburg county, Virginia. Mr. Craighead was a native of the state of Delaware, but in early life settled in Hanover, where he became an elder in the church of the Rev. Samuel Davies, and an intimate friend of that celebrated evangelical preacher. During the revolutionary war he was an ardent, active patriot, and had the honour of suggesting some measures to promote unity and efficiency among the Americans, which were generally adopted. He was a man of sanguine temperament, strong good sense, and warm piety.

The outlines of Mr. Craighead's plans as nearly as can be remembered were, that emancipation should be gradual, and that none should be sent to the new colony but such as were fitted for colonists by some suitable preparatory education. At first the numbers sent were to be small, but as the colony increased, and as the number prepared by a suitable education were multiplied, the removal of them might go on in a ratio increasing every year. Their relation to the government of the United States was to be something analogous to that in which the Indians now stand. This plan related entirely to the slaves in Virginia, though equally applicable to other States.

That the subject of emancipating the slaves was a matter of serious inquiry and discussion in the State of Virginia, toward the close of the last century, is evident from the fact, that St. George Tucker, one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, professor of law in the College of William and Mary, and the editor of Blackstone's Commentaries, devised and published a plan for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the State. And although his scheme was by few considered feasible, yet the proposal of emancipation from such high authority created no excitement in the country. The plan was scanned, and its provisions discussed with as much calmness as ordinary political measures, in which all the citizens had an interest.

It will not, after what has been said, appear surprising that the Virginia Legislature, as early as December 1800, should have turned their attention to the subject of colonization. Their immediate object, doubtless, was to get rid of the free negroes, who were considered as not only useless members of society, but as exercising a very pernicious influence on the character of the slaves. Their action on the subject appears to have been not only secret, but extremely cautious. The resolution

which they passed almost unanimously, was couched in the following words, viz :

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *December 31, 1800.*

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed.

A copy from the House of Delegates.

WILLIAM WIRT, *Clerk, H. D.*

Taking this resolution by itself, we should not suppose that it had any reference to the free negroes, but that it was the object of the House to obtain a penal settlement for such persons as might be convicted of high crimes or misdemeanours against the laws of the State.

Mr. Monroe, being then Governor of Virginia, in compliance with the foregoing resolution, addressed the following letter to Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States :

RICHMOND, *June 15, 1801.*

SIR : I enclose you a resolution of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth, of the last session, by which it is made my duty to correspond with you on the subject of obtaining, by purchase, lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed. This resolution was produced by the conspiracy of the slaves which took place in this city and neighbourhood last year, and is applicable to that description only. The idea of such an acquisition was suggested by motives of humanity, it being intended by means thereof to provide an alternate mode of punishment for those described by the resolution, who, under the existing law, might be doomed to suffer death. It was deemed more humane, and, it is hoped, would be found in practice not less expedient, to transport such offenders beyond the limits of the State.

It seems to be the more obvious intention of the Legislature, as inferred from the resolution, to make the proposed acquisition of land in the vacant Western territory of the United States ; but it does not appear to me to preclude one without the limits of the Union. If a friendly Power would designate a tract of country within its jurisdiction, either on this continent or a neighbouring island, to which we might send such persons,

it is not improbable the Legislature might prefer it. In any event, an alternative could not be otherwise than desirable, since, after maturely weighing the condition and advantages of each position, the Legislature might still prefer that which appeared to it most eligible.

It is proper to remark, that the latter part of the resolution, which proposes the removal of such persons as are dangerous to the peace of society, may be understood as comprising many to whom the preceding member does not apply. Whether the Legislature intended to give it a more extensive import, or, rather, whether it contemplated removing from the country any but culprits condemned to suffer death, I will not pretend to decide. But, if the more enlarged construction of the resolution is deemed the true one, it furnishes, in my opinion, a strong additional motive why the Legislature, in disposing of this great concern, should command an alternative of places. As soon as the mind emerges, in contemplating the subject, beyond the contracted scale of providing a mode of punishment for offenders, vast and interesting objects present themselves to view. It is impossible not to involve in it the condition of those people, the embarrassment they have already occasioned us, and are still likely to subject us to. We perceive an existing evil, which commenced under our colonial system, with which we are not properly chargeable, or, if at all, not in the present degree; and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty in remedying it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them. It is in vain for the Legislature to deliberate on the subject, in the extent of which it is capable, with a view to adopt the system of policy which appears to it most wise and just, if it has not the means of executing it. To lead to a sound decision, and make the result a happy one, it is necessary that the field of practicable expedients be opened to its election on the widest possible scale.

Under this view of the subject, I shall be happy to be advised by you whether a tract of land in the Western territory of the United States can be procured for this purpose, in what quarter, and on what terms? And, also, whether a friendly Power will permit us to remove such persons within its limits, with like precision as to the place and conditions? It is possible a friendly Power may be disposed to promote a population of the

kind referred to, and willing to facilitate the measure by co-operating with us in the accomplishment of it. It may be convenient for you to sound such Powers, especially those more immediately in our neighbourhood, on the subject, in all the views which may appear to you to be suitable.

You will perceive that I invite your attention to a subject of great delicacy and importance, one which, in a peculiar degree, involves the future peace, tranquillity, and happiness, of the good people of this Commonwealth. I do it, however, in a confidence that you will take that interest in it which we are taught to expect from your conduct through life, which gives you so many high claims to our regard.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MONROE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

President of the United States.

From this letter of Mr. Monroe, it does appear, that the immediate occasion of adopting the foregoing resolution, in the secret session of the House of Delegates, was a recent alarming conspiracy of the negroes, in the city of Richmond itself, in which two black preachers of the Baptist denomination were the leaders. So many persons were more or less involved in this conspiracy, which had nearly come to maturity, that it seemed desirable to the Legislature to have some territory at their command, whither such as were not principals in the conspiracy might be sent, instead of inflicting capital punishment on so many. Whether any ulterior views were entertained by the House in regard to the free people of colour, in general, or even looking distantly to the removal of the slave population at a future time, does not appear. Mr. Monroe does, indeed, appear to have extended his views thus far; as part of his letter is taken up in deploring the evil of slavery, which had in their colonial state been inflicted on them. Mr. Jefferson's answer to Mr. Monroe's letter is dated November 24, 1801, and is as follows, viz.

WASHINGTON, *November 24, 1801.*

DEAR SIR: I had not been unmindful of your letter of June 15th, covering a resolution of the House of Representatives of Virginia, and referred to in yours of the 17th instant. The importance of the subject, and the belief that it gave us time for consideration till the next meeting of the Legislature, have in-

duced me to defer the answer to this date. You will perceive that some circumstances connected with the subject, and necessarily presenting themselves to view, would be improper but for your and the legislative ear. Their publication might have an ill effect in more than one quarter; in confidence of attention to this, I shall indulge greater freedom in writing.

Common malefactors, I presume, make no part of the object of that resolution. Neither their numbers, nor the nature of their offences, seem to require any provisions beyond those practised heretofore, and found adequate to the repression of ordinary crimes. Conspiracy, insurgency, treason, rebellion, among that description of persons who brought on us the alarm, and on themselves the tragedy of 1800, were doubtless within the view of every one; but many, perhaps, contemplated, and one expression of the resolution might comprehend, a much larger scope. Respect to both opinions makes it my duty to understand the resolution in all the extents of which it is susceptible.

The idea seems to be, to provide for these people by a purchase of land; and it is asked whether such a purchase can be made of the United States, in their Western territory? A very great extent of country north of the Ohio has been laid off into townships, and is now at market, according to the provisions of the acts of Congress, with which you are acquainted. There is nothing which would restrain the state of Virginia, either in the purchase or the application of these lands; but a purchase by the acre might, perhaps, be a more expensive provision than the House of Representatives contemplated. Questions would also arise, whether the establishment of such a colony within our limits, and to become a part of our Union, would be desirable to the State of Virginia itself, or to the other States, especially those who would be in its vicinity?

Could we procure lands beyond the limits of the United States, to form a receptacle for these people? On our Northern boundary the country not occupied by British subjects is the property of Indian nations, whose titles would be to be extinguished, with the consent of Great Britain; and the new settlers would be British subjects. It is hardly to be believed that either Great Britain or the Indian proprietors have so disinterested a regard for us as to be willing to relieve us by receiving such a colony themselves; and as much is it to be doubted

whether that race of men could long exist in so rigorous a climate. On our Western and Southern frontiers Spain holds an immense country; the occupancy of which, however, is in the Indian natives, except a few insulated spots possessed by Spanish subjects. It is very questionable, indeed, whether the Indians would sell—whether Spain would be willing to receive these people—and nearly certain that she would not alienate the sovereignty. The same question to ourselves would recur here also as did in the first case: Should we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? However our precedent interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, and cover the whole Northern, if not the Southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms and by similar laws. Nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture in that surface. Spain, France, and Portugal, hold possessions on the Southern continent, as to which I am not well enough informed to say how far they might meet our views. But either there or in the Northern continent, should the constituted authorities of Virginia fix their attention of preference, I will have the dispositions of those Powers sounded in the first instance.

The West Indies offer a more probable and practicable retreat for them. Inhabited already by a people of their own race and colour—climates congenial with their natural constitution, insulated from the other descriptions of men—nature seems to have formed these islands to become the receptacles of the blacks transplanted into this hemisphere. Whether we could obtain from the European sovereigns of those islands leave to send thither the persons under contemplation, I cannot say; but I think it more probable than the former proposition, because of their being already inhabited more or less by the same race. The most promising portion of them is the island of St. Domingo, where the blacks are established into a sovereignty *de facto*, and have organized themselves under regular laws and government. I should conjecture that their present ruler might be willing on many considerations to receive even that description which would be exiled for acts deemed criminal by us, but meritorious perhaps by him. The possibility that these exiles might stimulate and conduct vindictive or predatory descents

on our coast, and facilitate concert with their brethren remaining here, looks to a state of things between that island and us not probable, on a contemplation of our relative strength, and of the disproportion daily growing; and it is overweighed by the humanity of the measures proposed, and the advantages of disembarassing ourselves of such dangerous characters. Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort, if all others more desirable should fail us. Whenever the Legislature of Virginia shall have brought its mind to a point, so that I may know exactly what to propose to foreign authorities, I will execute their wishes with fidelity and zeal. I hope, however, they will pardon me for suggesting a single question for their own consideration. When we contemplate the variety of countries and of sovereigns towards which we may direct our views, the vast revolutions and changes of circumstances which are now in a course of progression, the possibilities that arrangements now to be made with a view to any particular place may at no great distance of time be totally deranged by a change of sovereignty, of government, or of other circumstances, it will be for the Legislature to consider whether, after they shall have made all those general provisions which may be fixed by legislative authority, it would be reposing too much confidence in their Executive to leave the place of relegation to be decided on by them, and executed with the aid of the Federal Executive? They could accommodate their arrangements to the actual state of things in which countries or powers may be found to exist at that day, and may prevent the effect of the law from being defeated by intervening changes. This, however, is for them to decide. Our duty will be to respect their decision.

Accept assurances, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

GOVERNOR MONROE.

From this letter it appears that Mr. Jefferson was at a loss to understand the full meaning and extent of the resolution; but judged it best to allow to it the utmost latitude of construction. His objections to the purchase of any territory within the limits of the United States were judicious, and his preference of the West Indies, especially of St. Domingo, seems to have been founded on just views.

Upon the reception of Mr. Jefferson's letter, Mr. Monroe communicated it to the House of Delegates, accompanied with

the following message, evidently intended to elicit a more full expression of the object which they had in view, in their first resolution. The message is as follows:

RICHMOND, *December 21, 1801.*

SIR: I have the pleasure to communicate to the General Assembly a copy of my correspondence with the President of the United States, in compliance with the resolution of 31st December last, relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of the State, to which persons obnoxious to its laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed. As it was known that the United States had lands for sale in the territory lying between the Ohio and Mississippi, a proposition to make the acquisition by purchase conveyed the idea of a preference for a tract in that quarter; but as such preference was not declared, and a liberal construction of the resolution admitted a greater scope, I thought it my duty to open the subject in that light to the President. His reply has stated fully and ably the objections which occur to such an establishment within the limits of the United States. He also presents to view all the other places, on the continent and elsewhere, which furnish alternatives, with the advantages attending each, and assures us of the promptitude that he will cooperate in carrying into effect whatever plan the Legislature may adopt in reference to the object contemplated. It remains, therefore, for the General Assembly to explain more fully the description of persons who are to be thus transported, and the place to which it is disposed to give the preference. As soon as its sense is declared on these points, I shall hasten to communicate the same to the President, and shall not fail to lay the result before you at your next session. It is proper to add, that it is the wish of the President that the communication be considered as confidential.

I am, sir, with great respect and esteem, your very humble servant,

JAMES MONROE.

This led to the following explanation by the House of Delegates, passed January 16, 1802, and agreed to by the Senate, January 23, 1802.

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, *Saturday, January 16, 1802.*

The Legislature of the Commonwealth, by their resolution of December last, having authorized the Governor to corres-

pond with the President of the United States relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society might be removed, from which general expressions a difference of construction has prevailed, to reconcile which, recourse must be had to the actual state of things which produced the resolution; therefore, resolved, that, as the resolution was not intended to embrace offenders for ordinary crimes, to which the laws have been found equal, but only those for conspiracy, insurgency, treason, and rebellion, among those particular persons who produced the alarm in this State in the fall of 1800, the Governor be requested, in carrying the said resolution into effect upon the construction here given, to request the President of the United States, in procuring the lands, to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America.

Resolved, also, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum; and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain, on behalf of those who may remove or be sent thither, the sovereignty of such place. Resolved, also, that the Governor lay before the next General Assembly the result of his communication, to be subject to their control.

WILLIAM WIRT, *C. H. D.*

January 23, 1802.—Agreed to by the Senate.

H. BROOKE, *C. S.*

A copy.—Test:

JAMES PLEASANTS, JR. *C. H. D.*

Whatever might have been the views of the preceding Legislature, the present House of Delegates appear to have contemplated the acquisition of a territory to which all free negroes, who should be willing, might be sent; and they also extended their views to such free negroes, and mulattoes as might hereafter be emancipated. They seem also to have abandoned the idea of a colony within the limits of the United States, and expressed their preference to the continent of Africa, or to some place in South America. Their objection to the West Indies,

and especially to St. Domingo, though not expressed, is obvious. That island was too near to the United States.

Here the matter seems to have rested, until the year 1804, when Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Mr. Page, the then governor of Virginia, in which he himself relinquishes the idea of St. Domingo, and speaks of the territory of Louisiana, just purchased by the American government. The letter is as follows:

WASHINGTON, *December 27, 1804.*

DEAR SIR: Resuming the subject of the resolutions of the House of Delegates of December 31st, 1800, January 16th, 1802, and February 3d, 1804, I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances has taken place which enables me yet to propose any specific asylum for the persons who are the subjects of our correspondence. The island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient recourse, is too unsettled in the conditions of its existence to be looked to as yet for any permanent arrangements; and the European nations have territories in the same quarter, and possess the same kind of population. Whether the inhabitants of our late acquisition beyond the Mississippi, or the National Legislature, would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated, is not within my competence to say.

My last information as to Sierra Leone is, that the company was proposing to deliver up their colony to their Government. Should this take place, it might furnish occasion for another effort to procure an incorporation of ours into it. An attack during the war has done the settlement considerable injury.

I beg you to be assured that, having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion which may occur of giving it effect.

Accept my affectionate salutations, and assurances of great respect and consideration.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Governor PAGE.

This letter led to the following resolution of the House of Delegates, dated December 3, 1804, and agreed to by the Senate, January 22, 1805.

General Assembly begun and held at the Capitol in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on Monday the third day of December,

in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the Commonwealth the twenty-ninth:

Resolved, That the Senators of this State in the Congress of the United States be instructed, and the Representatives be requested, to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory, in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of colour as have been or shall be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety: *Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.

H. HOLMES,

Speaker of the House of Delegates.

Agreed to January 22d, 1805.

C. TAYLOR,

Speaker of the Senate.

A copy.—Test :

JAMES PLEASANTS, JR., C. H. D.

On the suggestion contained in Mr. Jefferson's letter, the Legislature had their attention entirely turned to a portion of the vacant territory of Louisiana. And as their resolution contained instructions to the senators in Congress, and a request to the representatives of the State, to endeavour to procure such a territory, it was sent by Governor Page to them, accompanied by the following note, viz.

RICHMOND, *February 2, 1805.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honour to enclose a resolution of the General Assembly, for an explanation of which I beg leave to refer you to the copies of letters which passed between the President of the United States and Governor Monroe, and to one written by the President to me, and by this mail transmitted to our Senators in Congress; but, for more satisfactory information, I would refer you to the President himself, to whom I shall apologize for requesting you to trouble him on this occasion; but I know that he will with pleasure give you all the information you may require. From the nature of the delicate business contemplated in the resolution, you will see the propriety of its being considered confidential.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN PAGE.

THE REPRESENTATIVES from Virginia in Congress.

To render our history complete, it is proper to mention here, that Ann Mifflin, no doubt of the Society of Friends, had conceived the plan of a colony on the western coast of Africa, and through a Mr. Lynd, applied to Mr. Jefferson for his opinion, respecting the practicability of such an enterprise. Mr. Jefferson's answer is interesting, and contains several important items of information, no where else to be found. The letter is as follows.

MONTICELLO, *January 21, 1811.*

SIR: You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa an establishment to which the people of colour of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that I have ever thought *that the most desirable measure which could be adopted* for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment here a blessing in the end to that country.

I received, in the *last* year of my entering into the administration of the general government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting me, at the request of the Legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some such asylum, to which these people might be occasionally sent. I proposed to him the establishment of Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these States during the revolutionary war; and at the same time suggested, if that could not be obtained, some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable.

The subsequent Legislature approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr. King, our minister in London, to endeavour to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company, and induce them to receive such of these people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. W—— and Mr. Thornton, secretary of the company, on the subject; and, in 1803, I received, through Mr. King, the result; which

was that the colony was going on in but a languishing condition; that the funds of the company were likely to fail, as they received no return of profit to keep them up; that they were then in treaty with the government to take the establishment off their hands; but that in no event should they be willing to receive more of these people from the United States, as it was that portion of settlers who had gone from the United States, who, by their idleness and turbulence, had kept the settlement in constant danger of dissolution, which could not have been prevented, but for the aid of the Maroon negroes from the West Indies, who were more industrious and orderly than the others, and supported the authority of the government and its laws.

I think I learned afterwards that the British government had taken the colony into their own hands, and I believe it still exists.

The effort which I made with Portugal, to obtain an establishment from them, within their colonies in South America, proved also abortive.

You inquired, further, "whether I would use my endeavours to procure such an establishment, secure against violence from other powers, and particularly the French." *Certainly, I shall be willing to do any thing I can to give it effect and safety.*

But I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavours with individuals; whereas *the National Government* can address themselves at once to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with those nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself, and so important to a great portion of its constituents; indeed, *nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*

Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray *all its expenses*; but for this the national mind is not prepared. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether many of these people would voluntarily consent to such an exchange of situation, and but few of those who are advanced to a certain age in habits of slavery would be capable of governing themselves. This should not, however, discourage the experiment, nor the early trial of it. And pro-

positions should be made, with all the prudent caution and attention requisite to reconcile it to the interest, the safety, and prejudice of all parties.

Accept the assurance of my respect and esteem.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

This letter not only informs us of the efforts made by Mr. Jefferson, to obtain a suitable territory for the colonization of the free people of colour, but also gives us to understand the deep interest which he felt in the subject, and his readiness to cooperate with the Legislature of his native State, in carrying their views into full effect.

All the proceedings of the Legislature of Virginia were in secret sessions; and their attempts to acquire a suitable territory for a colony having failed, nothing further was done until the year 1816, when Charles Fenton Mercer, Esq., having become a member of the Virginia Legislature, heard, by mere accident, of the secret resolutions which had been passed at a former session, and having satisfied himself of their nature, by reference to the recorded minutes of the House, resolved to bring up the subject anew. But as we have Mr. Mercer's own account of this matter in a speech delivered at a public dinner given to him in Charleston, Kenhawa county, we will give it in his own words.

Having been complimented, among other things, on account of the part which he had taken in forming the Colonization Society, he replied as follows:

"With respect to the first of them, (the secret resolutions,) I can truly say, that the intelligence broke in upon me like a ray of light through the profoundest gloom, and by a mere accident which occurred in the spring of 1816, that upon two several occasions, very early in the present century, the General Assembly of Virginia had invited the aid of the United States to obtain a territory, beyond their limits, whereon to colonize certain portions of our coloured population. For the evidence of these facts, then new to me, I was referred to the clerk of the Senate, by the friend who revealed them, and in the private records of that body I found them verified.

"It was then too near the close of the session of the Legislature to attempt immediate action on the subject; but in a few weeks after this, I concerted with Francis S. Key, of Georgetown, and Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, in the District of

Columbia, a plan for doing so ; and bound to no concealment myself, though the facts which had been disclosed to me were from the secret journals of the Senate, I made them publicly known in several States, as well as through our own, on my way to the North during the ensuing summer, receiving every where promises of pecuniary aid, and of active cooperation, provided, as I announced it to be my intention, I renewed a similar proposition at the next session of our General Assembly.

“Accordingly, in December 1816, prior to the organization of the American Colonization Society, but with a view to its approaching formation, of which I was apprised by Mr. Key, I presented to the House of Delegates a resolution which stands recorded on its journal, asking the aid of the general government, to procure in Africa or elsewhere, beyond the limits of the United States, a territory on which to colonize our free people of colour who might be disposed to avail themselves of such an asylum, and such of our slaves as their masters might please to emancipate. This resolution passed the House of Delegates with but nine, and the Senate with but one, dissenting voice. It was discussed and adopted in secret session, but the injunction of secrecy was taken off at the instance of the mover. The American Colonization Society was formed in the city of Washington early in the ensuing month of January.”

The following were the resolutions proposed by General Mercer, and adopted by the Legislature of Virginia.

“Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of colour as have been, or may be, emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success ;

“They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this commonwealth, both before and since the Revolution, zealously sought to exterminate,) to renew this effort. Therefore,

“*Resolved*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the States, or territorial government of

the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same; and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth, and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects;

“Provided, That no contract or arrangement, respecting such territory, shall be obligatory on this commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.

“After organizing in my immediate neighbourhood several auxiliary societies, at the request of the managers of the parent society in Washington, I repaired to the city of Baltimore, where, by sundry addresses to the people, in one of which I was sustained by Francis S. Key, and by personal applications to the citizens, in which I was accompanied from place to place for many days by Robert Purviance, we succeeded in obtaining a subscription of near \$5000, to defray the expenses of the expedition of Messrs. Mills and Burgess, to explore the coast of Africa in order to select a suitable place for the proposed colony. At the same time Bishop Mead, of Virginia, was alike active and successful in procuring pecuniary aid for the same object in the opulent and liberal society in Frederick, Virginia, of which he was then the pastor.”

As these resolutions contain the very principles on which the Colonization Society was formed, and were prior, in time, to the formation of the American Colonization Society, it might, at first view, seem that the honour of being the father of the enterprise of right belonged to this gentleman, especially as it is more than probable that Dr. Finley, the brother-in-law of Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., had heard, during the summer of 1816, of what had been secretly transacted in the General Assembly of Virginia, and of Mr. Mercer's intention again to bring the subject before that body at the earliest opportunity. The truth, however, is, that Dr. Finley had the condition of the free people of colour on his mind early in the year 1815; for we find a letter from him addressed to John O. Mumford, Esq. of the city of New York, dated February 15, 1815, of which the following is an extract:

“DEAR SIR—The longer I live to see the wretchedness of men, the more I admire the virtue of those who desire, and

with patience labour, to execute plans for the relief of the wretched. On this subject the state of the *free blacks* has very much occupied my mind. Their number increases greatly, and their wretchedness, as appears to me. Every thing connected with their condition, including their colour, is against them. Nor is there much prospect that their state can ever be greatly meliorated while they shall continue among us. Could not the rich and benevolent devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to that of Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle, devising for them the means of getting there, and protection and support until they were established? Could they be sent back to Africa, a threefold benefit would arise. We should be clear of them—we should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized, for its benefit—and our blacks themselves would be put in a better situation. Think much on this subject, and then write me when you have leisure.”

From the above letter, it is manifest that Dr. Finley had the scheme of a colony of free blacks on the western coast of Africa fully in his mind more than a year before Mr. Mercer knew any thing about the secret resolutions of the Virginia Legislature.

As the Rev. Dr. Robert Finley must ever hold a conspicuous place in the history of African colonization, whatever may be the result of the enterprise, it cannot but be gratifying to the reader to know some particulars respecting him. Dr. Finley was a native of the borough of Princeton, New Jersey, to which place his parents had come from Scotland, in company with the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, who was called to preside over the College of New Jersey, situated in that place. His parents were pious and respectable, but poor. Their son giving evidence of good capacity, was put to learning, and received his whole education under the tuition of Dr. Witherspoon and Dr. S. S. Smith. He was graduated when very young, and after spending some time as tutor in the New Jersey College, he turned his attention to theology, and put himself on trial as a candidate for the ministry, under the Presbytery of New Brunswick, by which he was, in due course, licensed to preach the gospel. Soon after his licensure he received a call to settle in the congregation of Basking Ridge, in Morris county, New Jersey. Being convinced that his usefulness would be promoted by the

institution of a classical academy in this healthy place, he at once engaged in the enterprise, and was, in an eminent degree successful as a teacher of youth. His academy became celebrated through the country, and a number of the most eminent men in New Jersey, both in church and state, laid the foundation of their eminence in the thorough training which they received in this school. And its beneficial influence was not confined to the State, for many from other and distant parts of the country resorted to the Basking Ridge Academy. Neither was he negligent of the spiritual interests of the flock committed to his pastoral care. He was an able, evangelical, and uncommonly successful preacher, and under his ministry a large number was gathered into his church. Indeed, no man seemed to be actuated by a warmer zeal for the advancement of religion and the conversion of souls than Dr. Finley, and his preaching was of that popular and impressive kind, which is calculated to be generally profitable, as well as popular.

Some time before he commenced the plan of a colony for the free blacks on the coast of Africa, his mind appeared to be much excited and deeply impressed with the importance of devising and carrying into execution some benevolent enterprise. To a friend in Princeton, still living, he said one day, with ardent and strong emotion, "that when he considered what many others had effected for the benefit of their suffering fellow creatures before they had reached his age, he was humbled and mortified to think how little he had done, and, at the same time, expressed a strong determination to engage in some benevolent enterprise which might tell upon the welfare of his fellow creatures." Not many months afterwards, meeting with the same friend, he disclosed to him the plan of a colony of free blacks on the western coast of Africa, and from this time seemed to have his mind completely occupied with the scheme, which he took every opportunity of proposing to his friends, endeavouring to show that the enterprise was not only good in itself, but practicable. All seemed to admit that the design was good, both as it related to the free negroes, and to the dark continent of Africa; but few of them could be persuaded that there was any probability that such a scheme could be carried into effect, and although they did not oppose it, they did not at once enter very zealously into his views. But his purpose was fixed, and nothing could dissuade him from making the attempt.

And accordingly he began to take measures to have a colonization society formed. The first public meeting which ever took place to consider the subject of African colonization in this country, was held in the Presbyterian church in the borough of Princeton. It was called by Dr. Finley, when he explained to a small assemblage the plan of the society which he wished to be formed, and called on the writer to address the people. He made some observations on the object aimed at. The meeting was small, but in the number of attendants were most of the professors of the College and of the Theological Seminary. It was apparent that the interest of those to whom the scheme was made known was increased the longer they thought upon it.

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS AT WASHINGTON.

DR. FINLEY, having matured his plan for colonizing the free people of colour on the western coast of Africa, proceeded to the city of Washington, when congress was in session, and having consulted with his friends, particularly with Elias B. Caldwell and Francis S. Key, Esqs., who entered with all their heart into his scheme, it was thought expedient to call a public meeting, and particularly to invite some of the most distinguished men then in Washington to attend. Accordingly, on the 21st day of December, 1816, the Hon. Henry Clay was called to the chair, and Mr. Thomas Dougherty acted as Secretary.

Mr. Clay, on taking the chair, made an address, of which the following is the substance as reported for the National Intelligencer. After expressing his regret that Judge Washington was not present to preside, he said, "He understood the object of the present meeting to be, to consider of the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of colour in the United States, and of forming an association in relation to that object. That class of the mixed population of our country

was peculiarly situated. They neither enjoyed the immunities of freemen, nor were they subject to the incapacities of slaves, but partook in some degree of the qualities of both. From their condition, and the unconquerable prejudices resulting from their colour, they never could amalgamate with the free whites of this country. It was desirable, therefore, both as it respected them and the residue of the population of the country, to draw them off. Various schemes of colonization had been thought of, and a part of our own continent, it was thought by some, might furnish a suitable establishment for them, but for his part he had a decided preference for some part of the coast of Africa. There ample provision might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction, into that extensive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization and Christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring them to the land of their fathers. And if, instead of the evils and sufferings which we have been the innocent cause of inflicting upon the inhabitants of Africa, we can transmit to her the blessings of our arts, our civilization, and our religion, may we not hope that America will extinguish a great portion of that moral debt which she has contracted to that unfortunate continent? We should derive much encouragement in the prosecution of the object which had assembled us together, by the success which had attended the colony at Sierra Leone. That establishment had commenced about twenty or twenty-five years ago, under the patronage of private individuals in Great Britain. The basis of the population of the colony consisted of the fugitive slaves of the Southern States, during the revolutionary war, who had first been carried to Nova Scotia, and who afterwards, about the year 1792, upon their own application, almost in mass, had been transferred to the western coast of Africa. The colony after struggling with the most unheard of difficulties—difficulties resulting from the ignorance, barbarity, and prejudice of the natives, from the climate, (which were however, found to be not at all insurmountable,) from wars, African as well as European, and such as are incidental to all new settlements, had made a gradual and steady progress, until it has acquired a strength and stability which promises to crown the efforts of its founders with complete success. We have their experience before us, and can there be a nobler cause than that which, while it proposes to rid our own country of a

useless and pernicious, if not a dangerous portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted portion of the globe?

“It was proper and necessary distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of this meeting to touch or agitate, in the slightest degree, a delicate question connected with another portion of the coloured population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate on, or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the south and west, whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to cooperate. It was upon that condition only that he himself attended. He would only further add, that he hoped in their deliberations they would be guided by that moderation, politeness, and deference for the opinion of each other which were essential to any useful result. But when he looked around and saw the respectable assemblage, and recollected the humane and benevolent purpose which had produced it, he felt it unnecessary to insist further on this topic.”

As soon as Mr. Clay had ended his address, Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., rose and spoke as follows:

“I feel peculiar embarrassment in obtruding myself upon the notice of so large and respectable a meeting, in which I find some of the most distinguished characters of our country. I ask your indulgence in offering to the consideration of the meeting the resolutions which I hold in my hand, and to a few explanatory observations. The objects of the meeting have been feelingly and correctly stated by the honourable chairman. The subject seems to be divided into—

“1st. The expediency; and, 2dly, the practicability of the proposed plan.

“The expediency of colonizing the free people of colour in the United States, may be considered in reference to its influence on our civil institutions, on the morals and habits of the people, and on the future happiness of the free people of colour. It has been a subject of unceasing regret and anxious solicitude among many of our best patriots and wisest statesmen, from the first establishment of our independence, that this class of people should remain a monument of reproach to those sacred

principles of civil liberty which constitute the foundations of all our constitutions. We say in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and have certain "unalienable rights." Yet it is considered impossible, consistently with the safety of the State, and it is certainly impossible with the present feelings towards these people, that they can ever be placed upon this equality, or admitted to the enjoyment of these "inalienable rights" while they remain mixed with us. Some persons may declaim and call it prejudice. No matter. Prejudice is as powerful a motive, and will as certainly exclude them as the soundest reason. Others may say they are free enough. If this is a matter of opinion let them judge—if of reason, let it be decided by our repeated and solemn declarations in all our public acts. This state of society unquestionably tends, in various ways, to injure the morals and destroy the habits of industry among our people. This will be acknowledged by every person who has paid any attention to the subject, and it seems to be so generally admitted that it would promote the happiness of the people, and the interest of the people, to provide a place where these people might be settled by themselves, that it is unnecessary to dwell on this branch of the subject.

"As to the blacks, it is manifest that their interest and happiness would be promoted by collecting them together where they would enjoy equal rights and privileges with those around them. A state of degradation is necessarily a state of unhappiness. It debases the mind, it damps the energies of the soul, and represses every vigorous effort towards moral or intellectual greatness. How can you expect from them any thing great or noble without the motives to stimulate, or the rewards to crown great and noble achievements? It not only prevents their climbing the steep and rugged paths of fame, but it prevents the enjoyment of the true happiness of calm contentment, satisfied with enjoying but a part of what we possess, of using only a portion of what is in our power. Take away, however, the portion that is not used, and it immediately becomes the object of our fondest desires. The more you endeavour to improve the condition of these people, the more you cultivate their minds, (unless by religious instruction,) the more miserable you make them in their present state. You give them a higher relish for those privileges which they can never attain,

and turn what we intend for a blessing into a curse. No, if they must remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of degradation and ignorance. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely, Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines, to cry peace and contentment to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty. They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be the foremost to extend it to others.

“I will consider the practicability of colonization under three heads: The territory—the expense—and the probability of obtaining their consent.

“1. The territory. Various plans have been mentioned by different persons. A situation within our own territory would certainly possess some considerable advantage. It would be more immediately under the eye and control of our own government. But there are some real and some apprehended evils to encounter. Many apprehend that they might hereafter join the Indians, or the nations bordering on our frontiers in case of war, if they were placed so near us—that the colony would become the asylum of fugitives and runaway slaves. Added to these difficulties there are inveterate prejudices against such a plan in so large a portion of the country, which would be impossible to overcome or remove. Upon mature reflection, with all the light that has yet been shed upon the subject, I believe it will be found that Africa will be liable to the fewest objections. A territory might, no doubt, be procured there; the climate is best adapted to their constitutions, and they could live cheaper. But, Mr. Chairman, I have a greater and nobler object in view in desiring them to be placed in Africa. It is the belief that through them civilization and the Christian religion would be introduced into that benighted quarter of the world. It is the hope of redeeming many millions of people from the lowest state of superstition and ignorance, and restoring them to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Great and powerful as are the other motives to this measure, (and I acknowledge them to be of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention and to call forth the united efforts of this nation,) in my opinion, and you will find it the opinion of a large class of the community, all other motives are small and

trifling compared with the hope of spreading among them the knowledge of the gospel. From the importance of this view of the subject permit me to enlarge a little upon it. Whatever may be the difference of opinion among the different denominations of Christians, I believe they will all be found to unite in the belief that the Scriptures predict a time when the gospel of Jesus Christ shall be spread over every part of the world; shall be acknowledged by every nation, and perhaps shall influence every heart. The opinion is, perhaps, as general, that this glorious and happy day is near at hand. The great movements and mighty efforts in the moral and religious world seem to indicate some great design of Providence on the eve of accomplishment. The unexampled and astonishing success attending the various and numerous plans which have been devised and which are now in operation in different parts of the world, and the union and harmony with which Christians of different denominations unite in promoting these plans, clearly indicate a divine hand in their direction. Nay, sir, the subject on which we are now deliberating has been brought to public view nearly at the same time in different parts of our country. In New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places not known to me, the public attention seems to have been awakened as from a slumber to this subject. The belief that I have mentioned, leads Christians to look with anxious solicitude and joyful hope to every movement which they believe to be instrumental in accomplishing the great designs of Providence. They will receive your proposal with joy, and support it with zeal; and permit me to say, that it will be of no small consequence to gain the zealous support and cooperation of this portion of the community.

“On the subject of expense I should hope there would not be much difference of opinion. All are interested, though some portions of the community are more immediately so than others. We should consider that what affects a part of our country is interesting to the whole. Besides, it is a great national object, and ought to be supported by a national purse. And, as has been justly observed by the honourable gentleman in the chair, there ought to be a national atonement for the wrongs and injuries which Africa has suffered. For although the State Legislatures commenced early after our independence to put a stop to the slave trade, and the National Government interfered

as soon as the constitution would permit, yet as a nation, we cannot rid ourselves entirely from the guilt and disgrace attending that iniquitous traffic, until we, as a nation, have made every reparation in our power. If, however, more funds are wanting than is thought expedient to appropriate out of the public treasury, the liberality and humanity of our citizens will not suffer it to fail for want of pecuniary aid. I should be sorry, however, to see our government dividing any part of the glory and honour which cannot fail of attending the accomplishment of a work so great, so interesting, and which will tend so much to diffuse the blessings of civil liberty, and promote the happiness of man.

“Among the objections which have been made, I must confess that I am most surprised at one which seems to be prevalent, to wit, that these people will be unwilling to be colonized. What, sir, are they not men? Will they not be actuated by the same motives of interest and ambition which influence other men? Or, will they prefer remaining in a hopeless state of degradation for themselves and their children, to the prospect of the full enjoyment of their civil rights and a state of equality? What brought our ancestors to these shores? They had no friendly hand to lead them, no powerful human arm to protect them. They left the land of their nativity, the sepulchres of their fathers, the comforts of civilized society, and all the endearments of friends and relatives, and early associations, to traverse the ocean, to clear the forests, to encounter all the hardships of a new settlement, and to brave the dangers of the tomahawk and scalping knife. How many were destroyed! Sometimes whole settlements cut off by disease and hunger, by the treachery and cruelty of the savages; yet were they not discouraged. What is it impels many Europeans daily to seek our shores, and to sell themselves for the prime of their life to defray the expenses of their passages? It is that ruling, imperious desire, planted in the breast of every man, the desire of liberty, of standing upon an equality with his fellow men. If we were to add to these motives the offer of land, and to aid in the expense of emigration and of first settling, they cannot be so blind to their own interest, so devoid of every generous and noble feeling, as to hesitate about accepting of the offer. It is not a matter of speculation and opinion only. It has been satisfactorily ascertained that numbers will gladly accept of the

invitation. And when once the colony is formed, and flourishing, all other obstacles will be easily removed. It is for us to make the experiment and the offer; we shall then, and not till then, have discharged our duty. It is a plan in which all interests, all classes and descriptions of people may unite, in which all discordant feelings may be lost in those of humanity, in promoting 'peace on earth and good will to men.'"

When Mr. Caldwell had concluded, the honourable John Randolph of Roanoke, rose and said, that it had been properly observed by the chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition submitted to consideration which, in the smallest degree, touched another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much out of view as possible. But it appeared to him that it had not been sufficiently insisted on, with a view to obtain the cooperation of all the citizens of the United States, not only that this meeting does not in any wise affect the question of negro slavery, but as far as it goes, must materially tend to secure the property of every master in the United States over his slaves. It appeared to him that this aspect of the question, had not been sufficiently presented to the public view. It was a notorious fact, that the existence of this mixed and intermediate population of free negroes was viewed by every slave-holder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity and unprofitableness of slave property; that they serve to excite in their fellow beings a feeling of discontent, of repining at their situation, and that they act as channels of communication, not only between different slaves, but between the slaves of different districts; that they are the depositaries of stolen goods, and the promoters of mischief. In a worldly point of view then, without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them; they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject. There was a popular work on agriculture, by John Taylor of Caroline county, which was widely circulated, and much confided in, in Virginia. In that book, much read, because coming from a practical man, this description of people was pointed out as a great evil. If a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds,

may thousands of citizens, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession.

Mr. Robert Wright, of Maryland, said that he could not withhold his approbation of a measure that had for its object the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of colour, whose degraded state robs them of the happiness of self-government, so dear to the American people. "And, said he, as I discover the most delicate regard to the rights of property, I shall, with great pleasure, lend my aid to restore this unfortunate people to the enjoyment of their liberty; but I fear gentlemen are too sanguine in their expectations, that they would be willing to abandon the land of their nativity, so dear to man. However, I have the disposition to give them that election, by furnishing all the means contemplated. But while we wish to promote the happiness of these free people of colour, we ought to take care not to furnish the means of transporting out of the reach of the master his property."

Mr. Caldwell offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

"The situation of the free people of colour in the United States, has been the subject of anxious solicitude with many of our most distinguished citizens, from the first existence of our country as an independent nation: but the great difficulty and embarrassment attending the establishment of an infant nation, when first struggling into existence, and the subsequent convulsions of Europe, have hitherto prevented any great national effort to provide a remedy for the evils existing or apprehended. The present period seems peculiarly auspicious to invite attention to this important subject, and gives a well grounded hope of success. The nations of Europe are hushed into peace; unexampled efforts are making in various parts of the world to diffuse knowledge, civilization, and the benign influence of the Christian religion. The rights of man are becoming daily better understood; the legitimate objects of government, as founded for the benefit and intended for the happiness of men, are more generally acknowledged, and an ardent zeal for the happiness of the human race is kindled in almost every heart. Desirous of aiding in the great cause of philanthropy and of promoting the happiness and prosperity

of our country, it is recommended by this meeting to form an association or society for the purpose of giving aid and assisting in the colonization of the free people of colour in the United States,—Therefore

Resolved, That an association or society be formed for the purpose of collecting information, and to assist in the formation and execution of a plan for the colonization of the free people of colour with their consent, in Africa or elsewhere, as may be thought most advisable by the constituted authorities of the country.

Resolved, That Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Walter Jones, Francis S. Key, Robert Wright, James H. Blake, and John Peter, be a committee to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought most advisable, for procuring a territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable for the colonization of the free people of colour.

Resolved, That Francis S. Key, Bushrod Washington, Elias B. Caldwell, James Breckenridge, Walter Jones, Richard Rush, and William G. D. Worthington, be a committee to prepare a constitution and rules for the government of the association or society, above mentioned, and report the same to the next meeting for consideration.”

The meeting now adjourned until the ensuing Saturday, when they again assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives of the United States, when the following constitution was presented by the committee appointed for that purpose, and after being considered was unanimously adopted.

“Article I.—This society shall be called, ‘The American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.’

Article II.—The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent,) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the society shall act, to effect this object, in cooperation with the general government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Article III.—Every citizen of the United States, who shall subscribe these articles, and be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the society, shall be a member. On

paying a sum not less than thirty dollars, at one subscription, he shall be a member for life.

Article IV.—The officers of this society shall be, a President, thirteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the above named officers, and twelve other members of the society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the society, at their annual meeting on New Year's day, (except when that happens to be the Sabbath, and then the next day,) and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

Article V.—It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the society, and of the Board of Managers, and to call meetings of the society, and of the Board, when he thinks necessary, or when requested by any three members of the Board.

Article VI.—The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

Article VII.—The Secretary shall take minutes of the proceedings, prepare and publish notices, and discharge such other duties as the Board, or the President, or in his absence the Vice-President, according to seniority, (when the Board is not sitting) shall direct. And the Recorder shall record the proceedings and the names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

Article VIII.—The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the accounts and exhibit a statement of receipts and expenditures at every annual meeting, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

Article IX.—The Board of Managers shall meet on the first Monday in January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in July, and the first Monday in October, every year, and at such other times as the President may direct. They shall conduct the business of the society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or shall be directed at the meetings of the society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this constitution.

Article X.—Every society which shall be formed in the United States to aid in the object of this association, and which shall cooperate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto, and its officers shall be entitled to attend and vote at all meetings of the society, and of the Board of Managers.”

The American Colonization Society being now formed by the adoption of a constitution, held its first meeting on the first day of January 1817, when the following officers were chosen:

PRESIDENT.—Hon. Bushrod Washington.

VICE PRESIDENTS.—Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Hon. William Phillips, of Massachusetts, Col. Henry Rutgers, of New York, Hon. John E. Howard, Hon. Samuel Smith, and the Hon. John C. Herbert, of Maryland, John Taylor, Esq., of Virginia, General Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, Robert Ralston, and Richard Rush, Esqs., of Pennsylvania, Gen. John Mason, of the District of Columbia, Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey.

MANAGERS.—Francis S. Key, Walter Jones, John Laird, Rev. Dr. James Laurie, Rev. Stephen B. Balch, Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, James H. Blake, John Peter, Edmund J. Lee, William Thornton, Jacob Hoffinan, Henry Carroll.

SECRETARY.—Elias B. Caldwell.

RECORDING SECRETARY.—W. G. D. Worthington.

TREASURER.—David English.

It was, among other things, resolved by this meeting of the society, “That the Board of Managers be instructed and required, to present a memorial to Congress, on the subject of colonizing, with their consent, the free people of colour of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere.”

The Board, as directed, had a memorial prepared and presented to both Houses of Congress, of which the following is a copy, viz:

MEMORIAL.

The memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States,

Respectfully Shows—That your memorialists are delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citizens, recently organized at the seat of government, to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage, and the

resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution; an object deemed worthy of the earnest attention, and of the strenuous and persevering exertions, as well of every patriot, in whatever condition of life, as of every enlightened, philanthropic, and practical statesman.

It is now reduced to be a maxim, equally approved in philosophy and practice, that the existence of distinct and separate castes, or classes forming exceptions to the general system of policy adapted to the community, is an inherent vice in the composition of society; pregnant with baneful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove it. If this maxim be true in the general, it applies with peculiar force to the relative condition of the free people of colour in the United States, between whom and the rest of the community a combination of causes, political, physical, and moral, has created distinctions, unavoidable in their origin, and most unfortunate in their consequences. The actual and prospective condition of that class of people, their anomalous and indefinite relations to the political institutions and social ties of the community, their deprivation of most of those independent, political, and social rights, so indispensable to the progressive melioration of our nature; rendered, by systematic exclusion from all the higher rewards of excellence, dead to all the elevating hopes that might prompt a generous ambition to excel; all these considerations demonstrate that it equally imports the public good, and the individual and social happiness of the persons more immediately concerned; that it is equally a debt of patriotism and of humanity to provide some adequate and effectual remedy. The evil has become so apparent and the necessity for a remedy so palpable, that some of the most considerable of the slave holding States have been induced to impose restraints upon the practice of emancipation, by annexing conditions which have no effect but to transfer the evil from one State to another, or by inducing other States to adopt countervailing regulations, end in the total abrogation of a right, which benevolent or conscientious proprietors had long enjoyed under all the sanctions of positive law and ancient usage. Your memorialists beg leave, with all deference, to present, that the fairest and most inviting opportunities are now presented to the general government, for repairing a great evil in our social and political institutions,

and at the same time for elevating, from a low and hopeless condition, a numerous and rapidly increasing race of men, who want nothing but a proper theatre, to enter upon the pursuit of happiness and independence in the ordinary paths which a benign Providence has left open to the human race. These great ends, it is conceived, may be accomplished by making adequate provisions for planting, in some salubrious and fertile region, a colony to be composed of such of the above description of persons as may choose to emigrate; and for extending to it the authority and protection of the United States, until it shall have attained sufficient strength and consistency to be left in a state of independence.

Independently of the motives derived from political foresight and civil prudence on the one hand, and from moral justice and philanthropy on the other, there are additional considerations and more expanded views to engage the sympathies and excite the ardour of a liberal and enlightened people. It may be reserved for our government, (the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffic, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers,) to become the honourable instrument under divine Providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon the large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice, by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility, and riches, unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity, and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization, for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms; that even this hitherto ill-fated race may cherish the hope of beholding at last the orient star revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, upon the deep and sure foundation of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind, whilst it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all-prevailing power of liberty, enlightened by knowledge and corrected by religion. If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast regions and unnumbered tribes, yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer,

from a life of wretchedness, to civilization and humanity, and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions, to the holy charities, the sublime morality and humanizing discipline of the gospel; the nation or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the enterprise, will secure imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race, unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of Divine beneficence—a glory, with which the most splendid achievements of human force or power must sink in the competition, and appear insignificant and vulgar in the comparison. And above all, should it be considered that the nation or the individual whose energies have been faithfully given to this august work, will have secured, by this exalted beneficence, the favour of that Being whose compassion is over all his works, and whose unspeakable rewards will never fail to bless the humblest efforts to do good to his creatures.

Your memorialists do not presume to determine, that the views of Congress will be necessarily directed to the country to which they have just alluded. They hope to be excused for intimating some of the reasons which would bring that portion of the world before us, when engaged in discovering a place the most proper to be selected, leaving it, with perfect confidence, to the better information and better judgment of your honourable body to make the choice.

Your memorialists, without presuming to mark out, in detail, the measures which it may be proper to adopt in furtherance of the object in view; but implicitly relying upon the wisdom of Congress to devise the most effectual measures, will only pray, that the subject may be recommended to their serious consideration, and that, as an humble auxiliary in this great work, the association, represented by your memorialists, may be permitted to aspire to the hope of contributing to its labours and resources.”

In the House of Representatives, the memorial was referred to a respectable committee, consisting of Messrs. Pickering, Comstock, Condict, Tucker, Taggart, Cilley, and Hooks, who brought in the following report.

“The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the President and Board of Managers of the ‘American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States,’

have had the same under their deliberate consideration. The subject is of such magnitude, and attended with so many difficulties, it is with much diffidence they present their views of it to the House.

Were it simply a question of founding a colony, numerous and well known precedents show with what facility the work might be accomplished. Every new territory established by our government, constitutes, indeed, a colony, formed with great ease; because it is only an extension of homogeneous settlements. But in contemplating the colonization of the free people of colour, it seemed obviously necessary to take a different course. Their distinct character and relative condition, render an entire separation from our own states and territories indispensable. And the separation must be such as to admit of an indefinite continuance. Hence it seems manifest that these people cannot be colonized within the limits of the United States. If they were not far distant, the rapidly extending settlements of our white population would soon reach them, and the evil now felt would be renewed, probably with aggravated mischief. Were the colony to be remote, it must be planted on lands now occupied by the native tribes of the country. And could a territory be purchased, the transporting of the colonists thither, would be vastly expensive, their subsistence for a time difficult, and a body of troops would be required for their protection. And after all, should these difficulties be overcome, the original evil would at length recur, by the extension of our white population. In the meantime, should the colony so increase as to become a nation, it is not difficult to foresee the quarrels and destructive wars which would ensue, especially if the slavery of people of colour should continue, and accompany the whites in their migrations.

Turning our eyes from our own country, no other, adapted to the colony in contemplation, presented itself to our view, nearer than Africa, the native land of negroes; and probably that is the only country on the globe to which it would be practicable to transfer our free people of colour with safety, and advantage to themselves and the civilized world. It is the country which, in the order of Providence, seems to have been appropriated to that distinct family of mankind. And while it presents the fittest asylum for the free people of colour, it opens a wide field for their improvement in civilization, morals and

religion, which the humane and enlightened memorialists have conceived it possible, in process of time, to spread on that great continent.

Should the measure suggested be approved, an important question occurs—In what way shall its execution be essayed? A preliminary step would be to provide for the perfect neutrality of the colony, by the explicit assent and engagement of all the civilized powers, whatever dissensions may at any time arise among themselves.

The next important question is, Will it be expedient to attempt the establishment of a new colony in Africa, or to make to Great Britain a proposal to receive the emigrants from the United States into her colony at Sierra Leone?

At Sierra Leone the first difficulties have been surmounted, and a few free people of colour from the United States have been admitted. A gradual addition from the same source (and such would be the natural progress,) would occasion no embarrassment, either in regard to their sustenance or government. Would the British government consent to receive such an accession of emigrants, however eventually considerable, from the United States? Would that government agree, that at the period when that colony shall be capable of self-government and self-protection, it shall be declared independent? In the meantime, will it desire to monopolize the commerce of the colony? This would be injurious to the colonists, as well as to the United States. Should that country, from the nature of its soil, and other circumstances, hold out sufficient allurements, and draw to it, from the United States, the great body of the free people of colour, these would form its strength, and its ability to render its commerce an object of consideration. Now, as the great and permanent benefit of *colonists* was the fundamental principle of the establishment, will the British government decline a proposition calculated to give to that benefit the important extension which will arise from a freedom of commerce? To those, at least, at whose expense and by whose means the colony shall be essentially extended? Should an agreement with Great Britain be effected, no further negotiation, nor any extraordinary expenditure of money, will be required. The work already commenced will be continued—simply that of carrying to Sierra Leone all who are willing to embark.

It would seem highly desirable to confine the migrations to a single colony. The two distinct and independent colonies, established and protected by two independent powers, would naturally imbibe the spirit and distinctions of their patrons and protectors, and put in jeopardy the peace and prosperity of both. Even the simple fact of separate independence, would eventually tend to produce collisions and wars between the two establishments, (unless indeed these were far removed from each other,) and perhaps defeat the further humane and exalted views of those who projected them. The spirit which animated the founders of the colony of Sierra Leone, would be exerted to effect a union of design, and the cordial cooperation of the British government with our own, and, it might be hoped, not without success. It would be in accordance with the spirit of a stipulation in the last treaty of peace, by which the two governments stand pledged to each other, to use their best endeavours to effect the entire abolition of the traffic in slaves, while the proposed institution would tend to diminish the quantity of slavery actually existing.

If, however, such enlarged and liberal views should be wanting, then the design of forming a separate colony might be announced by the American ministers to the maritime powers, and their guaranty of the neutrality of the colony obtained.

Your committee do not think it proper to pursue the subject any further at this time, but that the government should wait the result of the suggested negotiations, on which ulterior measures must depend.

In conclusion your committee beg leave to report a joint resolution, embracing the views herein before exhibited.

Joint Resolution for Abolishing the Traffic in Slaves, and the Colonization of the Free People of Colour of the United States, February 11, 1817. Read, and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Monday next.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to consult and negotiate with all the governments where ministers of the United States are, or shall be accredited, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the traffic in slaves. And also to enter into a convention with the government of

Great Britain, for receiving into the colony of Sierra Leone, such of the free people of colour of the United States as, with their own consent, shall be carried thither; stipulating such terms as shall be most beneficial to the colonists, while it promotes the peaceful interests of Great Britain and the United States. And should this proposition not be accepted, then to obtain from Great Britain, and the other maritime powers, a stipulation, or a formal declaration to the same effect, guaranteeing a permanent neutrality, for any colony of free people of colour, which, at the expense and under the auspices of the United States, shall be established on the African coast.

Resolved, That adequate provision should hereafter be made to defray any necessary expenses, which may be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect."

Although there appeared to be scarcely an appearance of opposition to the colonization enterprise, at this time, in Congress, yet other more urgent business continued to occupy the attention of the House, and the report of the committee was not called up and acted on during the session.

Still something of importance was gained by these proceedings; the subject was formally presented to the public, and the sentiments expressed in the memorial and the report, made a salutary impression on the public mind. In a short time numerous auxiliary societies were organized, and strong recommendations of the object were given by various ecclesiastical bodies of different denominations.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGE OF MESSRS. MILLS AND BURGESS.

THE mind of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills seems to have been so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of benevolence, that he was ever meditating schemes and plans by which the happiness of the human race might be promoted. After having given the first impulse to foreign missions in this country, he turned his attention to the condition of the multitudes of settlers on our frontiers, who were living without the means of grace. While

travelling in the south-west and south, his mind was deeply affected with the deplorable condition of the African race, in this country. He conversed freely with pious men of liberal minds, at the south, and found many of them well disposed to emancipate their slaves, if any disposal could be made of them, consistent with their own welfare, and the good of society at large. Finding that no plan was likely to meet the views of slaveholders, which did not provide for the removal of the emancipated slaves from among them, he set his fertile mind at work to devise a plan by which they might be disposed of advantageously. The outlines of the plan were, that a large tract of land in the western country should be appropriated by the government of the United States for this purpose, where emancipated slaves might be removed, and where they might be governed under such laws and regulations as were adapted to their situation, until they should become capable of governing themselves. The scheme, indeed, was not new, and at first view seemed plausible, and upon being communicated to intelligent and philanthropic men at the south, met their approbation; but when the subject came to be more thoroughly examined, numerous difficulties seemed to encumber it, which need not be now mentioned, as no attempt was ever made to carry it into effect. Mr. Mills, however, having his mind still turned to the melioration of the condition of the people of colour, formed a plan, in concurrence with other benevolent persons, in and about Newark, New Jersey, where he then resided, for the establishment of a seminary for the education of coloured men of piety, in the hope, that these might greatly exalt and meliorate the condition of the African race. This scheme was commenced under flattering auspices, and for a while it seemed to promise great usefulness. The school was placed under the care and patronage of the Synod of New Jersey, who fixed its site at Parsippany, New Jersey, and placed it under the immediate tuition of the Rev. John Ford. The number of scholars was never large, but for some years the object was prosecuted with zeal, and favourable reports were received of the behaviour and progress of the pupils. But when an attempt was made to lessen the expenses of the institution, by requiring a certain amount of labour from each scholar, they became dissatisfied, and soon afterwards the institution was broken up. It was at this time, as we have seen, that

the Rev. Dr. Finley came forward with his proposal of a society for colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa, with their own consent. Although this plan had no direct reference to the slaves, yet it was foreseen that it would remove out of the way, one of the principal obstacles to emancipation, in regard to those slaveholders who desired to give liberty to their slaves, by providing a comfortable asylum for them, in the land of their forefathers.

Mr. Mills, at once, perceived the benefits to the African race, likely to accrue from the prosecution of this scheme of colonization; he therefore gave himself up to it with a zeal which nothing but death could extinguish. The great difficulty to be overcome was, to find and obtain a place in Africa for the commencement of a colony. Former efforts made by the highest authorities in the country, had failed of success; but still there seemed to be no insurmountable obstacle in the way of finding such a place, somewhere on the extensive western coast of Africa. And the Colonization Society, at Washington, were desirous of having that country explored, with the view of acquiring a territory, to which colonists might be advantageously sent. To prosecute this difficult and dangerous mission, Mr. Mills offered his services; and as it was desirable that he should not go alone, but be accompanied by a man of like spirit with himself, the Rev. (now Dr.) Ebenezer Burgess was selected, and consented to go to Africa with Mr. Mills.

These two devoted men took England in their way, and were the bearers of letters to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution, and to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the colonial department of the British government, by whom they were courteously and kindly received, and every thing done which they required, to facilitate their voyage, and to render their mission successful.

In February, 1818, they sailed from the Downs, and on the 13th of March, came to anchor in the river Gambia. During the voyage, which was tedious, the missionaries were engaged in reading books which treated of the people, climate, soil, and productions of Africa. Here they paid their respects to the commandant, and became acquainted with most of the Europeans, resident at the place, from whom they learned several facts respecting the slave trade. They walked out from the settlement several miles, and found the country overgrown

with wild grass, resembling the prairies of Illinois and Missouri.

On the 16th of March, they embarked for Sierra Leone, a voyage of four or five days. The appearance of the country as they entered the river, is described as presenting a grand and verdant prospect, and the town, that of a neat and pleasant village. They say, "several villages are in sight, the church on Leicester mountain is in full view, and aids us much in our devotional thoughts, on this sacred day. The altars on these mountains, which the natives had dedicated to devils, are falling before the temples of the living God, like the image of Dagon before the ark. The time is coming when the dwellers in these vales, and on these mountains, will sing hosannahs to the Son of David. Distant tribes will learn their song. Ethiopia will stretch forth her hands unto God, and worship."

Governor Macarthy being absent, Lord Bathurst's letters were presented to the commandant, Chief Justice Fitzgerald, and the council; all of whom received them courteously, and offered to show them the different settlements in the colony. The minds of the leading men here were found favourable to the establishment of an American colony; but some difference of opinion existed, as to the expediency of locating it in the vicinity of Sierra Leone; the merchants there seemed to fear that it might interfere with their trade.

Their visit to the schools in Freetown is thus described: "In the male school were about two hundred neat, active, intelligent boys, divided into eight classes, under the superintendence of Mr. Horton, whose perseverance and fidelity are entitled to high commendation. In the female school were about one hundred neatly dressed little girls, many of whom could read and sew. These schools would do no dishonour to an English or American village. There was not a white child in either of them. I believe schools of white children seldom give fairer proofs of good improvement.

"The number in all the schools in the colony, including some adults, does not fall much short of two thousand. This is about one sixth part of the whole population."

The missionaries had an interview, and free conversation, with the principal members of the "Friendly Society," instituted at the suggestion of Paul Cuffee, whose memory is cherished here with warm affection. When they signified their

purpose of visiting Sherbro, it was agreed that Mr. Kizell, and Mr. Martin, should accompany them.

“Before we parted, we addressed our prayers to God, to whom the honour and glory of this great and benevolent enterprise will belong, if it be carried into effect.”

The character and life of John Kizell being somewhat remarkable, we will give some further account of him, and of his description of the natives and their mode of life. It is proper, however, to observe, that although this man was high in the confidence of Governor Columbine, of Sierra Leone, and made a very favourable impression on Messrs. Mills and Burgess, yet, afterwards, he fell under strong suspicion of being a selfish and deceitful man, when the first colonists from this country were placed on Sherbro island, and, in a manner, under his care. But we need not anticipate events which will be brought into view in their proper order.

The following character of Kizell is taken from Governor Columbine.

“John Kizell is a black man, a native of the country some leagues inward from the Sherbro. His father was a chief of some consequence, and so was his uncle. They resided at different towns; and when Kizell was a boy, he was sent by his father on a visit to his uncle, who was desirous to have him with him. On the very night of his arrival, the house was attacked; a bloody battle ensued, in which his uncle and most of his people were killed. Some escaped, the rest were taken prisoners, and amongst these was Kizell. His father, as soon as he heard of his son’s disaster, made every effort to relieve him, offering them slaves and some grounds for him; but his enemies declared they would not give him up for any price, and that they would rather put him to death. He was taken to the Gallinas, put on board an English ship, and carried as one of a cargo of slaves to Charleston, South Carolina. On the passage, one of the women pining away with grief, on account of her situation, was tied up to the mast and flogged to death, as a warning to others not to indulge their melancholy to the detriment of their health, and thereby to injure their value to their Christian owners.

“He arrived in Charleston, a few years before that city was taken by Sir Henry Clinton. In consequence of the General’s proclamation, he, with many other slaves, joined the royal

standard. He was close to Col. Ferguson, when he was killed at King's Mountain. After the war, he was remanded to Nova Scotia, from which place he came to Africa, in 1792.

"He is an intelligent man, has always preserved an excellent character, and has the welfare of his native country sincerely at heart. The government of this colony have repeatedly employed him in their negotiations with the Caulkers and the Clevelands, and other chiefs of Sherbro; and he appears always to have discharged his duty with great integrity and address."

The following anecdote is also worthy of notice.

In March 1795, the brig *Amy* after a passage of forty days arrived at Freetown. "John Kizell, one of our negro Baptist brethren who came to England in the company's service, returned in this vessel, and was enabled to take out a venture with him, which he sold extremely well. The profits were to have been solely for his own use; but though in the general havoc which was made in his absence (by the French) he lost what property he had in the colony, he, of his own accord, in the generosity of his heart, divided the profits of his venture among his brethren; thus alleviating their distress, as far as he was able."

Governor Columbine, to do what he could to put an end to the slave trade on the African coast, in the proximity of Sierra Leone, sent Kizell to Sherbro to reside, and gave him a letter to the head-man, of which the following is an extract.

"I have sent Mr. Kizell to visit you on my part, in order that you may communicate to him any thing that you may wish to say to me. . . . I hope you will allow my friend, Mr. Kizell, to have a sufficient portion of ground or territory, for him to build a town, and to point out to you the proper mode of rearing those articles of trade which will supply you with all European commodities. You cannot have the least reason to be jealous of him, he is one of yourselves; and he has the welfare of you and his country, very earnestly at heart; and I entreat you to forward his views as much as possible, and to join him in a noble endeavour to make yourselves and your children great, and your country happy. I shall leave the transaction entirely to yourselves, as I do not intend to send a single European to live in Kizelltown; but I shall furnish him with tools, &c. for cultivation.

"I have no personal advantage to derive from your taking my advice on this subject; it arises merely from a sincere wish to see Africa in a better situation than it is at present. I beg leave to observe that Mr. Kizell is my friend. I am, gentlemen, &c. &c.

(Signed)

E. H. COLUMBINE.

August, 1810."

The communications made to the governor by himself are very interesting, and contain much valuable information respecting the soil, climate, chiefs, customs, slave-trade, &c. We can only find room for a few short extracts. After giving an account of his interview with some of their kings, or head-men, he describes the people in the following manner.

"I will now describe how the natives live in this country. They are all alike, the great and the poor; you cannot tell the master from the servant, at first. The servant has as much to say as his master, in common discourse, but not in a *palaver*, for that belongs only to the master. Of all people I have ever seen, I think they are the kindest. They will let none of their people want for victuals; they will lend and not look for it again. They will even lend clothes to each other if they want to go any where. If strangers come, they will give them victuals for nothing; they will go out of their beds that strangers may sleep in them. The women are particularly kind. The men are very fond of palm wine. They love dancing; they will dance all night. They have but little; yet they are happy while that little lasts. At times, they are greatly troubled with the slave trade, by some of them being caught, under different pretences. A man owes money, or some one of his family owes it; or he has been guilty of adultery. In these cases, if unable to seize the parties themselves, they give him up to some one who is able, and who goes and takes him by force of arms. On one occasion, when I lived in the Sherbro, a number of armed men came to seize five persons living under me, who, they said, had been thus given to them. We had a great quarrel—I would not give them up—we had five days' *palaver*—there were three chiefs against me. I told them if they did sell the people they caught at my place, I would complain to the governor. After five days' talk I recovered them.

“Sometimes I am astonished to see how contented they are with so little. I consider that happiness does not consist in plenty of goods.

“Their land is so fertile, in some places, that it would surprise any man to see what a quantity of rice they will raise, on a small spot. As for fish, their rivers abound with it; they can get as much as they want. Their sheep and goats are very fine and fat. They have plenty of fowls; also wild hogs, ducks, and geese. They do not salt their meat, but dry it over the fire. They do not work hard, except when they prepare their rice plantations, which is during two months in the spring, after which the men go and make canoes, or cut cam-wood, or carry the salt which the women have made, to sell for clothes or slaves. This is usually done in the rainy season, from June to September. They are not afraid of being wet, they will work in the rain. When they come home from working, their women give them warm water to wash their bodies, and oil to anoint themselves with. They (the women) have the hardest lot; they do all the drudgery; they beat the rice and fetch wood, make salt, plaster the houses, go a fishing with hand nets, make oil from the palm nuts which the men bring home. Their rice ripens in three months from the time it is sown; when it is cut, they put it under water, where it keeps sound and good. When they want to use it, they go into the water and get as much as they need. During the rainy season the low banks are overflowed; when the water goes away, it leaves the land moist, which is then planted, and will bring any thing to the greatest perfection. They have very good clay, of which the women make pots, which they sell for rice, cassada, and plantains. The cotton tree grows here in great abundance. I think the cotton would do for hats as well as fur. The men make straw hats. It is the men who sew the cloth into garments; of the women, not one out of twenty knows how to sew. All the male children (of the Mahommedans) are circumcised.

“The king is poorer than any of his subjects. I have many a time gone into the houses of their kings; sometimes I have seen one box, and a bed made of sticks on the ground, and a mat, or two country cloths on the bed. He is obliged to work himself, if he has no wives and children. He has only the name of king, without the power; he cannot do as he pleases.

When there is a palaver, he must have it settled before the rest of the old men, who are looked upon as much as the king, and the people will give ear to them as soon as they will to the king."

On Sabbath, March 29th, our missionary, in company with several gentlemen, attended public worship in Regent's Town, and visited the Christian Institution. "This is a large school established by the Church Missionary Society for the children of re-captured Africans. It stands on Leicester mountain, three miles from Freetown. Regent's Town is two miles beyond Leicester mountain, and has a population of twelve or thirteen hundred, who have been liberated from the slave-ships by the Vice-Admiralty court of Sierra Leone, within two or three years past. The boys in the Institution are taught to work, and had cleared eighty or a hundred acres of land. This Institution accommodates about two hundred children of both sexes, who are mostly named and supported by individual benefactors in England. Thus are children, once destined to foreign slavery, now fed, clothed, governed, and carefully taught in the Christian religion. Assembled in the church to worship, they are a spectacle of grateful admiration, and their state happily exemplifies the divine origin and holy principles of the religion in which they are taught. The wilderness buds and blossoms as the rose. We saw here two hundred children in the schools. On the Sabbath morning more than a thousand of the children and people were present in the church, neatly dressed, sober, attentive to the reading of the word of God, and uniting their voices to sing his praise."

On Monday, March 30, 1818, Messrs. Mills and Burgess, accompanied by Kizell, Martin, and Anderson, their pilot, left Sierra Leone. Every remark entered by Mills in his journal indicates the pious enthusiasm of his benevolent mind. While their little vessel was departing he says, "The high ridges of the mountains present a pleasing aspect, and the more so, as we know that hosannahs are sung to Zion's King, upon their very summit. So God has kindly ordered, the chain is broken, and the captive slave is free."

On the 31st of March they sailed by the Bananas, and the appearance of the land is thus described: "The main land is in sight. The ridges run nearly parallel to the coast. Some

more inland ridges overtop the nearest. All are covered with trees and shrubs to their summits."

Understanding that a man named Caulker, had influence with the chiefs along the coast, they called upon him, and explained the object of their visit to Africa. He expressed his approbation, and said their design was like Paul Cuffee's, whom he had known. He recommended Caramanca river as a suitable place; but this was too near the territory of Sierra Leone, which owns the land on the north bank of that river. He said, that he thought it would be a very good thing if a colony could be founded at Sherbro. To show his good will, he said he would send his son and nephew as far as the Plantains and to Sherbro with them, who would tell his desire to favour the enterprise; and his wish that the chiefs there should do the same.

This man entertained our missionaries and their company hospitably, spreading a table for them, furnished with boiled fowls and cassada; and when they were coming away, gave them a sheep, which was about equal in value to the present which he had received from them.

At the Plantains, they visited George Caulker, nephew of the former, who had been educated in England. When they laid before him their plan, he observed, that he was afraid, "that hereafter the colony might claim more territory than it ought: that Sierra Leone had now become powerful, and had already taken a considerable extent of territory under their direction." He said, "the kings would have less objection to an American colony, if the people of colour were to govern the colony themselves; they are afraid that the white men will take their country from them; but they will not have the same fears of their brethren." He was assured that there would be no objection to this, so soon as suitable coloured men could be found to undertake the government; that the interference of the white people, would only be to give stability and security to the colony; and that they would be looking forward to the time when the people of colour should govern themselves. Upon this, he expressed his satisfaction; and concurred with his uncle, in recommending the mouth of the Caramanca, as a suitable site for the colony.

On the first of April they reached Sherbro Island, which is

usually estimated to be twenty-two miles long, and twelve broad. The water they found to be good, and the surface fifteen or twenty feet above the sea. They saw the mouth of the Bagroo river, which had been recommended as a good place to begin a colony. Within a quarter of a mile of the shore, they found seven fathoms depth of water. They also visited York Island, which is only two miles in length, and one in breadth; and is very low, but has a good soil.

On the next day, they came to Bendou, where King Somano ruled over several villages. They found him in his *palaver house*, and another chief by the name of Safah, with him. Their *palaver* with these chiefs was not very pleasant, especially, as they would enter into no conversation until presented with two jugs of rum; and when Somano returned their visit on board the vessel, he insisted on rum, as his undoubted right; and was not pleased, that he could not be gratified. The *palaver house* was nothing but a conical roof supported by posts. Near to it was a little thatched hut, not larger than a spread umbrella, called the Witch or Devil's house. It was filled with shells, bits of cloth, &c. There was also, at no great distance, a thicket of shrubs, and vines, almost impenetrable, called *the devil's bush*. If a woman should be found in this bush, she would suffer death.

"In this land," say they, "where altars are erected to devils, we sung the hymn, 'Salvation! O the joyful sound!' A number of the natives were present at our evening prayer, and behaved well."

On the fourth of April, they visited King Sherbro. Kizell had prepared the way by a palaver, in which he explained the object of the visit of the missionaries, and the advantages which would result to the natives from the establishment of such a colony. Couber, the king's son, introduced them to his father. The old man was sitting in his hut, barefooted, but wearing a three-cornered hat on his head, dressed in a calico gown, with a large silver-headed cane in his left hand, and in his right, a horse tail, which is the badge of royalty. He appeared to be about sixty years of age. The palaver was managed on the one side by Kizell, and on the other by Couber. They complained that Caulker had sent them no present, and that Somano and Safah had been called upon before King

Sherbro. The palaver lasted between three and four hours, without coming to any point.

The character which the missionaries give of Kizell is very pleasing. "He is," say they, "a second Paul Cuffee. He has a good mind and considerable knowledge. His writings discover him to be a man of sense and worth. He has a good heart, and no one can be more anxious for the temporal and spiritual welfare of Africans and their descendants. He has enlarged views, and believes with the fullest confidence, that the time has arrived, when the descendants of Africans abroad, shall begin to return to their own country. His mind relies on the promise of God, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.' He says, if we can fix on a proper place for a colony, our people may come out by hundreds and thousands, and we need not fear the consequences, only sending some men of education to be their conductors and guides. AFRICA IS THE LAND OF BLACK MEN, AND TO AFRICA THEY MUST AND WILL COME." "As to land," he says, "it belongs to Africans abroad as well as those in the country. (It is at present a wide and fertile wilderness; but it may be made to bud and blossom as the rose.) They have not forfeited their inheritance by being carried by force from their country. The good people in America have only to help them to get back, and assist them a year or two, until they can help themselves. Then if they will not work, the fault is their own. They certainly will not freeze nor starve. Let any class of the people of colour come, only give us a few who will be good leaders of the rest."

He urges the plan of colonization, among other reasons, on the ground that "it will prevent insurrection among the slaves—remove bad men, who will not have the same opportunity to do mischief here as there—bring into this country some good men, who will shine as lights in this dark world—give an opportunity to masters who are disposed to release their slaves, and thus promote a gradual emancipation—provide a home for many oppressed freemen, and confer infinite blessings on this country." Mr. Kizell thinks, the greater part of the people of colour, who are now in America, will yet return to Africa.

While Mr. Kizell was in Sherbro with the missionaries, he saved five or six persons from death, who had been condemned on suspicion of witchcraft to drink the red water. He conversed much with the kings and people on the advantages of a

colony among them, and found the young people very favourably disposed.

He would not allow that the colonization scheme originated in America, but insisted that it had its origin in heaven: and he has much greater confidence than the managers of the society, that their plans, if pursued with prudence and vigour, will be completely successful. On the subject of appointing a governor his opinions were, that, for a while, it may be best to place a white man at the head of the colony, unless such a coloured man as Paul Cuffee could be obtained, in which case it would be wise to appoint him. He insisted that great care should be taken in selecting the first colonists, that they should be men of good character; and that some white men of firm integrity should accompany them as judges and counsellors.

As Sherbro refused to carry on the palaver unless Samano and Safab were also present, they were sent for, and arrived on the 8th of April.

After days of mutual consultation together, the missionaries were informed that the kings were ready to receive them into council. After long discussion, king Sherbro agreed that he would grant them a place for the reception of the colonists; but alleged, that before any territory could be granted, all the head-men must be consulted. The substance of the agreement was written in a book, and one copy left with him.

The missionaries now visited some other places on the coast, and formed an acquaintance with some other chiefs, before their return to Sierra Leone.

King Cauber offered to send two of his sons to America for education, if any captain of a vessel would take charge of them. And when the missionaries left Sherbro, he expressed a strong desire that they would return again. He gave them a goat, and walking along the shore as they embarked, said in English, "May God bless you, and give you a good journey to your country!"

The missionaries remarked, that "The Africans, generally, appear cheerful and happy.

"This land was once more populous than at present.

"It is doubtful whether the population is now increasing, though the proportion of small children is very great.

"I think I never saw so great a proportion of healthy active children, in any country."

On Sabbath, April 19th, we find the following short entry in the journal of the missionaries, which shows that their confidence of success in the enterprise, in which they were engaged, remained undiminished.

“Darkness, gross darkness, covers the nations around us. But this darkness will be dispelled. The Sun of righteousness will yet arise upon them, with healing in his beams. In this consideration we do rejoice, and will rejoice.”

The missionaries ascended the Mano, a branch of the Bagroo, a considerable distance, and found the country rising into hills and mountains. They say, “It seems desirable to obtain the country to the right of the Mano. It is high and airy. It extends back eighty or ninety miles to the Timmanee country. It is called a good country by those who have travelled over it. A brook is spoken of which empties into the Mano, one or two miles above the rapids, and extends far into the interior. After we leave the little villages on the Mano, there are no inhabitants until you reach the Timmanees. The extent, vacant population, and probable fertility, render it highly eligible.”—“To this may be added the peninsula between the Mano and Bagroo rivers, which includes the Mano mountain, as the other tract does the Perra mountain. These alone form a vacant region of three thousand square miles, and include mountains, rivers, forests, rapids, and springs of water.”

They went up the Banga, as far as Bandasuma, and paid a visit to Pa Poosoo, who received them very kindly, and expressed high approbation of their design; and said, that when called upon to vote with the chiefs, he would say, “Give land.”

Mr. Mills, after they left Sierra Leone, on his return, was seized with dysentery, and expired on the voyage. Although this man of God died early, he had accomplished much in a short life. He was the person who first suggested the idea of sending missionaries to the heathen from the American churches; and fully intended to go himself, but was prevented by bad health. He entered with all his heart into every benevolent enterprise, whether proposed by himself or by others. A brief memoir of his life would be in place here; but his biography has already been written by the Rev. Dr. Spring of New York, where full justice is done to the memory of this distinguished philanthropist and eminent Christian.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST EXPEDITION TO AFRICA IN THE ELIZABETH.

THE American Colonization Society being satisfied from the report of the Rev. Mr. Burgess, and the journal of the lamented Mills, that the establishment of a colony on the western coast of Africa was a practicable enterprise, were solicitous, in the commencement of the year 1819, to send out a select company of black people, under suitable superintendence, to commence the contemplated settlement. And it seemed to be a special interposition of Providence in favour of their design, that Congress, on the 3d of March, the last day of their session, passed an act, authorizing the President of the United States to institute an agency in Africa, for the purpose of providing an asylum for such Africans as should be liberated by our ships of war, from vessels seized in violation of the provisions of the law for the suppression of the slave trade. This act without recognizing the plan of colonization, as it had been repeatedly commended by the society to the favourable notice of Congress, authorized a collateral measure, so nearly identified with it, as in effect, to subserve nearly the same purpose. The society, therefore, resolved to improve the advantage which was thus offered to them. In this view, it was determined to make the station of the government agency the site of the colonial settlement, and to incorporate in the settlement all the blacks delivered over by our ships of war to the American agent, as soon as the requisite preparations could be made for their accommodation.

As a suitable person to be employed in this agency, the Rev. Samuel Bacon, a minister of the Protestant Episcopal church, was strongly recommended. This gentleman, though still young, had passed through an eventful life. Brought up in more than common ignorance, he was seized, when grown up, with an inextinguishable desire for learning; and after encountering and overcoming the most formidable obstacles, he succeeded in completing a liberal education, at Harvard. He afterwards was occupied as a teacher, in Pennsylvania. He then received the commission of lieutenant in the corps of

marines, and, in a short time, was advanced to be a captain in the same. Finding leisure, however, from the duties of his profession, to study law, he qualified himself for the bar, and practised with success and reputation in the county of Adams, Pennsylvania, and adjacent counties. But having, about this time, come under very deep and abiding impressions of religion, he felt it to be his duty, as it was his strong desire, to preach the gospel of Christ. Being naturally of an active and enterprising disposition, Mr. Bacon devoted much attention to the institution of Sunday schools, and also to their instruction. His exertions, in this useful and benevolent department of labour, will be long held in remembrance in York, Pennsylvania, where he then resided. He first entered the communion of the German Lutheran church, of York, which is much the largest in the place; but, in a few months, he transferred his ecclesiastical relation to the Episcopal church, in the same town.

After having pursued the requisite course of reading for some time, he visited Philadelphia, and received ordination from the hands of the venerable bishop White. Soon after Mr. Bacon's entrance into holy orders, he was selected as a suitable agent to travel through the State, and present the cause of the Bible, in behalf of the Philadelphia Bible Society. This work was congenial to his ardent mind. He entered on it with alacrity, and fulfilled the duties of his office with wisdom, energy, and fidelity.

Scarcely had he brought this agency to a close, when he was fixed upon as a suitable person to be employed as a government agent, to go to Africa.

But before he received his appointment from government, he entered with zeal into the service of the American Colonization Society, in which he continued until the eighth of January, 1820, when he received from the Executive of the United States, a commission and instructions, for the agency to which he had been previously designated.

The government having determined to send a transport and a sloop of war to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of carrying out two agents, and as many mechanics and labourers as might be necessary to prepare a receptacle for any persons that might be liberated from American slave ships, the sloop of war Cyane was put in commission, and the Elizabeth, a merchant

ship of three hundred tons, was chartered for this service. The government agreed to receive on board the *Elizabeth*, such free blacks recommended by the society, as might be required for the purposes of the agency. Accordingly, about thirty families, comprehending eighty-nine individuals, of different sexes and ages, were selected from a much greater number, and were directed to repair to New York, where the vessels were lying. Mr. Bacon was directed to proceed to New York, to receive these people. He, accordingly, left Philadelphia on the 26th of November. After encountering many difficulties, and experiencing much perplexity, Mr. Bacon left New York on the 27th of December for the city of Washington. Here he remained until the 18th of January, 1821—which time was profitably spent in preparation for the voyage; and especially in frequent conferences with the officers of government and the managers of the American Colonization Society.

Having visited his friends in York, Pennsylvania, he repaired to New York again, where he was joined by the other government agent, Mr. John P. Bankson, and Dr. Samuel A. Crozer, the agent of the Colonization Society, and found the people selected for the colony, already assembled. Monday the 31st of January was fixed for their departure, and was an interesting day. The people assembled at the African church to the number of several thousand, to witness the solemnities expected on the occasion, and to join in a procession to the vessels, then lying in the North river. But it being apprehended that great confusion and perhaps tumult might be the result of admitting the multitude to rush into the church, the doors were kept closed. And Mr. Bacon foreseeing that some disaster might be the consequence of such a multitude assembling at the water, while the crowd were on their way to the vessel, mounted on a piazza, and addressed the multitude. In the mean time, the emigrants were secretly conveyed to the ship; and at the close of his address, he announced to the people the fact, that the emigrants were on board.

Before the wind proved favourable for getting to sea, the *Elizabeth* became ice-bound, in which condition she remained until the 6th of February.

In the organization of the scheme, Messrs. Bankson and Bacon had been appointed collegiate agents of the government

of the United States to whom the direction of the expedition was entrusted. The people were all considered as attached to this joint agency, and to remain entirely subject to its control, as long after their arrival on the coast, as their services should be needful, or until they should receive a regular discharge. Their official instructions required them to make the Island of Sherbro, on the coast of Africa, their first destination; and either there or on some more eligible situation to land the people and stores, and proceed to erect cottages for the accommodation of themselves, and at least three hundred captured Africans. They were likewise instructed to plant and cultivate corn and vegetables, and by their own industry to provide subsistence for themselves.

Dr. Samuel A. Crozer was the sole agent of the American Colonization Society, who was entrusted with the goods and stores sent out by the society, for the purpose of conciliating the favour of the native chiefs, purchasing lands, and ministering to the health and comfort of the people. The selection and purchase of a territory, for the contemplated settlement, were committed to this agent; who was instructed to avail himself of the advice and good offices of the agents of the government.

In planning this expedition great confidence had been placed in the statements of Messrs. Mills and Burgess, in relation to the friendly disposition of the natives on and near the Sherbro river, the salubrity of the climate, and the eligibility of the site which they had recommended as a place of settlement. The instructions of the agents were framed in general conformity to the views entertained by these exploring agents, when on the spot. But these gentlemen had not remained there long enough to become well acquainted with all the circumstances, which afterwards proved unfavourable.

The American Colonization Society in the prospect of the purchase of lands and settlement of the emigrants in Africa, drew up and delivered to Dr. Crozer the following rules to be observed in the distribution of lands to settlers, which are here published as affording a view of the equitable principles on which the society intended to act.

“Every man arriving, married or marrying in the colony, within one year from its commencement, to receive twenty-five acres for himself, twenty-four for his wife, and ten for each

child, as near the town as convenient, and every family is entitled to a lot in town.

“Every single man to receive thirty acres in the country, and a lot in town.

“Minors, and females not included in the former classes, to be entitled each to twenty-five acres of land without the town.

“Labourers and mechanics, as a motive to industry and good conduct, to receive, at the discretion of the agents, each ten acres in addition to the allotment above specified.

“The agents only are entitled to buy or negotiate with the natives for land.

“The colonists, in order to hold their lots and lands, must reside in the colony, and cultivate them.

“Grants forfeitable by misconduct.”

The voyage was, on the whole, prosperous, and not very tedious; but an unhappy quarrel arose between the ship's crew and some of the emigrants, which, at one time, exhibited a very threatening aspect. And, indeed, during the remainder of the voyage, it was evident that a mutinous spirit existed, which would be likely to break out and give trouble, as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer.

On the 9th of March, the *Elizabeth* entered the harbour of Sierra Leone. The first people whom they saw in Africa, were the Kroomen, who are always waiting to perform any labour which may be needed by the ships which arrive. Indeed, they perform nearly all the hard work which is done at Sierra Leone. The following description is given of them in Mr. Bacon's journal. “Their country is on the Guinea coast, in latitude 5° north, whence they sail in their canoes to the different European ports, on the coast, and hire themselves at the rate of four dollars per month, and are frequently absent from home for several years. Their whole dress, when employed in their work, consists of a single piece of cotton or bafta. Our people clothed those who came on board decently.”

As soon as they cast anchor, they were visited by a number of officers from shore, and saw several emigrants whom Paul Cuffee had brought from America; all of whom were respectable in their appearance, and happy in their circumstances. At the time of the arrival of the *Elizabeth*, both the passengers and crew were in a state of perfect health; and the evening

after their arrival was spent by the agents and emigrants in thanksgiving and praise.

It may be well to mark the first impression made on such a mind as Bacon's, by a view of the natives, in whose welfare he felt so deep an interest. Having visited the Kroomen's village, he exclaims, "What a field for evangelical labour amongst them! How lamentable, that these fine people do not attract the notice of the religious world!" And in a letter to a friend, in Philadelphia, he says, "You may depend on it, there is work for us here; there is work for missionaries, for teachers, for good men of all descriptions. I am struck with wonder at the native Africans. The sickly and depressed countenance of a Philadelphia coloured man, is not to be seen amongst them. A noble aspect, a dignified mien, a frank and open countenance, is the entire demeanour of the wild man." The agents visited Governor Macarthy, and were courteously treated, and invited to dinner, which was a sumptuous one, supplied entirely from Africa. Mr. Bacon seems to have been filled with enthusiasm, when he surveyed the state of things at this colony. He even seemed to perceive a wisdom in the climate being so adverse to the health of the white man, and exclaimed, "O Africa, my heart bleeds for thee, and thy scattered and weeping children! Is it not of the justice of God, that we, the white people, cannot exist in this climate? God only can keep it for Africa."

The Cyane parted from the Elizabeth immediately after leaving the harbour of New York, and nothing had been seen of her during the whole voyage. The charter party of the Elizabeth gave the agents no authority to detain her over a few days, after their arrival on the coast. This was, undoubtedly, a great oversight in the plan of the expedition, and resulted in great misfortunes. Kizell, of whom we have in the former chapter given an account, and of whom Messrs. Mills and Burgess had formed a high opinion, both as to his intelligence and integrity, and had strongly recommended him to the Board, was at the distance of forty leagues; and as the soundings at the mouth of the Sherbro were unknown, it was doubtful whether the Elizabeth could be brought down to that place, on account of the shoalness of the water. Under these circumstances Mr. Bankson, in a small vessel, undertook to explore the Sherbro sound, and to provide a suitable place for

the lodging of the stores, and accommodation of the people, until a site could be obtained for a permanent settlement.

Mr. Bacon, to expedite the business, purchased the schooner *Augusta*, of a hundred tons burden, on board of which a part of the *Elizabeth's* cargo was transferred; and both vessels immediately proceeded to sea. When they arrived at the entrance of Sherbro sound, it was found that the *Elizabeth* could proceed no further, with safety. Mr. Bankson having returned on board, from his visit to Kizell's residence, made a report highly favourable to the wishes of his colleagues, both as to the facilities of landing, and the conveniences for accommodating the people, and depositing the stores, at that place. Kizell had also offered his services and influence with the king, to obtain land for them on the continent. Animated and encouraged by this report, they determined without delay to have the people and stores conveyed from the *Elizabeth* to Kizell's town. The distance was about six leagues. On the 20th of March, Mr. Bacon arrived off Campelar, the name of Kizell's settlement. By Kizell he was received in the kindest manner. "He wept," says Bacon, "as we walked together to his house." The people were all landed on that day, and went into the huts provided by Kizell; and in the evening they all resorted to the little church and had a joyful season of prayer. "The sight of natives," says Bacon, "mingling in our morning and evening worship, and even joining the tune and some of the words of our songs of praise, was a refreshing one. Mr. Kizell," he goes on to say, "is a pious man, and has kept up worship among them, a long time. I exhorted in English; he in Sherbro. This was an affecting scene of devotion: it was worth living an age to participate in it, with our feelings." These favourable impressions of Kizell's piety were sadly changed, in the process of further intercourse: whether on just grounds, it is difficult for us to determine. We shall, however, state the facts as they occur, and leave the reader to form his own judgment of the sincerity and integrity of this man.

The *Cyane* having now arrived at Sierra Leone, Mr. Bacon was sent for to advise in regard to the future employment of this vessel on the coast. He therefore left Campelar on the 24th of March. On his way, he visited George Caulker, at the Plantain Islands, of which he was the proprietor. The following

is the account which he gives of this slave-dealer. "On our arrival at the Plantains, about twelve o'clock at night, Caulker was in bed. He was awakened and received us at the gate of his fortress. He had a white robe wrapped about him, and wore a turban of figured cambric. His reception of us was friendly. His house is covered with thatch in the native style, but has in the centre, one room finished in the European style. He gave up to Lieutenant Stringham and myself, his own bedroom; and afforded comfortable accommodation to the boatmen. He has the air and manners of a Scottish chieftain. He was evidently suspicious of the motives of our visit, and was far from approving our errand to the coast. He has a battery of five dismounted guns, a high wall on two sides of his enclosure, and ranges of houses on the other sides. He is a man of intelligence; genteel in his address; has many wives; and possesses considerable influence."

Having arrived on board the *Cyane*, and after consultation it being resolved, that the schooner *Augusta* should be manned from the *Cyane*, Mr. Bacon, Lieutenant Townsend, and six men left Sierra Leone, in an open boat, and reached Campelar, on the 30th of March. From this time till the 3d of April, the agents were busily employed in removing to land the goods and stores on board the *Elizabeth*; in erecting store houses, and providing accommodations for the people.

The island of Sherbro is about ten, leagues in length, and is covered with a luxuriant vegetable growth; and consists wholly of an alluvial soil, which, like the adjacent country, rises but a few feet above the sea. It is separated from that part of the coast which bears the same name, by a sound, from one and a half to four leagues in breadth, navigable for small vessels.

Campelar is situated near the middle of the island, on the east side; and the ground on which it stands, with much of the contiguous country, is, during the rains, extensively inundated. In addition to the manifest insalubrity of its situation, the water is so strongly impregnated with foreign substances, as to be rendered highly offensive to the taste. On this unfavourable spot, they had been induced to place their stores, and to enter into an agreement with the proprietor, to have the emigrants remain, until they could procure a territory suitable for a permanent settlement, from some of the kings on the

neighbouring continent; in effecting which, Kizell promised all his influence and cooperation.

The Sherbro country, on the continent, is distributed among a number of petty chiefs, who all acknowledge to their king a subjection which is merely nominal; for they possess absolute power in their respective districts.

The territory which had been designated by the former agents, and was the subject of the approaching negotiation, commenced about thirty miles from Campelar, at the head of navigation, in the Bagroo river. King Fara, who resided on the island, was the reputed proprietor of the tract, but had not authority to cede it, without the advice and consent of King Sherbro and the chiefs.

Mr. Bacon soon perceived in Kizell a disposition to procrastinate the general council of the chiefs, for which he was unable to account; he therefore determined to visit Fara at his own residence. Of his reception, and the conference which ensued, the following narrative is given by Mr. Bacon.

"We were received and seated in the *palaver* or *council house*, on native mats. The king and head-men of the tribe, were arranged on the opposite side: and after our presents had been produced and accepted, the palaver began. I stated through Mr. Kizell, the objects of our visit to Africa, and the improvements and benefits likely to accrue to the native tribes, from our religion, agriculture, and the mechanic arts. He listened to my words, and said they were all true; and professed to be highly gratified. He said he owned the land, where we wanted to sit down, and would sell it; but king Sherbro must first be consulted, as he was king of the whole country. He promised to come in two days to Campelar, and give me further information. I am more and more pleased with the Sherbro people. They are kind and attentive to our wants. The country is capable of becoming a continued garden. My health is excellent: I know not that it was ever better."

Mr. Bacon's solicitude led him to visit several other chiefs, from all of whom he obtained a ready consent to his plan of purchasing land; but still no steps were taken for a general council, and his confidence in Kizell began to be considerably shaken. When he returned from this visit to Campelar, he found that several of the people exhibited unequivocal symptoms of a violent attack of fever. These symptoms consisted

of pains in the head, back, and limbs, attended with lassitude, depression of spirits, and inflammation of the eyes. On the next day the number of the sick amounted to fifteen. The people now manifested the utmost impatience to remove from Campelar, on account, both of the badness of the water, and the insalubrity of the situation. A spirit of dissatisfaction with the agents began also to be too evident to be mistaken. The freight of the Elizabeth was not yet entirely transferred to the depot on the island; and while Mr. Bacon was kept busy in attending to the safe deposit of the stores on shore, Mr. Bankson and Dr. Crozer were engaged on board the ship, and receiving but little aid from the emigrants, they became much exhausted.

Mr. Bacon's entry in his journal on the 6th of April is as follows: "We have now twenty-one sick of a fever. We try the country practice of bathing, and find it successful in some cases. We have not tried it sufficiently to test its efficacy. The schooner is now absent for the remainder of the freight, and Dr. Crozer is with her. Mr. Bankson is sick:—I suppose on board the vessel. I have heard the complaints of the people, this day, because there is no good water to be had in the island—because they were brought to this place—because I did not take possession of the land by force—because the people are visited with sickness—because there is no fresh meat, sugar, molasses, flour, and other luxuries to be distributed to them—because I cannot give them better tobacco—because the '*palaver*' is not over—because I take the best measures I can to bring it to a conclusion—because the houses are not better—and because they have meat and bread to eat. They complain of every thing they have; and are clamorous for every thing they have not. We have suffered much from the depredations of our own people! Even our high-toned professors have been repeatedly detected in petty thefts, falsehoods, and mischiefs of the most disgraceful nature. I am pained to the heart with these indications of gross hypocrisy. It is a dark picture—but its shades are truth."

On the evening of the 7th of April, the number of the sick had increased to twenty-five. What rendered the affliction greater, Dr. Crozer, who was almost the only individual attached to the service, capable of prescribing and preparing the necessary medicines, was absent. Mr. Bacon gave his own per-

sonal attendance to the sick, and administered with his own hand, the best remedies which he could devise. On the same day he preached to those in health, preparatory to the communion; and addressed the natives through Kizell.

The affairs of the colony, every day, grew worse and worse. The 8th of April was a day of aggravated distress. The schooner returned bringing back Messrs. Bankson, Crozer, and Townsend, all seriously ill, as also were two of the schooner's crew. Five more on shore were added to the sick, reported the day before—making in all thirty-five. Of these, much the greater part were adult persons. The most useful of the colonists were, nearly to an individual, in the number. Twenty-five of the sick exhibited symptoms of a dangerous character; and all appeared to be hourly getting worse. Almost the whole care of the sick, as well as of those in health, now devolved on Mr. Bacon. "I passed the day," he writes, "in visiting the sick, inquiring into their wants, and administering medicines. Wherever I move, I meet with little besides groans and tears. The fever is bilious, and in many cases attended with delirium. Among the causes of the sickness, I reckon the following as the principal:—a too free use of the country fruits—the neglect of personal cleanliness—alternate exposure to the sun, and the dampness of the night—the want of flooring in the huts—constitutions not seasoned to the climate; and in the case of those employed about the schooner, excessive fatigue and anxiety of mind, and remaining for hours in the water and in wet clothes, while landing the goods. Many of the sick absolutely refuse to take medicines; some declaring that they will sooner die than submit to do it."

It is somewhat remarkable, that in this list of causes, Mr. Bacon makes no mention of the bad water, to which the sickness was afterwards almost solely attributed.

The deleterious nature of the African climate, to those not acclimated, seems scarcely to have entered into their calculation. It is now well understood, that the African fever must be expected to be endured, by all who settle in that region, unless their constitutions have been formed under a warm climate. No doubt, however, the causes mentioned greatly aggravated the disease; especially the fatigue, and exposure to the sun and night air. This acclimating fever, in many instances, has been very slight, and always the danger is tenfold

greater to the white, than the black man. It is to be hoped, however, that new methods of treatment will soon be discovered, which will disarm the disease of most of its terrors, even to the white man.

It will readily be supposed, from the existing circumstances of the colony, that Mr. Bacon could not pay much attention to his own health. Indeed, he seems to have removed personal considerations entirely from his view, and to have devoted himself unreservedly to the suffering people. In such cases the path of duty cannot be learned by the cool calculations of prudence; and the censure sometimes passed on persons who thus forget themselves for the sake of others, is commonly unjust. The account which he gives of his daily labours and trials, at this time, will be best expressed in his own words.

“Who can describe the burden under which I am obliged to struggle, in feeding this people, enduring their complaints, listening to their tales of trouble, inquiring into their sufferings, administering medicines, labouring with my own hands for them, and toiling at the oar, and handling casks, in unloading the vessel, and landing the goods. In addition to all this, I have the spiritual concerns of the whole company to look after. I go without stockings entirely, often without shoes, scarcely wear a hat, and am generally without a coat; I am up early, and not in bed till ten o’clock at night; I eat little, and seldom use other refreshment, except hard ship-bread, salt meat, and water. I labour more, and am more exposed to heat, and wet, and damp, and hunger, and thirst, than any one; and yet, blessed be God, I continue in health. In addition to all this, I have the weight of the whole interest on my mind, all the care, all the responsibility, all the anxiety. But God be praised, I have peace within. There are eight entire families sick, amongst whom there is not one able to cook his own food, or wait upon a child. O God! who *can* help, but thou?”

It might naturally be expected, that such difficulties and calamities would have cooled Mr. Bacon’s zeal for colonization. Let us hear then what he says on this subject. “Is it asked, do I yet say, colonize Africa? I reply, yes. He that has seen ninety-five native Africans landed together in America, and remarked the effects of the change of climate through the first year, has seen them as sickly as these. Every sudden and unnatural transition, produces illness. The surprising fer-

tility of the African soil; the mildness of the climate during a great part of the year; the numerous commercial advantages; the stores of fish, and herds of wild animals to be found here, invite her scattered children home. As regards myself, I counted the cost of engaging in the service before I left America. I came to these shores to *die*, and any thing better than death, is better than I expected."

On the 9th of April, which was Sunday, Mr. Bacon administered the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to such of the company as were Episcopalians, and some Methodists, and at the close observed, "We had a sweet season." Mr. Bankson and several of the people were delirious during the day. None appeared to have past the crisis of the disease, and some new cases had occurred. Those who were sick on board the schooner, had not been removed to land, and it was the wish of Dr. Crozer and Lieutenant Townsend, that she should be sent to Sierra Leone, but unfavourable winds prevented.

The wet season was now approaching, and the impatience of the people to be removed from Campelar became so great, that in a written memorial which they presented, they expressed the intention of taking the direction of affairs into their own hands. Upon which they were assembled and remonstrated with, after which their groundless agitation subsided, and their disorderly purpose was abandoned.

It had now become apparent, that Kizell had employed a secret influence to produce and aggravate the disaffection of the people. Mr. Bacon determined, therefore, to rely no longer on his mediation or agency, in conducting the negotiations. As no evidence is given of this man's duplicity and dishonesty, we of course cannot judge of his conduct, except so far as the opinion of Mr. Bacon may be our guide; but it is difficult for us to conceive, what motive he could have for promoting disaffection among the people, as he did not wish them to leave his place. In such a state of distress and privation, the mind of the most judicious person may be easily infected with groundless suspicion. As this subject will come up again, it is best that the reader should suspend his judgment of Kizell's unfaithfulness, until the whole evidence is before him.

Mr. Bacon, in his intense anxiety to obtain a place for a permanent settlement, went himself to visit King Kouber, a son of King Sherbro, at his town, on the Bagroo; but the interview

was without any present beneficial result. When he returned on the 12th, he found the sickness not in the least abated. Dr. Crozer, apprehending a fatal issue in his own case, formally committed his agency to the Rev. Daniel Coker, a coloured man, of the Methodist denomination, to which he himself also belonged; and awaited the closing scene of his life with composure. One person died on shore, this day, and several new cases of fever occurred. On board the *Augusta*, a very unpleasant event took place. Mr. Townsend in a fit of delirium, came out of his berth, on deck, and fell overboard, and was with great difficulty saved from a watery grave; and the violence of the fever was increased by the accident. On the 15th of April, the number of the sick amounted to forty; on which day, Dr. Crozer died on board the *Augusta*.

On the 16th, Lieutenant John S. Townsend departed this life; and also, one of the sick on shore. The seamen of the *Augusta* carried the remains of Messrs. Crozer and Townsend on shore, and buried them with the honours of war.

Mr. Bankson appeared to be convalescent, and was removed on shore; but Mr. Dugan, a young man who accompanied Mr. Bacon, was now seized: and on the following day, Mr. Bacon himself began to feel unwell; and on the two following days his disorder increased. He therefore adjusted his accounts; and began to contemplate the prospect of his own end. The heavy weight of care and anxiety which burdened his mind, proved very unfavourable to his recovery. His chief concern to the last, seemed to be for the people of his charge. In contemplating his own death, he saw little, except a bright and boundless expanse of glory, piercing with its light the gloom which hung over the dying scene. But his heart was wrung with the contemplation of the event, as it would affect the colonists and the success of the expedition. On this theme he vented his feelings in the most pathetic language. But even in this heaviest, and doubtless, his last trial, he found relief, by a vigorous effort of faith in the mercy of God; and by ultimately confiding in the wisdom and righteousness of all his purposes. The last expression which he committed to paper, arising out of the gloomy prospect of the colony, was accompanied by the words, "Thy will be done."

From the 22d of April, to the 28th, there was no intelligent friend near him to observe the progress of his symptoms, or

administer the medicines and comforts which his case demanded. He had resigned himself into the hands of God, and waited submissively, the result of his afflictive dispensation.

The want of fraternal sympathy, and even common humanity was manifested, by the colony at Sierra Leone. Their own sufferings in a similar way, one would have thought might have taught them the duty of aiding their suffering brethren. But they not only neglected to send to Sherbro any medical aid, but when applied to for a physician, refused to comply with the request. While Mr. Bacon was lying sick, a schooner from Freetown anchored in sight of Campelar. Two persons were sent on shore in a barge, not to inquire after the health of the people, but on some trivial errand: one of them also was an acting physician; but no entreaties of the dying, suffering people, could prevail with them to remain, or to administer any medicine to the sick, or to give any advice. Indeed, they manifested a most unfeeling indifference. It was with much difficulty they could be prevailed on to agree to receive Mr. Bacon on board, who was anxious to be taken from Campelar, and to be conveyed to Sierra Leone, in the hope of obtaining medical aid. But when the boat in which they carried him came in sight of the schooner, they weighed anchor and set sail for Sierra Leone. He directed the boatmen to row hard to overtake the vessel; and though they followed at a moderate distance for six hours, they were unable to overtake her, and the schooner never slackened sail to permit the boat to come up. Thus, for six hours was Mr. Bacon exposed to the burning sun, while suffering under the African fever. He now directed the boatmen to make for the Plantain Islands. After spending the night on shore, he was on the 30th of April, conveyed in the open boat to Cape Shilling, where he arrived in the evening of this day; and where he was very hospitably received by Captain William Randal, the superintendent of the station. And though he now received every friendly attention which his case required, his disorder was too far advanced to be subdued. His body and mind were both completely prostrated; and though he made some feeble attempts to engage in conversation with his host, who seems to have been a pious man, his sentences were so broken, that it was evident that he was hastening rapidly to his end.

On the first day of May, he uttered the last words which he

ever spoke, and at four o'clock next morning, he fell asleep in Jesus. He was interred on the same day, in the burying ground attached to the church in that settlement. And though deposited by the hands of strangers, on a foreign and a pagan shore, his body rests under the sure protection of the Christian's Saviour, and in "the certain hope of a glorious resurrection."

Mr. Bankson, the colleague of Mr. Bacon, continued to amend for a few days, when he suffered a fatal relapse, and was carried off on the 13th of May. Mr. Dugan recovered, and returned to the United States. The whole crew of the *Augusta* fell a sacrifice to the deleterious climate, and of the emigrants about twenty or twenty-five died. The remainder in a few weeks regained their health.

The life of Bacon was written by the lamented Ashmun, who followed in the same career, and lost his life in the same cause. Bacon's character was strongly marked; and his life, for its short period, was uncommonly eventful. Few cases are on record, in which any young man surmounted more obstacles in obtaining a liberal education; but his energy and perseverance carried him through every difficulty; so that he was enabled at last, to take his first degree in the arts, in one of the oldest and most respectable institutions in the country. His constitution was ardent, and his mind naturally vigorous, and inclined to be enthusiastic. Enterprises promising great good to society and posterity, took a strong hold of his feelings, and in the prosecution of objects of public interest and importance, he almost entirely forgot himself, and was willing to run every risk, and endure every fatigue. The scheme of the American Colonization Society was one exactly suited to his ardent and benevolent mind; and although he was aware of the dangers which surrounded it, he never drew back nor hesitated, but went forward with a zeal and confidence and energy which never forsook him, until under the pressure of disease he breathed out his soul. Minds of a cast so noble and enterprising, and actuated by a benevolence so pure and unremitted, deserve to be held in grateful remembrance by those who come after them; and especially should the memory of Bacon be cherished by the friends of Colonization to the latest period of time.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF THE COLONY AFTER THE DEATH OF THE AGENTS.

THE Board at Washington had been greatly encouraged by the communications from their Agent, after the arrival of the Elizabeth; but this bright prospect was soon clouded by the melancholy accounts of the death of all the agents, and of a considerable number of the best of the colonists sent out. They were also deeply affected with the unhappy fate of the officer and boat's-crew of the Cyane. But though discouraged, they could not see in any or all these circumstances, the total failure of their attempt. They concluded, that the sickness and deaths which had occurred, did not prove that a fatal and inevitable disease rendered the whole coast of Africa uninhabitable to strangers; for out of the whole number of eighty-eight emigrants, about seventy who had been exposed, had survived and recovered; and many instances of a much greater mortality had occurred in various places, owing to other causes than a pernicious peculiarity of climate. The Board seem to have cherished some degree of delusion in regard to the climate of the western coast of Africa, especially as it relates to white persons. They were disposed to attribute the sickness and mortality which had taken place, almost entirely to local causes, and unfavourable circumstances in the situation of the colonists, and the unfortunate period of the Elizabeth's arrival; it being near the commencement of the rainy season. The want of preparation and accommodation for their reception, and the early death of Dr. Crozer, which left them without medical aid or advice, were also among the unfavourable circumstances. That the sickness and mortality were not owing only or chiefly to the peculiar unhealthiness of the Island of Sherbro, is evident from the fact, that Lieutenant Townsend, Mr. Bankson, and Dr. Crozer, together with the whole crew of the boat, took the fever and died, although they had not resided on the island. And recent facts abundantly show, that all foreigners coming on this coast, are liable to a fever, which is more or less dangerous, according to the constitutions and circumstances of the

patients ; it being, in general, much more fatal to white than to black men.

The Board encouraged themselves by the ultimate success of Sierra Leone, and the other colonies in this country, although many disasters attended their first settlement ; and the patrons of the enterprise appeared generally unwilling that the colonization of the free people of colour on the western coast of Africa, should be abandoned, and manifested still a willingness to contribute to the funds of the society. It was, therefore, determined by the Board to persevere in their efforts in this benevolent cause. Much credit is due to them for their fortitude and zeal ; and it is believed that their misapprehension of the true causes of the sickness and mortality, was overruled for good.

The early death of the agents, had prevented the acquisition of a territory for the colony. Mr. Bacon, as we have related, exerted himself to the utmost to effect this object, but died before it could be accomplished ; and Kizell, who, they trusted, would, by his influence with the native kings, greatly facilitate their negotiations, fell under a suspicion of unfaithfulness, and even by Mr. Bacon was judged to have failed in zeal and promptitude, in promoting this object.

Dr. Crozer, the agent of the Colonization Society, when near his end, having solemnly committed the agency with which he had been entrusted, to the Rev. Daniel Coker, a coloured preacher, of the Methodist Episcopal denomination, and both the government agents being dead, the whole burden and responsibility of providing for the welfare of the colony devolved on this man. In his communications to the society he informed them, that the sick were gradually recovering, and that the whole number of the emigrants who had died, did not exceed twenty-five. In his letter, he says, " Although we have met with such trials, and are here a small handful, and our provisions running low, and we in a strange and heathen land, and have not heard from America, and know not whether any more people or provisions will be sent out—and though we know not what is to become of us, far distant from our families and our friends ; yet thank the Lord, my confidence is strong in the veracity of his promises, and in the honour of your society, and the government. Last Lord's day, I preached in the King's town, and administered the Lord's supper to our little

society, in presence of many natives. It was a glorious time; some natives were affected. Tell my brethren to come—not to fear—this land is good—it only wants men to possess it.”

It seems, therefore, that the colonists themselves were not altogether disheartened by the disasters which they had suffered; at least, this was the fact with regard to Coker, whose wife and children were still in America.

In another part of his letter, we find, that he had even begun to make some efforts to instruct the natives. “I have opened,” says he, “a little Sunday-school for native children—I teach out of doors—some can spell. O sir, it would do your heart good, to see the little naked sons of Africa around me and Peck, and the parents looking on with wonder.” “Tell the coloured people to come up to the help of the Lord—let nothing discourage the society, or the coloured people.”

Coker being thus left in sole charge of the colony, and of all the stores brought out in the *Elizabeth*, very naturally felt a heavy weight of responsibility resting on him, and was unwilling to take any step without the advice of some one, on whose judgment he could depend. He thereupon determined to go to Sierra Leone, and consult Governor McCarthy, what course it would be prudent for him to pursue. He was very kindly received by the Governor, and was invited to call frequently upon him.

By the advice of Governor McCarthy, Coker resolved to remain some time at Sierra Leone, in the hope, that an American vessel would arrive; and to his great joy, the *John Adams*, arrived at Sierra Leone, bringing letters and some supplies for the colonists. Coker speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of Captain Wadsworth and his officers. One important service which they rendered was, repairing the little schooner which Mr. Bacon had purchased; but they aided the colonists in various other ways.

It will be satisfactory to hear from Captain Alexander S. Wadsworth himself, an account of the situation of these afflicted emigrants, which we find in a letter addressed to Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. “I found Mr. Coker,” says he, “on whom all the affairs of the settlement had devolved, by the death of the agents, at Sierra Leone, in a state of the greatest despondency, and on the point

of abandoning the settlement. I advised him to sustain himself in his present situation, till he should receive instructions from the United States, as the ultimate success of the colony depended so materially on such a course. I delivered to him the presents I had brought out in the ship, with a few necessities and groceries from the officers of the ship, and despatched an officer and a boat with him to Sherbro, to render him such aid as he might deem necessary, and to obtain all the information in his power. . . . He left us greatly encouraged, and in good spirits; and confident, with the assistance we afforded him, that he should be able to act so as to meet the wishes of the Colonization Society.”*

We have also a letter from Edward Trenchard, captain of the *Cyane*, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy. From this letter it appears, that the spirit of insubordination among the emigrants had been far more alarming, than would be inferred from any accounts which we have yet given. Coker informed Captain Trenchard, that this spirit had manifested itself on board the *Elizabeth*, during the voyage, and had continued to increase after landing, notwithstanding the unremitted efforts of Mr. Bacon and the other agents, to quell it; and that on the death of Mr. Bacon, the emigrants fell into a state of total disorder, openly declaring that they knew no authority, and would not be controlled; stealing, and pilfering whenever an opportunity offered, and threatening the acting agent, if he attempted to restrain them. The natives, observing their disunion and feuds, instigated by cupidity and avarice, took advantage of their ignorance and disagreement, and would not assist, or afford them any relief. Coker apprehending violence from the emigrants, if he remained at Sherbro, determined to remove the people and stores to Sierra Leone.

Both the captains, Wadsworth and Trenchard, finding the agents of the government to receive re-captured slaves, dead, were at a loss what they should do with any slaves which they might capture; but both resolved to send them into Sierra Leone. It appears, however, that five slavers were sent into the ports of the United States, and condemned; four of these were taken by the *Cyane*, and one by the *Hornet*. By permission of the authorities of Sierra Leone, the emigrants were removed to a particular spot near Freetown. Novem-

* See also Captain Wadsworth's letter to the Secretary of the Navy.

ber 20th, Mr. Coker addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Colonization Society, but it contains no particular information. The officers of the John Adams, on leaving the coast, made up a handsome present which they sent to Coker, the acting agent. He never mentions the officers of the United States vessels, but with the warmest commendations.

Early in 1821, the brig Nautilus, having on board two agents, the Rev. Mr. E. Bacon and Mr. Winn, appointed by the government of the United States to reside on the coast of Africa, and two agents of the Colonization Society, viz. the Rev. Joseph Andrus and Mr. C. Wiltberger, sailed from Norfolk for the coast of Africa. The same vessel also carried out a select company of coloured people, consisting of twenty-eight effective labourers and a number of children, to recruit the party sent out under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, the preceding year.

The agents were instructed to proceed to Sierra Leone, and there debark the people under the temporary protection of the authorities of that colony; which, from the amicable disposition they had uniformly evinced in relation to the establishment contemplated by the society on that coast, it was presumed would be generously afforded. The temporary establishment at Sierra Leone seemed a matter of necessity, since the negotiations for the Bagroo territory had entirely failed.

The Nautilus arrived at Sierra Leone on the 9th of March, and received readily from the acting government, the protection which they solicited. An arrangement was concluded with the proprietors of an extensive and cultivated plantation, situated on Foura Bay, within the jurisdiction, and in the immediate vicinity of Freetown, by which they became possessed of every accommodation which their health and comfort required. Having secured a lease of this estate for an indefinite time, the agents had leisure to prosecute their inquiries and observations to different parts of the coast, with a view to the selection and purchase of a territory, the most advantageously situated for the purposes of the settlement; and to this object their attention was immediately directed. After careful examination of all circumstances, they relinquished all idea of making any further attempt to acquire the Bagroo country, from king Sherbro. They were led to adopt this resolution, not only from the supposed sickness of the country, and the difficulty of getting the chiefs to agree to a cession of the land on any reasonable terms;

but they were greatly influenced by the consideration, that this country lay too near to the possessions of the rapidly increasing colony of Sierra Leone, with which it was important to be on the most amicable terms. And in pursuing this course the agents were happy to find, that they met the views of the members of the colonial government of Sierra Leone.

It was determined, therefore, to explore the coast as far south as Bassa Cove; and Mr. Andrus, agent of the Colonization Society, and Mr. Bacon, (brother of the person deceased,) agent of the government of the United States, undertook to perform this exploring tour: but as Mr. Bacon's journal has been published, and is highly interesting, an account of this coasting voyage will be given in the next chapter.

It may be proper before we proceed further, to take some notice of the proceedings of the Society at Washington, at their anniversary meeting on the 18th of January, 1821. Judge Washington being prevented from attending, by illness, Hon. Henry Clay was called to the chair, and delivered on the occasion, an eloquent and animating address. The whole proceedings manifest any thing rather than a spirit of despondency. Speeches of a highly encouraging nature were delivered by the Hon. Daniel P. Cook, Hon. C. F. Mercer, and Francis S. Key, Esq. A resolution was passed, expressing lively regret for the untimely death of the Rev. Samuel Bacon and John P. Bankson, agents of the government; and of Samuel A. Crozer, agent of the Colonization Society; with a respectful tribute to their memory.

A resolution was also passed, giving the thanks of the society to Captains Trenchard and Wadsworth, and to the officers and crews of their respective vessels, and also to Captain Randall of Cape Shilling, for their kindness to the colonists and agents.

The society, at this meeting, directed a memorial to be laid before Congress, on the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade, and the intimate connexion of that subject with the success of the colonization scheme.

This memorial having been committed, a very favourable report was brought in; in which it was proposed to Congress, to make the offence of being concerned in carrying on the slave trade, piracy.

In the Annual Report of the society for this year, (1821,)

there is an important and interesting report of the trial of the schooner *Plattsburg*. The opinion of Judge Van Ness is given in full, and is eloquent, and contains sound and discriminating views.

This vessel sailed from Baltimore in December, 1819. In the following April, she was found on the coast of Africa, officered and manned by Americans, except a Spaniard by the name of Gonzales, who was nominally the captain of the vessel. These circumstances, in the opinion of the Judge, justified the commander of the *Cyane* in seizing her, and sending her in for adjudication; and after a full examination of the case, it appeared very clearly, that this vessel had been fitted out in Baltimore, for the slave-trade; but that to cover the transaction this Spaniard had been put on board as the nominal commander of the vessel; and a fraudulent transfer of the cargo to a man who went out as supercargo had been made.

After a fair and open trial, the schooner was condemned under the law of the United States prohibiting the slave-trade; and upon the facts, considered by the Judge sufficiently established by the evidence, that she was at the time of seizure, American property, and that the voyage originated in a port of the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COLONY UNDER MESSRS. E. BACON AND ANDRUS.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Bacon will repeat some things contained in the preceding chapters, yet we believe that our readers will be gratified with the following details extracted from his journal, as it is the testimony of an intelligent eye-witness.

“We left Norfolk on the 21st of January, 1821, and on the 23d sailed from Hampton Roads. For about thirty days we encountered head winds and strong gales, and made slow progress. During this time I was very sea-sick, as were also Mrs. Bacon, and the Rev. Mr. Andrus. The other agents were less affected; some of the colonists suffered from the same malady. Our captain was remarkably kind and attentive to those who

were sick, and particularly to Mrs. Bacon and myself, when we were unable to wait upon ourselves, for which kindness I shall always feel myself under very many obligations to him; and I think I speak the sentiments of my colleagues. Nothing uncommon occurred during our voyage, except that we experienced a very severe gale of wind, accompanied with a snow storm, which our captain told us was more violent than any he had known during the preceding twenty years. It was indeed a time to try our faith.

“At the commencement of the voyage, we established morning and evening prayers in the cabin, as well as in the steerage, where the coloured people were; in these we enjoyed the consolations of the religion we profess.

“We had all recovered from sea-sickness, and having arrived within the tropics, where the weather was fine and the wind favourable, our passage was more agreeable. Nothing uncommon occurred during the remainder of our voyage. But a continuation of the mercies of our heavenly Father was daily bestowed on us. On the morning of the 8th of March, we had a distant view of the mountains of Sierra Leone, which was really animating to us after crossing the Atlantic. We felt ourselves approaching towards that much injured country, where we expected to labour, and to suffer many and great afflictions. We were cheered with the hope, that through the assistance of Divine grace, we should be, in a greater or less degree, useful among the degraded children of Africa. The wind was fair, but rather light, as is not uncommon in the dry season. We soon hove in sight of Cape Sierra Leone, when we discovered, for the first time, several native canoes approaching toward us. These excited our curiosity. They were manned by the native Kroomen, in a state of nudity, or nearly so. When I speak of naked people, it may be always understood that they wear a cloth about their loins, and that the men generally wear hats. These hats are manufactured out of a kind of grass. The chiefs and head-men often wear common English hats.

“We soon discovered a fine English barge approaching us, rowed by natives. In this were the harbour master, George Macaulay, and S. Easton, Esqs., (of the house of the honourable K. Macaulay,) who very politely gave us much interesting information relative to our American blacks at Sherbro. As we approached near the harbour, they gave the American

agents a friendly invitation to go on shore in the barge, and take lodgings at their house. As the principal agent concluded to remain on board, Mrs. Bacon and myself thought proper not to slight their politeness, our accommodations in the brig being somewhat circumscribed, and the transition from Norfolk, where the cold was excessive, to Sierra Leone, where the degrees of heat were at noon day from 85 to 87½ in the shade, making a visit to land desirable. Moreover the services of all the agents were not required to attend to the wants of the people. We accordingly went on shore, where we were politely and hospitably entertained for several days.

“The agents of the United States, together with those of the society, soon had an interview with the Rev. Daniel Coker, by whom we learnt the condition of the American settlers at Sherbro. He informed us that the mortality, although severely felt in the loss of our valuable agents, and Mr. Townsend, commandant of the United States schooner *Augusta*, together with six of his men, and a boy, was not so great as at first reported. The whole number of blacks who died, did not exceed twenty-three, out of the eighty-eight sent out in the ship *Elizabeth*. Several of those deaths were not caused by the prevailing fever. The actual number of blacks who died with fever, did not exceed eighteen or nineteen, all of whom died at Kizell’s Place. Although very many of the settlers were extremely ill when they left Kizzell’s Place, and removed to Yonie, a more healthy part of Sherbro island, and the time of their removal was the month of August, in the midst of the rainy season, still no deaths by fever occurred at Yonie; but on the contrary, a general recovery took place, notwithstanding there was no medical aid. The sickness at Kizell’s Place was evidently in a great degree owing to local causes; the water alone is said to be sufficiently bad to create malignant disorders, though Kizell was base enough to assert that it contained peculiar qualities highly conducive to health. That, and other false assertions, induced the former agents to receive his offer of friendship; pretending, as he did, to unbounded influence among the native chiefs; an ardent desire to further the benevolent objects of our government and the society; to benefit America; to meliorate the condition of the African race, and propagate the glorious gospel of God in a heathen land.

“After making other necessary inquiries of Mr. Coker, and of those gentlemen in Sierra Leone, with whom we were most conversant; also of some of the American blacks who went out with Paul Cuffee, and of Nathaniel Peck, who accompanied the first expedition; we were fully satisfied that Mr. Coker had managed the business of the expedition, after the decease of the former agents, in as judicious a manner as the circumstances of the case would admit.

“We lost no time after our arrival, in communicating with the acting governor, his honour John Grant, upon the subject of our mission. The American agents received a polite invitation to breakfast with him at the Government House on Saturday morning, the 10th of March. We there met his excellency, together with his honourable council, after partaking of a sumptuous breakfast of great variety, served up in elegant style.

“The several benevolent objects of our government, and those of the society were fully explained, and an open and candid exposition of our instructions made after this friendly interview. His excellency gave us a very polite invitation to dine at the Government House, on Tuesday the 13th of March; which we did accordingly, and partook of an elegant dinner, served up in much splendour. There were at table a number of the principal gentlemen, officers of the colonial government, Spanish commissioners, English missionaries, and several ladies.

“The very friendly disposition which the colonial authorities manifested towards the objects of our mission, may be seen by a reference to the *Sierra Leone Gazette*.

“A meeting of all the agents, together with Mr. Coker, took place, when it was unanimously agreed to relinquish the idea of making any further attempt to negotiate for lands in the *Sherbro country*; and that two of the agents should cause the United States schooner *Augusta*, which was lying at anchor in the harbour at Sierra Leone, to undergo some slight repairs for the purpose of exploring the coast in search of a suitable site for an American settlement; moreover, it was resolved that no time should be lost, as we were taught by our instructions to regard the acquisition of lands for a settlement, as a matter of primary importance.

“Having a discretion on this subject, it was determined after advising with the English missionaries and agents at Sierra

Leone, that the Rev. Mr. Andrus and myself should be deputed to the service of exploring the coast, and entering into negotiations with the native chiefs. At the same time it was arranged that Messrs. Winn and Wiltberger should disembark the people and goods from the Nautilus, after a suitable place for their temporary location should be determined upon, by and with the consent of the colonial authorities, who had politely proffered to provide such place, as soon as it could be selected. It was also agreed that Messrs. Winn and Wiltberger, should attend to the business at Sherbro—supply the wants of the people there, or remove them as should be found most expedient; so that as nearly as possible an equal partition of duties was made.

“A suitable place was found about two weeks after Mr. Andrus and myself had sailed on our hazardous excursion. We had been taught to expect the arrival of the Alligator, which was to accompany us. But it was not deemed advisable to wait, but to proceed immediately to execute that part of our instructions, which directed us to explore the coast; in this determination we were influenced by the following reasons.

“1. The assistance of all the agents was not necessary to administer to the wants of the people, circumstanced as they must be during their continuance at Sierra Leone; and some of us, unless employed in obtaining the lands, must have remained almost or quite unoccupied.

“2. The period of the arrival of the Alligator on the coast, was entirely uncertain. But little more than six weeks remained before the rains. The business of exploring, therefore, must be commenced immediately, or not completed until the rainy season; and as the event showed, had we waited for the arrival of the Alligator, it could not have been begun before the commencement of the rains.

“3. But our principal reason for embarking in the business immediately, was the certainty that the presence of an armed force would hinder rather than assist our negotiations with the natives. In this opinion we were confirmed by the unanimous judgment of all our English friends consulted on the subject. It will be seen, by a reference to dates, that we had concluded our contract for the lands, and returned to Sierra Leone, two weeks or more before the arrival of the Alligator.”

“*Wednesday evening, the 21st of March.*—Having been

much engaged in making preparations, I had not time to write to my friends; and expecting not to return until after the sailing of the brig *Nautilus*, (although the disembarkation had not yet commenced,) a letter was written approving of the judicious management of the Rev. Daniel Coker, in conducting the affairs of the first expedition after the decease of the former agents, and recommending him to the friendly notice of the Board of Managers of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour. This letter was signed by J. B. Winn, J. R. Andrus, C. Wiltberger, jr. and E. Bacon, agents.

“Thursday morning, the 22d of March.—The schooner is expected to be ready to-day: we are preparing for our departure, and hope to sail this evening.

“At 5 o’clock, P. M. all hands are on board, some of the sailors intoxicated; the captain appears to make unnecessary delays. At length we set sail. After doubling the cape, we stood out to sea, far enough to clear all the head lands and islands of the coast; and then proceeding coastwise, we made Cape Mount, about two hundred and fifty miles distant from Sierra Leone, on the 27th. This part of the coast we had previously learned to be in the occupancy of King Peter, one of the most powerful and warlike chiefs of West Africa, and more deeply engaged in the slave-trade than any of his neighbours. The known hostility of his views to the objects of the American government and society, dissuaded us from incurring any loss of time or expense in procuring an interview with him. We accordingly proceeded onward to the mouth of the Mesurado river, about fifty miles south of Cape Mount, where we came to anchor the next day, before two small islands, owned by John Mills, a yellow man, having an English education, and Baha, a black, and native African. Both of these men are slave dealers, and it is supposed that their islands are mere slave markets. Every appearance went to justify this suspicion. The neighbourhood of Cape Mesurado having been indicated as a part of the coast favourable to our purpose, we were induced to make the most particular inquiry and observations in our power, relative to the advantages and disadvantages that would attend a settlement here.

“The appearance of this part of the left bank of the Mesurado river, which terminates in the cape of the same name, is sufficiently elevated, and inviting. The natural growth is lux-

uriant and abundant; many of the trees attain to a large size, and present every indication of a strong and fertile soil.

"The head-man is a dependent of King Peter, and has the same name. We attempted to obtain a palaver with him, and for this purpose went on shore with a present. He was not ignorant of the object of our visit, and sent by a messenger declining an interview, and refusing to receive our present, though we had reason to believe that if we had been mere missionaries, he would have received us readily.* While we were at anchor, a schooner under French colours appeared, lying off, and apparently waiting for an opportunity to come in and receive a cargo of slaves. We saw a great number of young Africans, who appeared as if intended for that vessel.

"On the evening of the 29th, we got under way, and following the direction of the coast, which here stretches south-easterly, we had the prospect of a delightful country the whole distance to St. John's river. The coast presents a sandy beach; in the whole of this extent, the country is gently elevated from the coast, and has a surface agreeably diversified with moderate inequalities. Most of the land visible from the sea, either has been, or now is, in a state of cultivation. The soil is prolific in the most substantial articles of food produced in tropical countries. The neglected parts of the land are covered with a thick growth of brush wood. The mountains in the interior are here about twenty or thirty miles from the sea, stretching in the direction of the coast, and come more distinctly into view, than at the northward of the Cape. Their elevation must be considerable. On the evening of the 31st we were becalmed, and obliged to anchor opposite the mouth of the St. John's river, at the distance of between two and three leagues. This river is nearly a league over at the mouth. About six leagues from the sea, it is one mile wide, and has in no part of the main channel, less than nine feet water. Salt water extends but six or eight miles from the sea; there is a rapid at six leagues' distance from the mouth of the river, which is however passable with canoes. Above, the batteau navigation extends to a great distance in the interior. Five miles to the eastward of the mouth of St. John's, and discharging its waters into the same bay, is the Grand Bassa river, small in com-

* This cape has since been negotiated for, together with a large tract of fertile country, and the American colony are settled on it.

parison with the St. John's, and very shoal at the bar—but of considerable length and navigable for light batteau a number of leagues.

“On the 1st of April, we brought the schooner to anchor off the mouth of the latter river, at the distance of three-fourths of a mile. We were soon surrounded with canoes, which brought on board a large number of natives. By one of them we despatched a small present to the king. This prince's name is Jack Ben, lately advanced to the supreme power, from the rank of principal head-man, in consequence of the death of King John, which occurred about four months before our visit.

Monday morning, April 2d, Grand Bassa.—We were visited by ten or fifteen native canoes, bringing from two to five men each, who came to trade; their articles were fowls, fish, oysters, eggs, palm oil and palm wine, cassada, yams, plantains, bananas, limes and pine apples, for which they wanted in return tobacco, pipes, beads, &c.

“Fowls are sold for one leaf of tobacco or one pipe each; oysters are very large and fine; half a pound of tobacco will buy one hundred; they are larger than the Blue Point oysters.

“Mr. Andrus and myself went on shore in our boat, below the mouth of Grand Bassa, to take a view of the point of land which projects out into the sea. A fort, erected on this point, would completely command the whole harbour. After visiting the point, it was necessary to cross the Grand Bassa a short distance above its mouth, as the surf was turbulent below the bar. Our conductor was a Krooman, by the name of Bottle Beer. When we came to the left bank of the river, we saw no canoe or other means of crossing over as we thought; but Bottle Beer proposed to carry us over, and placed himself in a suitable position, and told one of us to sit upon his shoulders, when brother Andrus seated himself with one leg over each shoulder; then Bottle Beer walked deliberately through the river, carrying his burden safe to the other bank, and returned back and proposed to take me. I told him I was so fat and heavy that he would let me fall into the water; he put his hands upon his arms and legs, and said, “Me strong, me carry you, Daddy.” At length I seated myself likewise upon Bottle Beer, and though he was not as heavy a person as myself, he carried me safe over without wetting me; it was necessary, however, that I should hold my feet up, as the water was

about half a fathom deep. After this we walked about three hundred yards, to Bottle Beer's town, a little cluster of cottages inhabited by Kroomen, of which Bottle Beer is head-man; several of these people can talk broken English; the king placed Bottle Beer at this town as a factor or a harbour master, as it is a place for vessels to water. The population is perhaps from sixty to one hundred; we were conducted to the palaver house, where the people soon gathered together, and shook hands with us. After remaining a short time, we were conducted to another town (so called) where the people were boiling sea-water for salt, as they do at all the towns near the beach; this is called Salt Town; through this we passed to Jumbo Town, which is about one mile from Bottle Beer's town, and much larger.

"In Jumbo Town there are from thirty to forty houses, and several hundred people. There is also a large palaver house, to which we were conducted. There we were accosted by Jumbo, the head-man, and the natives, and shook hands with them. The land is prolific beyond description. Indian corn grows luxuriantly and is in the ear. Indeed, the country is beautifully variegated, and the water is good and plenty.

"About one o'clock, P. M. we returned back to our boat, which was at Bottle Beer's town. After the boat was in readiness, one of the Kroomen took me in his arms and carried me above the surf to the boat, and likewise Mr. Andrus, so that we were not wet; and all this kindness without being solicited. Indeed, they are very kind and hospitable; they gave us water to drink, and palm wine, and made us welcome to such as they had. As is customary, they begged for tobacco, of which we gave a small quantity to the head-men, who always distribute among the people.

"After returning on board the schooner, we dined on fish and oysters sumptuously. We then went in our boat over the bar, into the mouth of the St. John's river, about four miles distance from the schooner, when we sounded on the bar, and found not less than nine feet water at ebb-tide. The river is about three miles wide at the bar: there is plenty of water and good anchorage: vessels of two or three hundred tons burden, may lie perfectly safe. It being nearly dark, and the tide beginning to make, which was against our returning in the boat, over the bar, it was thought most prudent for Mr. Andrus and

myself to go on shore and return by land to Jumbo Town, which we did accordingly. There was no path on the shore but the sand beach, which was fatiguing, as the sand was so loose that a great part of the way our shoes would sink two or three inches every step. Moreover, being exposed to the night air, is thought in Africa to be dangerous to foreigners; however, we arrived at Jumbo Town about eight o'clock, and waited for our boat, which soon came. The natives again carried us through the surf, and we returned on board much fatigued, having been in a profuse perspiration and exposed to night air, until nine o'clock. I was very weary. After having taken some refreshments, we had prayers and retired to rest. Heard nothing from the king, the Krooman not having returned.

"Tuesday, April 3d.—This morning brother Andrus was not in very good health, and did not go on shore, but took medicine. We were again visited by natives, with a great variety of fruit, vegetables, fowls, fish, &c. &c.

"We this day sent another message to the king. At ten o'clock I went on shore, in company with Tamba and Davis, and walked about one mile into the country, where I found the land remarkably good. We passed through four or five towns, as they called them; the houses as in other towns appear at a distant view more like the same number of stacks of straw or hay, as they are covered with a kind of grass. Davis and Tamba improve every opportunity to talk with their country people upon the subject of our mission. Davis saw some of the head-men to-day, who appear to be suspicious that we had some unfriendly object in view; but as he can speak their language fluently, he is endeavouring to remove their doubts.

"Returned on board with not only my locks but my flannels drenched with perspiration; even while I am writing, if my handkerchief were not in my hand to wipe it from my face, I should be compelled to discontinue. No prospect as yet of seeing the king.

"This evening brother Andrus's health is better. We commended ourselves and the cause in which we are engaged to God, who alone can accomplish all things, according to his purpose, and retired to rest.

"Wednesday morning, April 4th.—At six o'clock, according to our arrangements made yesterday, we started in our

boat, with four boatmen and our interpreters, making eight of us; and five natives, two of which were head-men, in two of their canoes. We ascended the river St. John's to the first island. The banks of the river are rather low, but suitable for cultivation. This island was formerly occupied by a slave factor; but since the English and American cruisers have annoyed them, the traders have abandoned this and all the other islands. In this river their gardens are to be seen; in them is a variety of fruit. We breakfasted here upon some smoked beef and bread, which we brought from the vessel. Thence we proceeded on to another island, to which Davis said he was brought, and on which he was sold to an American slave factor.

"It was with great difficulty that we prevailed on the natives and our boat's crew to proceed any further, because they said, "White man never live above that place." It appeared that they doubted the efficacy of their gregres, which they never fail to wear when exposed to danger. We passed two other islands, formerly occupied by the same kind of desperadoes. We still proceeded onwards until we came to rapids, which are from fifteen to twenty miles from its mouth. The land as we ascend the river becomes more elevated, with a fine growth of timber, admirably situated for settlements. We saw several small towns and farms, where rice and vegetables are cultivated. Davis read the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and spoke to the people upon the state of their souls. In one of those towns, people were very attentive; their reply to him after he had ceased speaking, was, "*Very well, we hear you, all very good what you say, we think 'bout it, we no sabby white man fash, we sabby gregre.*"

"We saw very fine goats, and sheep, and poultry. All the people wear gregres or charms; some of these are brass rings, which they wear around their ancles and wrists—one is a feather tied with a string around their neck—and what they consider more valuable, is the horn of a goat or a sheep, which the Dibbleman (as they say) prepares by filling it with a kind of glutinous substance, intermixed with pulverized charcoal, or black sand; some wear a little ball of clay tied up in a piece of white muslin.

"At three o'clock we put our company in motion on our return. At seven o'clock, the boat arrived at the mouth of the

river, and before crossing the bar, brother Andrus, myself, Tamba and Davis, went on shore, where we had a most fatiguing walk down the beach to Jumbo Town; our boat not being able to go over the bar before daylight, as the tide did not favour; therefore we had no boat in which we dare venture, as the native canoes were small and unsafe for us. Having been twelve hours exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and having walked four miles in the damp of the evening, with our clothes drenched in perspiration, and being obliged to lie down supperless, upon a floor composed of bamboo sticks, without any covering but our wet garments—having no door to our cottage, and several hundred natives within twenty yards, drumming and dancing, until one or two o'clock in the morning.—Indeed these were times that the secret ejaculations of the heart ascended up to the throne of the Heavenly Grace, for grace to help in that hour of need. Nor was the ear of Jehovah heavy, that it could not hear; nor his almighty arm shortened, that it could not save; for we found ready help through our Lord Jesus Christ, strengthening us.

“Thursday morning, April 5th.—We arose and felt somewhat the worse for our hard lodging, after our extreme exposure in that climate, in which, it is said, foreigners are subject to fevers and agues. Our boat came to the beach for us, and we went on board the schooner. Having heard nothing from the king, we concluded to send Davis with one of the head-men, to seek his majesty. Davis was despatched with a present. We this day learned from a head-man, that we could have land, but that we must go to the king's town to-morrow.

“We admired the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, but discovered their fears that we were connected with some ship of war.

“Friday morning, April 6th.—We went on shore, and went to the king's town, but could not see him; it was said that he was not at home. The distance is from two and a half to three miles; the land is most excellent, elevated and dry; we saw very fine rice fields: this town was recently built, and the houses are much better than any I have hitherto seen in the Bassa country.

“We returned back to the schooner, without seeing Davis, and sent Tamba to call him, but he remained. We are full of doubts and fears about obtaining a palaver with the king.

“Saturday, April 7th.—This day Tamba and Davis returned; it appears they have been labouring to convince the head-men, that we have not come with any hostile intention.

“Sunday, April 8th.—Brothers Andrus and Davis went to old King John’s town, for the purpose of holding a meeting. Returned in the evening, and said that they had seen King Ben, and that he would meet us in Jumbo Town, in palaver, the next morning.

“They saw the body of King John, who had been dead four moons, yet not buried; he was laid in state in a palaver-house, dressed in a fine robe, with a pair of new English boots on the feet: a brisk fire is kept burning in the room. His grave is dug, which is eight feet square, for the purpose of admitting the body and the form upon which it lies, together with bullocks, goats, sheep, tobacco and pipes, as sacrifices! O Lord, when shall these superstitions cease!

“Monday, April 9th.—This morning the sea very rough. At 11 o’clock we went on shore with a present to the king, as it is impossible to get a palaver with the authorities of the country, without a respectable present ‘to pay service’ to the king, his princes, and head-men. We met his majesty, King Jack Ben, of Grand Bassa, together with several of his head-men in Jumbo Town, in the palaver-house, with a large concourse of people. After shaking hands with them, we laid down our presents, which consisted of one gun, some powder, tobacco, pipes, beads, &c. His majesty said in broken English, ‘me tanke you,’ and caused the articles to be removed, and placed under the care of a sentinel, so that his people might not get them before he had divided them equally, as is their custom. This division takes place, that all may ‘taste of the good things,’ and a contract is made: all who have partaken of the present, are pledged to fulfil on their part.

“The king asked us what we wanted, although he could not have been ignorant of our wishes. We stated our object to be, ‘to get land for the black people in America, to come and sit down upon [to occupy]. We told him that the people were very many, and required much territory; that a few white men only would come along, to assist and take care of them; that we should make a town where ships would come and trade with cloth, and guns, and beads, and knives, and tobacco, and pipes; and take in return their ivory, and palm oil, and rice,

and every other thing growing in the fields; that they would not then need to sell any more people, but might learn to cultivate the ground, and make other things to sell for whatever they wanted.'

"We, at last, succeeded in making a favourable impression on their minds; and convincing them that we had no unfriendly motive in visiting Bassa. The palaver was adjourned until the next day. It indeed requires much patience to deal with these children of the forest. We returned on board weary and faint: after partaking of some refreshment, and having implored the divine blessing of Him who has promised to give to his Son the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession, we retired to rest.

"*Tuesday, April 10th.*—This day is expected to be a day of importance, as the palaver will be much larger, and a certain condition will be discussed, which they have urged from the beginning; therefore, we look earnestly for Divine assistance. A small present will be necessary, as there will be more headmen than at any former palaver. At 10 o'clock we were convened. The present was placed before the king, and the usual ceremonies were performed. The king rose up and spoke to the case in the Bassa language, with great energy; his naked arm presented to view from within his robes, which were made of the country manufactured cloth, something in the form of clerical robes. After him, a Krooman by the name of Brown, rose and spoke with much spirit; his speech was interpreted by Tamba; the substance of it was, that we were emissaries from some slave-ship in the neighbourhood, and that we were not friends to them; on which the king and his council withdrew to the shade of a large silk cotton tree, in conclave, for the space of twenty or thirty minutes. They then returned and proceeded in discussing the condition, strenuously urged from the beginning by the king, as the basis on which alone he could accede to our wishes in relation to the lands. We had stated, that we came not with any hostile intentions, and that the character of the settlement was to be unwarlike and agricultural. They demanded of us a positive stipulation, to make *book*, as they term it, that the settlers and agents should act in consistency with this character, and in no way assist the armed ships sent to the coast to suppress the slave trade, by communicating to them any information that might prove injurious to

the Bassa people. We represented to them the advantages which would attend their relinquishing the trade altogether; stating that in a very short time it must cease, as so many ships of war would be sent to the coast, as to catch every slave vessel, and put an end to the exportation of the people; still they insisted on the condition; and at the breaking up of the palaver, told us we should have the lands, provided we agreed to insert the condition in the contract [book]. They directed us to explore the country, and, as the king said, 'lookem straight,' laying down his palaver brush in a straight position, and fix upon the tract best adapted to our purpose, at the same time indicating the quarter where those lands lay, which they could best afford to spare. We returned on board the schooner somewhat encouraged, but still we felt dissatisfied with the condition upon which they insisted; however, considering that it could have no practical operation, inasmuch as if, while in our infant state, we were to show a disposition to use any other means than persuasion in urging them to abandon the traffic in slaves, we should incur their displeasure, and cause the destruction of the whole of our expectations of future success, we were tolerably content.

"*Wednesday, April 11th.*—This day went on shore, when it began to rain. There has been a little rain every day for six or seven days past. It appears that the rains are setting in. The king sent a servant to us, with a message, informing us that he would be ready to receive us after the rains had ceased. We arrived at the king's town. We had a short palaver, after ascertaining that we could not obtain land upon any better terms. It is however probable, that at no distant period the natives may be induced to abandon the slave trade altogether, without any coercive measures being used, as they will see other sources of trade present themselves to view.

"The king directed some of his head-men to accompany us, to look at the country. We walked in various directions, and returned to the schooner, having previously explored the St. John's river as far as the rapids, and viewed the country in various directions. We fully determined upon the territory which would be suitable for our purpose. We are more and more pleased with the appearance of the country and its inhabitants. The king took one of his boys by the hand, who was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, and gave him to us to

learn *Book*. We took him on board, and put a pair of domestic pantaloons upon him, which pleased him very much.

“*Thursday, April 12th.*—This morning the king sent two of his head-men on board to go with us and fix upon a place to build our town. We sent back a message that we had fixed upon the place, and that we were ready to meet him in palaver, at any time he should appoint, at Jumbo Town. He did not send us his answer until evening, when two of his head-men arrived with a present from his sable majesty, which consisted of a fine fat goat. His answer was that he would meet us at eight o’clock the next morning at Jumbo Town, in grand palaver. We are very anxious to know the final result.

“*Friday, April 13th.*—We met in palaver; there were more head-men and princes, as well as people, than at any time previous. Our present, of course, was much more valuable than before. We thanked the king for his present, and he returned the same civility for our presents. These people being ignorant of extent of territory, or of distances by measurement, we directed our interpreters to tell them that we wanted a large tract of land, and they described it thus:—Beginning at a certain tree on the beach near Jumbo Town, running due east by compass to the top of Saddle Mountain, or two or three days’ walk, either of which would be a distance of from forty to sixty miles; from thence northwardly to St. John’s river, a distance of perhaps from fifty to seventy miles; from thence down the St. John’s river to its mouth; from thence along the sand beach to the aforesaid tree near Jumbo Town, inclusive; supposed to be thirty or forty miles square of territory. To our having this tract, they readily agreed, and directed their names to be set to the instrument, the conditions before mentioned being included. They all took hold of the pen and made their marks; they then cried aloud, “Palaver set! Palaver set!”

“The agent of the Colonization Society, engaged in behalf of said society, to give certain stipulated articles annually, which will not cost more than three hundred dollars. Pledges of mutual friendship were interchanged, whereby each party agreed to cultivate peace and harmony, and not to make war on, or trouble each other.

“Thus we at last succeeded in convincing them that we were their friends. This, we were assured, we could not have done, had it not been for the presence of *Davis*, and the entire ab-

sence of any display of military or naval force. We regard it as a most favourable providence that the Alligator did not bring, or accompany us to the Bassa, and that no naval officer was present at the negotiations.

"The king was much pleased at seeing his son with trowsers on; the people said, "He gentleman all one white man:" the king proposed to give us an elder son in lieu of the other, as he said if the younger went away, his "Mama make palaver on me." We accepted his proposition, took the elder on board, put a suit of clothes on him, and gave him the name of Bushrod Washington. His father was very much delighted to see him clothed. The king, princes, head-men, and people, went with us to the tree on the beach near Jumbo Town, one of the aforesaid boundaries, and a boy climbed up it, and cut off some of its branches, leaving one branch, which ascended considerably higher than the rest: to this he tied about six yards of an American pendant, which the people consider a white man's gregre or fetish, and according to their prejudice, regard as sacred. Near this spot it was thought proper to make our settlement. The king's son will go with us to Sierra Leone, where he will be put to school and taught to speak English. The king and people are all anxious that we should return immediately, even before the rains fully set in; but we do not give them any encouragement of our speedy return.

"These people are very kind, but are in a dreadful state of heathenish darkness; they worship the "Dibbly man," [the devil,] and dedicate daily a part of their food to him. They profess to believe that there is a good and merciful Deity, who can and will do them good, and not evil: but that the devil is all powerful, and that it is necessary to appease his wrath. Every town has its peculiar devil.

"The man who acts the part of devil is dressed up in a garment of dried grass or rushes which covers him, and reaches to the ground; his arms and feet are concealed; a white country-cloth covers his shoulders; round his head, and tied under his chin, are two or three cotton handkerchiefs; the face is frightful; the mouth and nose are black; two large teeth project far beyond the lips; a row of coarse shells is bound round above the eyes; on the head is a red cap, which reaches four or five feet in height, and is surmounted with a plume of feathers.

“Sometimes this figure would move about in a stately style; and at others it would turn into all sorts of postures, and strike the plume of feathers on the ground, uttering a noise like that occasioned by blowing through a pipe, the mouth of which is immersed in water.

“Every inducement was offered to the king to obtain possession of the habiliments of this terrific figure, that we might carry them out of the country; but we could not prevail. The king said that the devil belonged to the people, and that they would kill him if he let it go. We trust that the light of the gospel will, ere long, expose to shame these delusions of cunning and superstition.

“The people, like all other natives, are in a state of nudity, except that they wear about one and a half yards of narrow cloth about their loins; the men often wear hats, while the children are not burdened with any kind of clothes, but frequently, like the adults, wear many beads. Leopard’s teeth are thought to be very valuable ornaments.

“The king, when in general palaver, was clad in his robes, which covered his whole body; he had on, also, an elegant cap; at other times he wore a drab-coloured broad-cloth great coat, with a number of capes. His head-men were partially clad, some with blue cloth roundabouts, with military or naval buttons. They wore no shirts. Many of them had belts of beads, which contained one or more pounds each.

“There are many Kroomen in the towns along the coast. They are employed as agents or factors for the authorities of the country, who monopolize all the trade. These agents have each a number of certificates from masters of vessels who have employed them. They wished us to give them ‘books,’ likewise, but we had no occasion to employ them as factors. Bottle Beer required us to pay for the water with which our vessel had been furnished. With this demand we did not comply, as we had not come ‘for trade.’ We informed the king of the demand, and he revoked it. The people all live in villages or clusters of cottages, in each of which is a head-man, who has a plurality of wives. If a native have but one wife, he is indeed very poor. The head-man is a slave-holder; he owns all the people in his town. The inhabitants of each town cultivate in common. The men seldom do any labour, except fish a little, and hunt. The females and small boys cultivate the land.

The men trade and direct those who are under them. I saw a fine looking female with iron fetters on her feet, which fetters, no doubt, were brought from a slave vessel, as we observed one under French colours, lying in the harbour at the same time. I made inquiry concerning the cause of her confinement, and was told that she was taken in adultery. It is said by the natives that 'wife palaver, very bad palaver.' It is punished with death, red water, or slavery, and most usually the latter. These people are indeed in gross darkness, depending upon their gregres and devil worship. A town is not complete which has not a Palaver House and Devil House. The latter has a small post standing near it, six or eight feet high, with a strip of white muslin about three-fourths of a yard in length, and two or three inches wide, tied round the top. There they daily offer sacrifice.

"The Bassa country is situated between five and six degrees north latitude, and between ten and eleven west longitude, in the centre of the Grain Coast, which is about an equal distance from Sierra Leone and Cape Coast, where the English have commenced a settlement. Swine, herds of neat cattle, sheep, and goats are bred here.

"At evening we took an affectionate leave of the king and some of the head-men; the old king appeared to be much affected, and said, 'You have my son, you take him Sierra Leone learn book, when rain done you come Grand Bassa, then King Jack Ben give you plenty boys learn book.' The people are all apparently very anxious to have us return; they seem to have great confidence in us.

"*Grand Bassa, Saturday morning, April 14th.*—Many natives were on board with fruit, rice, fowls, eggs, and vegetables to sell, which we bought, chiefly with tobacco.

"At twelve o'clock we set sail on our return to Sierra Leone. We made slow headway; the wind is light. At six o'clock we are not more than three or four leagues from Bassa.

"We are turning our attention to the state of our settlers at Sherbro, and those at Sierra Leone. We think of visiting Sherbro as we return. We are very anxious to hear from our friends.

"We feel grateful to God for his mercy in preserving us, and enabling us to accomplish our wishes in some degree. Still, however, we have continual need of Divine assistance. Our

vessel leaks and requires much attention; but our trust is in God alone, who has hitherto mercifully preserved us, so that 'the sun hath not smitten us by day, neither the moon by night.' The pestilence which walketh in darkness hath not come near us; therefore we are under renewed obligations to praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works in the great deep.

"*Sunday morning, April 15th.*—At sea with a fair wind; we have just discovered Cape Mesurado. Had worship this morning as usual, and found it good for us to call upon the name of the Lord, to read his most holy word, to meditate upon his blessed promises, to praise him for past mercies, and implore the continuance of his most gracious aid. Our people having yesterday evening slaughtered the goat which the king presented us, it is necessary to cook some of the flesh, though it is the Sabbath day. It is very fine and fat, and quite a luxury, notwithstanding we have had plenty of fowls, fish, and oysters, fruits and vegetables.

"Prince Bushrod is a little sea-sick; he appears to be much pleased with his dress, and has been persuaded to take off his gregres, Davis having told him if he wore clothes, he must not wear gregres. We intend to let him go to Regent's Town, and stay with Davis and attend school, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, where he will have the benefit of associating with some of his own countrymen, who are pious and useful people.

"*Monday, April 16th.*—Last night there was a tremendous tornado, with much rain; at the appearance of a tornado it is necessary to take in all sail immediately, as the wind generally blows powerfully.

"Our Kroomen are easily intimidated in bad weather; they have on their gregres, those which they think contain the most virtue, and are best calculated to preserve them from the greatest danger. I endeavoured to persuade them that their gregres were useless, and advised them to throw them into the sea, but my entreaties were in vain; one had his gregre tied with a twine around his head above his ears; I took hold of the string and broke it. On examining it, I found it was composed of a ball of clay, tied up in a piece of white muslin, with a small feather in the end; he was angry, and sorry for his loss. One gave me his gregre, that I might view its contents; they con-

sisted of nothing more than a kind of black sand tied up in a piece of rag. I threw the gregre into the sea, which grieved him very much.

"The Kroomen were all alarmed at their loss; and expressed fears that 'tornado catch us,' or that some other accident would happen to us. They said that they 'make bad palaver on me,' when we arrived at Sierra Leone, and that I should have to pay twenty bars (equal to twenty dollars.) They are poor creatures indeed, in every sense of the word. They appear to be very affectionate to each other. When we are visited on board by other Kroomen, they beg food for them, or divide their own portion among the visitors. They prefer rice, which they boil and use with palm-oil, to animal food. They sit down around a large dish of rice, and make use of their hands instead of spoons.

"*Tuesday morning, April 17th.*—We were off the Galinas with a light wind, proceeding on towards the Shebar, which is the entrance into Sherbro Sound, near the eastern part of Sherbro Island. We wished to cross over the Shebar, which is difficult without a skilful pilot. A native, who resides at Bohol, within the bar, on discovering a vessel, generally goes out in his canoe to meet her. We hoped to be discovered by him, so that we might pass over in safety. Our object was to visit our people at Yonie, a native town on the island, opposite Bohol, which is on the main. At evening we heard the surf roar as its waves rolled over the Shebar; it is heard several leagues; the wind was ahead, and we made slow progress. Our vessel appeared to leak more than she had done, and the inexperience of our navigators gave us great anxiety; but our trust was still in God alone.

"*Wednesday, April 18th.*—Still we were off the Shebar, but had made little progress during the night; at twelve o'clock there was a tornado; the wind blew powerfully twenty or thirty minutes, and was accompanied with considerable rain. These tornadoes are nothing to be compared with the hurricanes which are common among the West India Islands.

"*Thursday morning, April 19th.*—We were within sight of the Shebar, and had a delightful air after the rains. Lying off and on with our vessel, hoping a pilot would come off to our assistance, several guns were fired as signals for pilots, but none came; therefore, we had but two alternatives, one was to

sail round the Island, which as the wind is light requires seven or ten days; the other was to send our boat over the Shebar for a pilot. As our sailors were unwilling to go in the boat, I prevailed upon them by proposing to accompany them. After approaching as near the Shebar as was thought prudent, the vessel was brought to anchor at 4 o'clock, P. M. The boat was manned with the mate of the vessel and three natives, one a sailor, the others Kroomen. The mate, although a tolerably good boatman, apprehended more danger than I did, for I had not much experience in crossing such bars. At length we started in the boat, and approached near the bar. It appeared dangerous indeed. The mate being at the rudder, gave directions to the oarsmen to obey him promptly; he told them he should watch the motion of the waves, and that, when he ordered them to pull at the oars, they must pull for their lives. We soon found our boat first soaring over the turbulent waves, then plunging into the deep, while the waves were rolling in quick succession after us, each appearing as if it would engulf us in the ocean. One wave poured about sixty gallons of water into the boat, which caused me active employment in lading out the water; the boat having been brought quartering to the waves, it required quick exertion by the men at the oars, who were somewhat frightened, but were enabled to bring the boat to its proper position before the succeeding wave came, which carried us over the greatest danger; by that time I had nearly laded out the water. Indeed, it was mercy to us that we were not swallowed up. Not unto us! not unto us! but unto thy name, O God, be all the glory, both now and for ever!"

When Messrs. Bacon and Andrus had returned from this exploring voyage, they found Mr. Winn and the emigrants from America, comfortably situated at Foura Bay; some of those who had been located at Sherbro had joined them. The people continued, in general, to enjoy comfortable health up to this time; except that within a few days some complaints had been made of slight fever. Mr. Bacon learning that his wife was sick, obtained a horse and proceeded to Regent's Town, where she had been hospitably and kindly entertained at the Rev. Mr. Johnson's. Here, morning and evening, she enjoyed in the church, the sight of the children of Ethiopia stretching out their hands unto God. Mrs. Bacon's health continued to

decline, and early in May, Mr. Bacon was also attacked by the African fever.

The Alligator, under the command of Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton, which had been some time expected, about this time arrived. Mr. Winn and Mr. Bacon, the agents of the United States government, concluded that it would be expedient to remove the people as early as possible from Yonie, on the Island of Sherbro, to Bassa Cove, where they had made a contract for land for a settlement, as has been related.

The health both of Mr. and Mrs. Bacon continued to decline; so that it was judged best for them to seize the first opportunity of returning to the United States, it being supposed that a sea voyage would be serviceable to their health. As the *Nautilus* had sailed, and no opportunity of a direct conveyance offered, they resolved to sail in a schooner bound for Barbadoes. At the time of their departure, they were both exceedingly debilitated; but after suffering much on the voyage, they both, through the goodness of God, arrived again in their native country.

The Rev. Mr. Andrus, agent for the American Colonization Society, was so deeply affected with the consideration of the wants of Africa, that he resolved to spend his life as a missionary among the natives; but alas! like many others, his race was soon run in this unfriendly climate. On the 28th of July, 1821, after a short illness, he died at Sierra Leone. And this was not the only victim of the company who came out in the *Nautilus*. In less than a month after the decease of Mr. Andrus, both Mr. and Mrs. Winn died at the same place. Mr. Winn's death occurred on the 25th of August, and Mrs. Winn's on the 31st of the same month.

The Managers of the Colonization Society, in communicating these melancholy facts in their Fifth Report, give the following just tribute to the memory of these devoted persons. "The fidelity and zeal evinced by these meritorious and respected individuals, during the period of their connexion with the service, in which they were so soon called to surrender, with the attractions of country and of Christian society, their valuable lives, demand from the managers an honourable mention, and from all the friends of the cause a grateful and cherished recollection."

CHAPTER X.

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES RESPECTING THE SLAVE TRADE,
AND DISPOSAL OF RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

By the compromise between the North and the South at the time of adopting the federal constitution, an article was introduced, by which Congress was prohibited from enacting any law to prevent the importation of slaves into any of the United States which might wish to introduce them, before the year 1808. The only State which availed itself of this reserved right was South Carolina. Shortly before the limited time had expired, the slave trade was briskly carried on in the ports of this State; and a considerable number of Africans were imported. In all the other maritime States this traffic was forbidden.

As soon as it could be done constitutionally, a law was passed by Congress entirely prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States. This law was enacted as early as March 3d, 1807, to take effect at the very commencement of the following year. By the provisions of this law, the vessel which should be found engaged in the slave trade, with her tackle, furniture and lading, were subjected to forfeiture: one moiety to go to the United States, the other to those who should sue for the same. And the persons convicted of being engaged in this traffic, were made liable to punishment, by fine and imprisonment. It was moreover provided, that no person or persons engaged in importing slaves, should possess any right to hold them in bondage, or to enjoy their labour; *but "the same shall remain subject to any regulations, not contravening said provisions, which the Legislatures of the several States or Territories, may at any time heretofore have made, or hereafter may make, for disposing of any negro, mulatto, or person of colour."* The use which some of the States might be disposed to make of the power here given, was certainly unforeseen by Congress. And not only so, but the law was manifestly defective, inasmuch as it authorized the capture of slaves and their

importation into the United States, without making any provision for the disposal of them when taken; nor even any provision for the expense of their maintenance. The evil of these defects was soon experienced, for in June, 1817, the Legislature of the State of Georgia, in pursuance of the power granted to the States, enacted a law, authorizing and instructing the Governor of the State, to demand and receive all slaves, who being condemned under the act of Congress aforesaid, should be introduced into any of the ports of that State; "*and to cause the said negroes, mulattoes, or coloured persons to be sold, after giving sixty days' notice, in a public gazette.*" This law, however, contained one saving clause, by which it was provided, "That if previous to any sale of any such persons of colour, the Society for the Colonization of the free people of colour, within the United States, will undertake to transport them to Africa, or any other foreign place which they may procure as a colony for free persons of colour, at the sole expense of said society, and shall likewise pay all expenses incurred by the State since they have been captured and condemned, his excellency the Governor is authorized and requested to aid in promoting the benevolent views of said society in such manner as he may deem expedient." It was not long after the passing of this law, before a case occurred to which it was applicable. Thirty-four African slaves, captured by a vessel of the United States, were brought into Georgia, and the Governor, according to the directions of the law, advertised the sale of these captured slaves. This advertisement, published in a gazette of Milledgeville, was communicated to the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, by the Hon. William H. Crawford, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. The Board considered it a matter of high importance to prevent these unhappy Africans from being sold into perpetual slavery in this country; and that after the slave trade was entirely abolished by law. They needed a person of intelligence and character to proceed to Georgia; and in this emergency, that early and cordial friend of colonization, the Rev. Mr. (now Bishop) Mead, of Virginia, offered his services. A more competent and fit agent for this special business, could not have been found in the United States. As the sale was to take place at an early day, it was necessary for the agent to use much expedition. He was able by diligence, how-

ever, to reach Milledgeville in time to arrest the sale, and enjoyed the peculiar pleasure of witnessing the joy of these unfortunate Africans, upon receiving a deliverance so little expected. Indeed, he felt that the instrumentality which he was permitted to have in this rescue, was an ample reward for the time and labour of his long journey. The managers also, though by this means they incurred a heavy expense, were greatly delighted by the successful accomplishment of this desirable object.

As this whole difficulty had arisen from the defects of the law of Congress, it became now an object of deep interest to get Congress to pass a supplementary act, providing against the recurrence of such an event. This was accomplished on the 3d of March, 1819, when Congress passed a law which provided, that when any vessel containing slaves should be captured by a vessel of the United States and brought into any of our ports, the President should be authorized "to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient, for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States of all such negroes, mulattoes, and coloured persons, as should be brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons to reside on the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour delivered from on board vessels seized in prosecution of the slave trade, by the United States armed vessels." This act also provided, "That a bounty of twenty-five dollars be paid to the officers and crews of the commissioned vessels of the United States, or revenue cutters, for each and every negro, mulatto, or person of colour, who should be delivered to the marshal, or agent duly appointed to receive them."

This act gave great pleasure to the friends of African colonization. The managers of the Colonization Society, in their Third Report, say, "This act, by supplying the defects of pre-existing laws, and imposing new restraints upon a cruel and disgraceful traffic, shed a ray of light, dear to humanity, on the expiring moments of the Fifteenth Congress, and elevated the American character, in the view of the world." It was also a favourable circumstance, that President Monroe put a construction on this act, entirely conformable to the wishes of the managers; and immediately appointed agents

to receive such liberated Africans as might be sent to them: whose duty it was made, if practicable, to restore them to their native country and friends; and if that could not be done, to provide, at the expense of the United States, for their support. It was under this law, and at this time, that the Rev. Samuel Bacon, and John P. Bankson, Esq., were appointed agents to go to Africa.

Although the sale of the thirty-four Africans was prevented by the timely arrival of the Rev. Mr. Mead; yet they were not immediately delivered to the agent of the Colonization Society. Certain Spaniards had put in a claim for them as their property, and a legal decision in the courts of the United States was necessary, before they could be given up.

Information was also received by the managers, that these were not the only captured slaves which had been introduced into Georgia; but that several hundred had been introduced into the State, in similar circumstances with the thirty-four; and that as many as sixty had been actually sold, and were in a state of hopeless slavery. The others, having been claimed, and the matter being still in dispute, had been hired out through the State; it being stipulated that they should be delivered when required. It was feared, however, that there would exist great difficulty in recovering them, as the securities on which they had been hired, were, in many cases, insufficient: and if reclaimed, they *must* still be sold into hereditary slavery, unless Congress interposes; or unless the Colonization Society should become able to pay the expenses of their capture, and claim them under the provisions of the law of Georgia, before mentioned.

It was also ascertained by the managers, that slaves, under similar circumstances, had been introduced into Alabama; but the manner of disposing of them is not known. These cases were laid before the president of the United States, in the hope, that he would bring the matter before Congress, and obtain the power—if he did not already possess it—to place them in the same situation as those brought into the country since March, 1819.

In the year 1820, the managers of the Colonization Society received an interesting communication from General John H. Cocke, of Virginia; the sum of which was, that General Kosciusko had bequeathed a fund, exceeding twenty thousand

dollars to Mr. Jefferson, in trust, for the purchase of young female slaves, that they might be educated, and then emancipated. It was supposed, that by incorporating this fund with those of the society, the will of the testator might be carried into effect; which could not be done in Virginia, as by the laws, no slaves could be emancipated to remain in the State.

Mr. Mead's visit to the South was not only the means of rescuing from slavery the Africans mentioned above, with the prospect of their being restored to their native country; but was, in other respects, highly beneficial to the colonization cause; especially, by the aid which he rendered in originating and organizing auxiliary colonization societies.

During this year, the society evidently rose rapidly in the estimation of the public, as many auxiliaries were formed in almost every part of the United States, and many of the most distinguished citizens of the republic openly appeared in favour of the institution.

We ought not, however, to omit to mention, that the Rev. Mr. Mead's efficient services were not confined to his visit to Georgia; for he travelled as far as Maine, as the voluntary agent of the Board, and every where, by his weight of character, zeal, and eloquence, greatly promoted the interests of the Colonization Society.

The communications from England, this year, were also very encouraging to the managers; and at home, among the liberal contributors to their funds, they had the pleasure of inserting the name of his excellency, M. Hyde de Neuville, minister plenipotentiary of France.

The President, in his message to both Houses of Congress, informed them, "that it had been decided to send a public ship to the coast of Africa, with two agents, who will take with them tools, and other implements which shall be necessary. To each of these agents a small salary had been allowed; to the principal, fifteen hundred dollars, and to the other, twelve hundred." These measures of the government were well intended, and favourable to the cause of colonization; but in the adoption of all such measures there seems to have been a great want of foresight, and careful attention to the circumstances of the case. For while agents were appointed, and the recaptured Africans ordered to be sent back, the government had made no

provision for their reception or comfortable accommodation in that continent. The first object, undoubtedly, should have been to secure a territory, and this before any persons were transported to that country. But in the planting of colonies, as well as other things, wisdom is learned by painful experience. We have already seen the disasters which attended this first emigration, and how many valuable lives have been sacrificed in the prosecution of this noble enterprise.

The managers of the society, having it as one important object of the scheme which they had undertaken, to put an end to the slave trade, were grieved to learn, that notwithstanding the laws which had been enacted, prohibiting this nefarious traffic, still it was carried on, and that many slaves had been clandestinely introduced into the United States, were careful to call the attention of the government to this subject, which led to an inquiry, the result of which was, that the slave trade had been carried on to some extent on the south-western coast of the United States.

When the second report of the Board was published, copies were forwarded through Mr. Rush, our ambassador, to His Royal Highness William Frederick, and to Lord Gambier. From both of these noble personages, letters were returned of a highly encouraging nature. The former, in his note to Mr. Rush, says, "It is no small gratification to me to receive the interesting report of the society for colonizing the free people of colour. The object is most important, and dear to the best feelings of human nature. It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to express the satisfaction I shall feel in perusing the account of the proceedings of an institution founded for such a benevolent object, and which is likely to be attended with such useful consequences. And I hope I may be allowed to express my anxious wish that the meritorious exertions of the gentlemen of this excellent society may be crowned with success."

Lord Gambier addressed the following gratifying note to Mr. Rush. "Lord Gambier presents his compliments to the committee of the society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, and returns them his best thanks for the honour they have conferred on him, in presenting him with their second annual report to the society, through Mr. Rush. The society has Lord Gambier's cordial wishes for their success, and the advancement of the benevolent cause in which

they are engaged, and will be happy to avail himself of any occasion that may offer to promote the great objects of the institution."

The following interesting account is borrowed from an article in the *North American Review*, attributed to the pen of Jared Sparks, Esq. It is embodied in the Seventh Annual Report of the Board to the Society, and is as follows:

"Some weeks ago," says the writer, "a vessel came into the harbour of Baltimore, which from various circumstances was thought to have negroes unlawfully detained on board. So strong was the ground of suspicion, that a few individuals took on themselves the responsibility of searching the vessel, and they found concealed eleven negroes, who were foreigners, incapable of speaking or understanding the English language. A prosecution was accordingly entered against the captain as being engaged in the slave-trade; but as he affirmed, that the negroes were his own property lawfully acquired, and no proof to the contrary could be adduced, he was acquitted. The law demands that in all doubtful claims to the property of slaves, the labour of proof shall rest with the claimant, and as the captain in the present case, could produce no such proof, the negroes were detained by the court, although he was permitted to escape. Through the humanity of some of the active members of the Colonization Society, these negroes were provided for, by being distributed among several families in the neighbourhood of Baltimore, to remain till they should learn the language, and be able to express their wishes in regard to their future destination.

"Fortunately, about this time, a young African by the name of Wilkinson, a native of the Susoo country, on the Rio Pongas, arrived in Baltimore. Some years ago a chief of the Susoos entrusted two of his sons to the care of the captain of a French vessel, trading in the Rio Pongas, who promised to take them to the West Indies, have them educated, and return them at the end of four years. When the stipulated time had gone by, and nothing was heard of the boys, Wilkinson was despatched to the West Indies to search them out; he succeeded in finding them, but had the mortification to learn that the treacherous captain had not been true to his word; he had deserted the boys, and they were turned over to work with the slaves. Wilkinson recovered them, however, without difficulty, sent

them to their father, and came himself to Baltimore to take passage home in the colonization packet. He had already been several years in England, and spoke our language with fluency. Soon after his arrival he visited some of the recaptured Africans just mentioned, and discovered that they came from the region bordering on his own country, and spoke a dialect which he well understood, although it was not his native Susoo tongue. They were overjoyed at seeing a person with whom they could converse, but were incredulous when he told them that they were free, and might return home if they chose. They said he was deceiving them, that they knew they were slaves, and should never again see their native land, their relatives and friends; so thoroughly were they impressed with the melancholy conviction of being in slavery, that no protestations could make them believe in his entire sincerity. They exclaimed with raptures at the thought of freedom, and of going back to Africa, but would not hope that such a dream could ever be realized. The situation of these persons was made known by the Colonization Society to the President of the United States, who said, that if proper certificates were given of their desire to return, the government would pay the expense of transportation. The navy agent at Baltimore was ordered to have them examined. They were brought together for that purpose, and as the examination could only be carried on through Wilkinson as interpreter, he gave his testimony under oath. We shall speak of this interesting examination nearly in the words of Mr. Coale, secretary of the Baltimore auxiliary society, who was present and took an account of the proceedings in writing. The general question was put to them severally, whether they wished to remain in this country as freemen, or be sent to Mesurado, and thence if practicable to their homes. Dowrey was the first who was called to answer. He was chief in his own country, of whom Wilkinson had some knowledge. He replied, 'I wish to go home, I wish to see my father, my wife, and children; I have been at Mesurado, I live but three day's walk from that place.' Barterou answered, 'Let me go home, I have a wife, I have two children, I live a morning's walk from Dowrey.' The next person called was Mousah, the son of a highly respectable chief, with whom Wilkinson was personally acquainted; he had been living with General Harper, and when asked if he was not dis-

posed to remain and be instructed, and go home hereafter and teach his countrymen, he replied; 'General Harper is a good man, he will give me clothes and food, and be kind to me, but he cannot give me my wife and children.' When the general question was put to Cubangerie, he replied; 'Why do you ask this question over and over? I am so rejoiced at the thoughts of returning, that I want words to express myself. Do you not know that nothing is so dear as a man's home?' Mazzey said, 'My mother is living, my father is living, I have two sisters, I shall be grateful to those who send me to my family and friends.' The answer of Fanghah was, 'I shall be joyful to go home, I have a father, mother, wife, sister, and three children to meet me in my own country.' Corree said that all he desired was to be landed in Africa, and he should soon find his way home. Banhah made nearly the same reply.

"After these eight persons were examined, they expressed great anxiety to be joined by two of their companions not present. These had been placed with a man, who, it seems, was not willing to part with them, and had reported that they wished to remain. This proved a false pretence set up with a view to profit by the labour of the negroes; and whatever may be the power of the law in such a case, it will be difficult to make it appear in the eye of justice, in any better light than the crime of being engaged in the slave-trade. A writ on a fictitious suit was taken out against the negroes, and they were thus released from thralldom and brought to the place of examination. When they arrived, their companions sprang with ecstasies to meet them, embraced them again and again, caught them in their arms, raised them from the ground, and continued for half an hour at intervals to embrace and shake them by the hand. Nothing could exceed their joy at being told that they were free, and would sail in a day or two for Africa.

"These ten persons, thus providentially rescued from perpetual slavery, and made happy in the anticipations of again beholding their native land, and of carrying gladness to many a weeping disconsolate heart, owed their deliverance chiefly to the Colonization Society. They have gone home to prove to their countrymen and friends, that white men are not all barbarians, traffickers in human flesh, and artificers of human misery; but that the flame of benevolent feeling may sometimes kindle and burn even in the breasts of this portion of

their race whom they had hitherto known only as catchers of their own species, and workers in crime.

“We know not the spring of other men’s joys, but as for ourselves, call it weakness or enthusiasm, or what you will, we frankly confess, that the heartfelt delight of having been instrumental in restoring these men to freedom and happiness, would have been to us a double compensation for all the embarrassments, rebuffs, and obstacles, numerous and severe as they have been, which the members of the society have thus far experienced. Had they brought to pass from the beginning only this one deed, we would lift up our voice in praise of their noble achievement, and say they had been blessed with a good reward. These rescued Africans, full of gratitude to their deliverers, sailed with Wilkinson in the *Fidelity*, for Mesurado, in October last; Dr. Ayres had directions to send them home as soon as they arrived.”

CHAPTER XI.

AGENCY OF DR. AYRES AND PURCHASE OF MESURADO BY HIM
AND CAPTAIN R. F. STOCKTON.

It was considered a circumstance peculiarly favourable and providential, that at this critical period of the society's affairs, Dr. Ely Ayres, a medical gentleman, believed to be possessed of every qualification for the office, offered himself to the Board to go out to Africa; and in the month of July 1822, sailed in the armed schooner *Shark*, Lieutenant Perry. Until the arrival of Dr. Ayres, the emigrants had never enjoyed the regular attendance of a physician. The society were also encouraged by the latest reports from Africa, for out of a population of one hundred people of colour, natives of America, some of whom had been exposed to two rainy seasons, not more than four deaths occurred during the year; and of these, it was believed, that only one was attributable to the climate. It was also ascertained by a comparison of facts at Sierra Leone, that the climate is much less noxious to black than to white men, coming from the same climate.

Soon after the arrival of Dr. Ayres in the *Shark*, Captain Stockton, in the *Alligator*, came on the coast, and the opportunity was seized, in compliance with his instructions, to explore the coast, and select and purchase a territory; and Captain Stockton's orders were to cooperate with the agents of the Colonization Society in securing a convenient territory for the settlement of the emigrants. It was also a peculiarly favourable circumstance, that the services of an officer of so much intelligence, energy, and personal courage should have been put into requisition, on this occasion.

Dr. Ayres, leaving Mr. Wiltberger in charge of the affairs of the society at Four Bay, accompanied Captain Stockton on an exploring voyage along the coast, in the schooner *Augusta*,

which, it will be recollected, had been purchased by the Rev. Samuel Bacon.

On the 11th of December, they came to anchor in the Mesurado Bay, and the appearance of the coast in this quarter, confirming the favourable reports which they had heard, they determined to land, and attempt a negotiation. After much delay they obtained a promise from the king to hold a "palaver," but to reach his residence they were obliged to leave the coast, and make their way by winding, narrow paths, through an almost impervious jungle. They were aware that they were putting themselves completely in the power of these barbarians, in whose breasts every malignant passion had been fostered by the nefarious slave trade; but they felt the importance of making a bold effort; and so they took, as it were, their lives in their hands, and conducted by a guide, proceeded until they arrived at the place where the palaver was to be held. Here they found the king and his head-men, with hundreds of people collected. At one time, the assembly became highly excited, and, indeed, so agitated, that Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayres were placed in imminent danger of their lives; but the courage and presence of mind of Captain Stockton, on this trying occasion, extricated them, and restored the multitude to a state of tranquillity, and not only so, but they succeeded before the "palaver broke up" in forming a contract for the purchase of a territory, which was drawn up and executed with the usual solemnities. This contract or treaty was signed by six kings, by their marks, and by Captain Robert F. Stockton and Dr. Ely Ayres. The territory purchased, included the whole of the Cape, and the mouth of the river, and running back from the coast a certain distance; but of necessity the boundaries must have been very indefinite, as so little was known of the country by the American agents. This part of the coast has always been considered very important, and frequent efforts had been made by Europeans to secure it, without success. Dr. Ayres, in his communication to the managers of the Colonization Society, says, "It has been the anxious desire of European powers, to get possession of this place, for more than one hundred years. Both the English and French have made repeated trials to obtain it." Dr. Ayres also gives many reasons for preferring Cape Mesurado to Bassa Cove, which

had been selected by Messrs. Bacon and Andrus, which it is unnecessary here to detail. It may, however, be gratifying to the reader to see his account of the meeting at which the contract was made. "After waiting some time, they sent off an express for king Peter. It had been represented to us as unsafe to go on shore, without being armed, and that we should certainly be murdered and robbed. But we determined to go unarmed, as an evidence that our aim was pacific. While sitting and waiting for the king under the shed of a Krooman, the people kept collecting, most of them with knives hanging to their sides. At length there came five or six armed with muskets. I began to think there might be some truth in the reports. We were now surrounded by fifty or sixty, armed in this way, and we without means of defence. I narrowly marked their countenances, as also that of Captain Stockton. I saw that he was no way concerned, and a little observation showed there was yet no hostility in their intentions. * *

"Captain Stockton has shown himself throughout this business, to be the most consummate master of the human heart: and it is entirely owing to his address and penetration, that we have succeeded in obtaining a situation, the most desirable, in many respects, of any on the coast; and for which thousands of pounds would have been given by other persons, could they have obtained it."

The consideration given for the territory, consisted of a large number of articles, enumerated in detail, which, though possessing no great intrinsic value, were such as are held in high esteem by savages. An incident of thrilling interest occurred in the progress of this negotiation. When the agents first made known to the king that their object was to obtain, by purchase, the Cape and the Island at the mouth of the river, he strongly objected to parting with the Cape, saying, "If any white man settle there, then king Peter would die—they would bury him, and then his woman would cry a plenty." Care was taken not to oppose the known prejudices of the people, nor to present to them the advantages of civilization and Christianity, of which they could form no conception; but they urged upon the king the great advantages of trade, which from such a settlement would accrue to his people. After giving a vague promise that he would give the land, and

after seeing his head-men, the king said he would come again, the next day, and conclude the bargain. Accordingly, the palaver was broken up, and the king departed. "Next day," says Dr. Ayres, "we went to meet his majesty. We found his head-men but no king; yet we sent an express for him. It was not until some time, and several messages had passed, that we could get him to meet us. When he came, the palaver was continued for about three hours; the unfortunate subject of the slave trade was broached, and we again broke up the palaver. Our prospect was now very dull; we however determined not to give the subject up lightly; and the next day went on shore again, where the king had appointed to meet us. When we got there, we found neither the king nor any of his head-men. Our prospects now, were truly discouraging. We, as we had done before, sent an express for him. He sent word, he would not come nor let us have any land. It then became necessary to go and seek the king in his capital, or give up the thing as impracticable, as all persons had found it, who had attempted to negotiate for this place, before. To go to the town was to place ourselves entirely in the power of a nation, who had always been represented as so savage as to render it unsafe to land on their shore, without being completely armed. However, we were determined to go; and were conducted by a Kroo-man, through dark dismal ways, at one time wading through the water, and at another wallowing through the mud; passing through thick and dark swamps, in narrow paths, for six or seven miles into the interior." When they arrived at king Peter's capital, they were shown into a *palaver hall*, spread with mats, to wait the coming of the king. The head-men came and shook hands, and said, that the king was dressing, and would see them in a short time. After about an hour, the king made his appearance; but instead of coming to shake hands, he went and seated himself in another palaver hall; when his prime minister came and invited them to come to the king. He then shook hands, but looked very angry. The first thing which he said, was, "What you want that land for?" Although this had been fully and repeatedly explained already, yet the matter was all gone over again. A large number of people had now collected, and appeared in no very pleasant humour. Captain Stockton, not liking the position which he

occupied, went and took his seat very near the king. Just at this time a man who was acquainted with the circumstance of a youth having been brought away from Bassa, who had unfortunately died at Sierra Leone, where he was left to obtain an education, now came forward and charged the agents with carrying away and killing the aforesaid youth. Another Kroo-man who had seen some of our colonists on board the vessel, gave information that these were the people who had been quarrelling at such a rate in Sherbro Island. The multitude were not a little excited by these communications. But to increase their difficulties and embarrassment, a mulatto fellow presented himself to Captain Stockton, and told him that he was one of those whom he had recently captured, and informed the assembly that this was the very person who had captured several slave-vessels. The presence of these men accounted for the change which had taken place in the feelings of the king and his people. The situation of the agents was now critical in the extreme; surrounded by a multitude of savages, exasperated in the highest degree, by the communications which had been made to them by these men. They were also entirely unarmed, except that Captain Stockton had his pistols in his pocket. In a moment the vengeful feelings of the multitude broke out in a horrid war-yell, and every one of them rose to his feet, with the most menacing aspect. At this critical moment, Captain Stockton, perceiving that immediate violence was intended, deliberately rose, and drawing out one of his pistols presented it at the head of the king, while with the other hand raised to heaven, he solemnly appealed to the omniscient and omnipotent God, who was there present to witness what was going on, against the injustice with which they had been treated—on whose protection in this dangerous crisis he threw himself. This act of extraordinary courage and self-possession, doubtless, was the means, under God, of saving the lives of these two brave men. The king was intimidated, and the multitude fearing for the life of their sovereign, which they saw to be in imminent peril, fell flat on their faces; and in a little time, the first impulse of savage rage having subsided, they became calm, and the palaver went on more amicably than before.

Thus by the steady prudence and perseverance of Dr. Ayres,

and by the energy, chivalrous courage, and extraordinary self-possession of Captain Stockton, the greatest obstacle to the success of the colonization enterprise was overcome; and sufficient land for a settlement was purchased from those persons who were acknowledged to have an undisputed right to the country. The contract was made and signed in all due form, and part of the price immediately paid. The following is a literal and full copy of the original instrument by which this important territory was acquired:

Agreement for the Cession and Purchase of Lands, entered into between the Agents of the American Colonization Society and the King and Headmen of Mesurado.

KNOW ALL MEN, that this contract, made on the fifteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, between King Peter, King George, King Zoda, and King Long Peter, their Princes and Headmen, of the one part; and Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, of the other part; WITNESSETH: that whereas certain persons, citizens of the United States of America, are desirous to establish themselves on the western coast of Africa, and have invested Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres with full powers to treat with and purchase from us, the said Kings, Princes, and Headmen, certain lands, viz: Dozoa Island, and also that portion of land bounded north and west by the Atlantic ocean, and on the south and east by a line drawn in a south-east direction from the mouth of the Mesurado river, we, the said Kings, Princes, and Headmen, being fully convinced of the pacific and just views of the said citizens of America, and being desirous to reciprocate the friendship and affection expressed for us and our people, DO HEREBY, in consideration of so much paid in hand, viz: six muskets, one box beads, two hogsheads of tobacco, one cask gunpowder, six bars iron, ten iron pots, one dozen knives and forks, one dozen spoons, six pieces blue baft, four hats, three coats, three pair shoes, one box pipes, one keg nails, twenty looking-glasses, three pieces handkerchiefs, three pieces calico, three canes, four umbrellas, one box soap, one barrel rum: and *to be paid* the following—three casks tobacco, one box pipes, three barrels rum, twelve pieces cloth, six bars iron, one box beads, fifty knives, twenty looking-glasses, ten iron pots, (different sizes.)

twelve guns, three barrels gunpowder, one dozen plates, one dozen knives and forks, twenty hats, five casks beef, five barrels pork, ten barrels biscuit, twelve decanters, twelve glass tumblers, and fifty shoes: FOREVER CEDE AND RELINQUISH the above described lands, with all thereto appertaining, or belonging, or reported so to belong, to Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said premises, for the use of these said citizens of America. And WE, the said Kings, and Princes, and Headmen, do further pledge ourselves that we are the lawful owners of the above described lands, without manner of condition, limitation, or other matter.

The contracting parties pledge themselves to live in peace and friendship, for ever; and do further contract not to make war, or otherwise molest or disturb each other.

WE, the Kings, Princes, and Headmen, for a proper consideration by us received, do further agree to build for the use of the said citizens of America six large houses, on any place selected by them within the above described tract of ceded land.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said Kings, Princes, and Headmen, on the one part, and Captain Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, of the other part, do set their hands to this covenant on the day and year above written.

(Signed,)

King PETER, ✕ *his mark.*

King GEORGE, ✕ *his mark.*

King ZODA, ✕ *his mark.*

King LONG PETER, ✕ *his mark.*

King GOVERNOR, ✕ *his mark.*

King JIMMY, ✕ *his mark.*

Captain ROBERT F. STOCKTON.

ELI AYRES, M. D.

Witness { JOHN S. MILL,
 { JOHN CRAIG.

As there were some houses on Cape Mesurado, owned or claimed by John S. Mill, these were also purchased, and the following contract entered into:

Agreement with J. S. Mill.—I hereby contract, for the consideration of one barrel of rum, one tierce of tobacco, one barrel of bread, one barrel of beef, one barrel of pork, and one piece of trade-cloth, to give to Captain Robert F. Stockton and

Eli Ayres all my right and title to the houses situated on the land bought by them on Cape Mesurado.

In witness whereof I have hereunto signed my name, on this sixteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

(Signed,)

JOHN S. MILL.

Witness { Charles Carey, ✕ his mark.
 { William Rogers, ✕ his mark.

We promise to present to Charles Carey one coat.

(Signed,)

ROBERT F. STOCKTON,

ELI AYRES.

The news of this felicitous transaction gave joy to all the friends of the cause in this country, and inspired the Board with new courage, as well as more confident hopes of ultimate success.

Immediately after the purchase of a territory, Dr. Ayres took measures to have the colonists removed from Sierra Leone to Mesurado. Some of the people, while they resided at Foura Bay, manifested something of a spirit of insubordination; and when it was announced by Dr. Ayres, that on the first of January, a vessel would be ready to remove them to the purchased possession, a few of these refractory persons declared their unwillingness to remove, and accordingly remained as residents of the British colony, "an event," say the managers, "by no means to be regretted."

The colonists arrived at Cape Mesurado on the 7th of January, 1822.

It was soon ascertained that King Peter had been condemned by the other chiefs of the country, for the sale of the land, and had been threatened with the loss of his head; and that it had been decreed that our people should leave the coast. Notwithstanding this unpleasant information, the vessel was unloaded, and preparations made for building. It was found indispensable, however, to have another interview with the kings, when it was found that their first intelligence was but too well founded; but the energy and firmness of Dr. Ayres, the agent, checked the rising opposition and restored tranquillity.

During the month of February, disease prevailed among the people, and prevented any vigorous exertions. Those of the colonists who could not obtain a passage among the first, or who were detained on other accounts at Foura Bay, found an

opportunity of following their brethren, in the *Calypso*, about the middle of February.

The business of the colony requiring the agent to visit Sierra Leone, he went thither, and remained until the 7th of April, when on landing at Mesurado, he found the colony in a state of confusion and alarm. An unfortunate affair had like to have produced a failure of the whole scheme. A small vessel, a prize to an English cruiser, with thirty captured slaves on board, and bound for Sierra Leone, put in for water at Perseverance Island, a part of the recently purchased territory, where the colonists were now stationed. Having parted her cable, she drifted on shore, and was wrecked. The custom of the coast appropriates to the petty chief on whose land a shipwreck takes place, the vessel and her entire contents. King George, to whom the land had belonged before the late purchase, sent his people to take possession of the vessel and goods. Resistance was made by the captain and his crew, and the savages were repelled. While the natives were preparing to renew the attack, the captain sent to the agent of the colony for aid, which was readily granted. A boat was instantly manned and sent to his relief; and a brass field piece on the island was brought to bear on the assailants, who were put to the rout, with the loss of two killed, and several wounded. The crew and slaves were brought in safety to the land, but the vessel went to pieces, and most of the stores and property were lost. The natives were greatly exasperated, both at the loss of their prey, and the death of some of their people. On the following day they renewed their attack with a greater force, and a British soldier, and one of the colonists lost their lives. The state of feeling towards the colonists now became very vindictive; and the natives, fearing that their most valued rights were about to be invaded, and especially, that the slave trade, on which they depended for all their gains and supplies, was about to be destroyed, determined forthwith to extirpate the infant colony. Only a part of the goods stipulated in the treaty of purchase had been paid, and they now refused to receive the remainder, and insisted on returning what they had received. To this the agent would not consent, and to accomplish their purpose they had recourse to a stratagem. They invited him to an amicable conference, and as soon as they had him in their power they

made him a prisoner, and detained him, until he consented to take back the articles paid for the land. Then they insisted on the colonists leaving the coast; or, at least, leaving that place. He urged the difficulty of being obliged to go, when they had no place to which they could remove. They did, therefore, so far relax in their demands, as to permit them to remain until they could make a purchase elsewhere. In the meantime Dr. Ayres made an appeal to King Boatswain, who held a kind of supremacy among the kings, and who, on hearing the allegations on both sides, decided in favour of the colonists. He said, the bargain had been fair on both sides, and that he saw no grounds for rescinding the contract. He therefore decided, that the kings who sold the land, should receive the stipulated goods, and give up all claim to the territory purchased for the colony. With this judgment, though reluctantly, they were obliged to comply, for King Boatswain threatened them with vengeance if they refused to comply. But no sooner had Boatswain departed to his own territory, than they again resolved to destroy the colony. The colonists being informed of their intention, determined to make the best preparation they could for resistance.

The Dey tribe, which occupies this region, were thrown into a state of fervid excitement. They saw that a dangerous enemy had been introduced into their bosom. Old King Peter, the patriarch of the nation, was capitally impeached and brought to trial, on a charge of having betrayed the interests of his people, and sold the country to strangers. The accusation was substantiated, and for a while it was doubtful whether he would not be subjected to capital punishment for his treason.

Another unfortunate accident occurred. An English sailor, by discharging a cannon in the immediate vicinity of the storehouse, set the building on fire, and most of the provisions and clothing of the colonists were burnt, with the house.

Dr. Ayres found it necessary to have another meeting of the kings. In this convention he gave a concise history of his proceedings since his arrival in Africa, and maintained with spirit and boldness his right to the purchased territory. After some opposition and delay, the whole assembly, amounting to seventeen kings, and thirty-four half-kings, assented to the settlement of the colonists; *and on the 25th of April, 1822, the American flag was hoisted on Cape Mesurado.*

Dr. Ayres now resolved on a visit to the United States, to make known the situation, and urgent wants of the colony, and to obtain supplies for its relief. Before his departure, he again visited Sierra Leone, obtained provisions for the colony, returned to Mesurado, appointed one of the most respectable colonists to act as superintendent during his absence; and after witnessing with high satisfaction, the peace and comparative prosperity of the colony, he took passage for the United States on the 4th of June, 1822.

Among the colonists who distinguished themselves for their good conduct, fortitude, and active cooperation with the agent, were Elijah Johnston, Joseph Blake, Lot Carey, and Richard Sampson.

CHAPTER XII.

AGENCY OF MR. JEHUDI ASHMUN.

WHETHER it was a prudent step for Dr. Ayres, the agent, to leave the colony in their present exposed and unsettled state, is a question which we shall not discuss; as all the circumstances of the case cannot be now fully understood. No doubt, in taking this step, he believed that the necessities of the colony urgently required, that he should visit the United States without delay; but it is equally certain that he left the colony at a very critical time, and in a very perilous condition. Indeed had it not been for the unexpected and providential arrival of Mr. J. Ashmun, with a recruit of emigrants for the colony, all would, as far as human foresight goes, have been lost, and the little colony utterly extirpated.

The Africans released from slavery in Georgia, being now ready to return, the Board of managers were anxious to find a suitable person to take charge of them, and some other emigrants who were desirous of going to Africa. The government were to pay the expenses of those who had been brought into this country, and the brig Strong was chartered for their accommodation.

Just at this time Mr. J. Ashmun—a name which will ever be prominent in the history of African colonization—offered his services, and was appointed to superintend the expedition. As the brig was to sail from Baltimore, he spent about a month in that city, soliciting donations and purchasing supplies. On the 15th of May, 1823, all the passengers were assembled on board. And on the 20th, the vessel left Baltimore. Mrs. Ashmun accompanied her husband, as it was uncertain how long he might be detained on the coast of Africa, for he was requested by the Board, to take charge of the colony, if the other agents should not be there. The *Strong* was found to be a dull sailer, and experiencing much rough weather, she was eighty-one days on the passage.

On the 9th of August, 1822, Mr. Ashmun stood on Cape Mesurado; and having ascertained that both agents had left the country, he assumed, agreeably to his pledge to the Board, the direction as principal agent of the affairs of the colony. He found a respectable emigrant in charge of the public property, and acting as agent during Dr. Ayres's absence; but he found no books or documents, defining the limits of the purchased territory, explaining the state of the negotiations with the natives, or throwing light on the duties of the agency.

“Cape Mesurado, elevated from seventy-five to eighty feet above the sea, forms the abrupt termination of a narrow tongue of land, in length thirty-six miles, and from one and a half to the three miles in breadth; bounded on the south-west by the ocean, and on the north-east by the rivers Mesurado and Junk, running in nearly opposite directions; their sources, however, are very near together, but their course is crooked. The isthmus between them constitutes the junction of the Mesurado peninsula to the mainland. The site chosen for the original settlement, (Monrovia,) is two miles from the point of the Cape, on the ridge, approaching here to within one hundred and fifty yards of the river, to which there is a steep descent. This site, and a large portion of the peninsula, was, when ceded to the society, covered with a lofty and dense forest, entangled with vines and brushwood, the haunts of savage beasts, and through which the barbarians were accustomed to thread their narrow and winding paths to the coast.”*

* Ashmun's Life by Gurley.

When Mr. Ashmun arrived, a small spot had been cleared, about thirty houses constructed in the native style, with a storehouse entirely too small to receive any supplies, in addition to those it then contained. The rainy season was at its height, the public property had been chiefly consumed by fire. Some of the settlers, already on the ground, were but imperfectly sheltered; and for those just arrived, no preparation had been made. The settlement had no adequate means of defence, while the chiefs of the country no longer concealed their hostile designs. The whole population, including those who had arrived in the Strong, did not exceed one hundred and thirty; of whom, thirty-five only were capable of bearing arms.

Mr. Ashmun, after taking a comprehensive view of the condition of the colony, began to adopt such measures as were practicable for the safety and subsistence of the people. A colonial journal was opened with the design of recording all important transactions and events. Separate inventories were entered in a book of the public stores, found in the colony, and of those sent in the Strong; both by the United States and the society. Orders were given for the erection of a storehouse; for completing a building, just commenced, for the recaptured Africans; and for the best preparation that could be made for the other emigrants, who came out in the Strong, in the houses already occupied.

Soon after her arrival, the Strong was forced from her moorings, with the loss of one of her anchors; and the vessel for some time, was in the most imminent hazard of being driven ashore; and when she was got out of the bay, formed by Cape Mesurado and Cape Mount, and was again brought to a fixed position, it was at the distance of five miles from the settlement. During this disagreeable state of things, the agent and all the emigrants were on board. The people, however, were safely landed on the 13th and 14th of August; but it was four weeks before the agent had the satisfaction of seeing all the stores safely landed.

Efforts were made, without delay, to ascertain, as far as this was practicable, the dispositions of the principal chiefs of the country; and by offers of an honest and friendly trade, and by proposals to instruct their sons, to bind them in the most amicable relations to the colony. He entered into correspondence with King Peter, and King Bristol, who both expressed a

kind feeling towards the colony, and a willingness to trade with the people of the settlement. But under these plausible and friendly professions, there was lurking in the minds of many of the chiefs a spirit of determined hostility. The agent's principal hope of safety consisted in the difficulty of so many independent chiefs being able to unite, or to agree on any plan of hostile operation.

The recaptured Africans were placed by Mr. Ashmun in a community by themselves, under a judicious superintendent, who was directed to regulate their hours, lead their family devotion, and instruct them in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion. They were also to be taught agriculture, and trained up in habits of cleanliness and industry. Orders were also given for a comfortable house to be erected for the agent, and that lots should be assigned to the new comers. It was also determined by the agent, that several natives, mostly sons of head-men, should be received into the colony as labourers, and for compensation, be instructed in the English language; that as soon as practicable, the grounds should be cleared, and planted with the most useful vegetables. But nothing appeared to him more important, than to give attention to works of defence. Still he had no apprehension of the imminent peril to which the colony, in a short time, would be exposed.

But as Mr. Ashmun himself has written the history of the interesting and eventful period, which now follows, it is but just that he be permitted to speak in his own language.

"So early as the 18th of August, the present martello tower was planned; a company of labourers, employed by the agent in clearing the ground on which it stands, and a particular survey taken of the military strength and means of the settlers. Of the native Americans, twenty-seven, when not sick, were able to bear arms; but they were wholly untrained to their use; and capable in their present undisciplined state of making but a very feeble defence indeed. There were forty muskets in store, which, with repairing, were capable of being rendered serviceable. Of five iron guns and one brass attached to the settlement, the last only was fit for service, and four of the former required carriages. Several of these were nearly buried in the mud, on the opposite side of the river. Not a yard of abatis, or other fence-work, had been constructed. There was

no fixed ammunition, nor, without great difficulty and delay, was it possible to load the only gun which was provided with a sufficient carriage.

“It was soon perceived that the means, as well as an organized system of defence, were to be originated, without either the materials or the artificers usually considered necessary for such purposes. In the organization of the men, thirteen African youths attached to the United States’ Agency, most of whom had never loaded a musket, were enrolled in the Lieutenant’s corps, and daily exercised in the use of arms. The guns were, one after another, with infinite labour, transported over the river, conveyed to the height of the peninsula, and mounted on rough truck carriages, which in the event proved to answer a very good purpose. A master of ordnance was appointed, who, with his assistants, repaired the small arms—made up a quantity of fixed ammunition, and otherwise aided in arranging the details of the service.

“The little town was closely environed, except on the side of the river, with the heavy forest in the bosom of which it was situated—thus giving to a savage enemy an important advantage, of which it became absolutely necessary to deprive him, by enlarging to the utmost, the cleared space about the buildings. This labour was immediately undertaken, and carried on without any other intermission, than that caused by sickness of the people, and the interruption of other duties equally connected with the safety of the place. But the rains were immoderate and nearly constant.

“In addition to these fatiguing labours, was that of maintaining the nightly watch; which, from the number of sentinels necessary for the common safety, shortly became more exhausting than all the other burdens of the people. No less than twenty individuals were every night detailed for this duty, after the 31st of August.”*

* “On this day, the strength of the colony was thus organized, and the accompanying orders issued :

1. The settlement is under military law.
2. E. Johnson is Commissary of Stores.
3. R. Sampson is Commissary of Ordnance.
4. L. Carey, Health Officer and Government Inspector.
5. F. James, Captain of brass mounted field-piece; and has assigned to his command, R. Newport, M. S. Draper, William Meade, and J. Adams.

"On the 25th of August, Mr. Ashmun experienced the first attack of fever; and on the next day his wife was seized. Sickness also prevailed among the recent emigrants; so that on the 10th of September, only two, of the whole number, remained in health. For four weeks the agent struggled with his disease. In the morning, after a night of delirium and suffering, he would be for hours employed in laying off and directing the execution of the public works.

"About the first of September, the intercourse between the settlement and the people of the country, had nearly ceased, and the native youths who had been residing in the colony, were daily deserting in consequence of recent intelligence conveyed to them by their friends.

"The plan of defence adopted was to station five heavy guns at the different angles of a triangle which should circumscribe the whole settlement—each of the angles resting on a point of ground sufficiently commanding to enfilade two sides of the triangle, and sweep a considerable extent of ground beyond the lines. The guns at these stations were to be covered by musket-proof triangular stockades, of which any two should be sufficient to contain all the settlers in their wings. The brass piece and two swivels mounted on travelling carriages, were stationed in the centre, ready to support

6. A. James, Captain of Long 18; and under his command, J. Benson, E. Smith, William Hollinger, D. Hawkins, John and Thomas Spencer.

7. J. Shaw, Captain of the Southern Picket Station, mounting two iron guns. To his command are attached S. Campbell, E. Jackson, J. Lawrence, L. Crook, and George Washington.

8. D. George, Captain of Eastern Picket Station, mounting two iron guns; attached are A. Edmondson, Joseph Gardiner, Josh. Webster, and J. Carey.

9. C. Brander, Captain of a Carriage mounting two swivels, to act in concert with the brass piece, and move from station to station, as the occasion may require; attached are T. Tines, and L. Butler.

10. Every man is to have his musket and ammunition with him even when at the large guns.

11. Every officer is responsible for the conduct of the men placed under him, who are to obey him at their peril.

12. The guns are all to be got ready for action immediately—and every effective man is to be employed on the Pickets.

13. Five stations to be occupied by guards at night, till other orders shall be given.

14. No useless firing permitted.

15. In case of an alarm, every man is to repair instantly to his post and do his duty."

the post which might be exposed to the heaviest attack. After completing these detached works, it was the intention of the agent, had the enemy allowed the time, to join all together by a paling to be carried quite around the settlement; and in the event of a yet longer respite, to carry on, as rapidly as possible, under the protection of the nearest fortified point, the construction of the martello tower; which, as soon as completed, would nearly supersede all the other works; and by presenting an impregnable barrier to the success of any native force, probably become the instrument of a general and permanent pacification. Connected with these measures of safety, was the extension to the utmost, of the cleared space about the settlement, still leaving the trees and brushwood, after being separated from their trunks, to spread the ground with a tangled hedge, through which nothing should be able to make its way, except the shot from the batteries.

“This plan was fully communicated to the most intelligent of the people; which, in the event of the disability or death of the agent, they might, it was hoped, so far carry into effect as to ensure the preservation of the settlement.”

“On the sixth of September, the agent convened the people, read to them the instructions of the Board, and published such laws, by-laws and regulations as he deemed essential to the public welfare. ‘Taken together,’ he remarks, ‘they comprise all the special written laws which exist in the settlement.’ In addition to sundry explanations touching the particular laws, he offered on the occasion several remarks, in substance, as follows:

“‘That the government of the colony ought to be a government of reason, religion, and law, and not that of a master over his refractory servants; that the agent should comply with the instructions of the society, consult the interest of the colony, and abide strictly by the sense of the constitution as far as he understood them in all the regulations he should establish; that he intended to represent the society as if present; that no more nor more rigid laws should be passed than were judged *necessary*; and that laws once passed, it need not be said, must be obeyed, or the penalty suffered; that he sincerely devoted himself, while Divine Providence should continue him in his present situation, to the welfare of the settlement. And his first wish was to see it prosperous. He sympathized with not

a few present, who had encountered and sustained dangers and hardships of a trying nature. It was the wish of the society, it was his wish to see them as soon as possible, rewarded for all their sufferings, by a home abounding with peace and all the comforts of this life, and the best means of preparing for one infinitely better. He had the satisfaction to regard himself as the personal friend of many present, and hoped these feelings would be interrupted by no fault or indiscretion on either part.'

"On the 12th of September, the agent wrote the following sentences in the Colonial Journal.

"'Rain falls in floods. The sick all seem better except Mrs. Ashmun. She is speechless, and almost without the use of her reason. There is no rational hope of her recovery. All remedies on which her husband dares to venture, have been tried in vain. He now with a burdened heart, resigns her up to her God, and scarcely able to support himself, painfully watches over what he considers the last hours of her mortal existence. When last possessed of the power of reflection, she declared herself happy in her God—and to possess not a wish which was not absorbed in His holy will. The reading of the Scriptures seemed perceptibly to feed and revive her faith in the precious Redeemer. She seemed to have intercourse with God in prayer. Her husband may follow her in a few days, or weeks at most; and he here ventures to record it as the first wish of his heart, that the will of the Lord may be done.'

"Mr. Ashmun strove manfully against the power of his disease, and the tide of distressing thoughts which rushed upon him as he beheld his wife, 'a female of most delicate constitution, lying under the influence of a mortal fever, in the corner of a miserable hut, (to ventilate which in a proper manner was impossible,) on a couch literally dripping with water, which a roof of thatch was unable to exclude—circumstances rendering recovery impossible, and in which even the dying struggle almost brought relief to the agonized feelings of surviving friendship.*' She expired on Sunday the 15th of September. 'Her life,' observes he who knew her best, 'had been that of uncommon devotion and self-denial, inspired by a vigorous and practical faith in the Divine Saviour of the world; and her end,

* Mr. Ashmun's Letter to Captain Spence.

according to his promise, was ineffable peace.' To this, we add, that in the recollections of her friends, are the impressions still vivid of her zeal and charity in behalf of the neglected and ignorant of this, and the wretched heathens of other lands; and how, from early youth, it had been her chief desire, that it might be her work and honour, to guide the untaught children of some uncivilized regions to the God of her hope and salvation.

"It was a kind dispensation of Providence, that the agent was spared to make the most important arrangements for the defence of the settlement, before the hand of disease rendered him entirely incapable of exertion. From the middle of September, until the first week of November, he remained in an extremely low and dangerous state, nearly incapable of motion, and conscious of little but suffering. As soon as the force of his disease was somewhat abated, he discovered that much had been effected by the industry of the people; that on the whole southern quarter of the settlement, the trees had been cleared away, and so thrown together, as in a good measure to obstruct the approach of an enemy. Their routine of daily labour and nightly watching, however, had been such as to forbid their completing the preparations; the western station was still uncovered; and the long gun, intended for its chief defence, unmounted. On the 7th of November, the agent was able to 'recommence entries in the Journal, and thereafter daily to take an increasing share in the operations of the people.'

"In the mean time, the kings and head-men of the country had held secret meetings to discuss and decide upon measures of hostility to the colony. By the diligence and fidelity of an individual whose name has not been divulged, the agent 'was informed of the sentiments of each, and often furnished with the very arguments used in their debates.' Some diversity of opinion existed in the war-council. Two or three of the chiefs were opposed to the war, but a large majority, not fewer than nine or ten, resolved to unite their forces and make an early attack upon the settlement. The agent, through one of their number who was undecided on his course, informed them 'that he was perfectly apprised of their hostile deliberations, notwithstanding their pains to conceal them; and that if they proceeded to bring war upon the Americans, without even asking

to settle their differences in a friendly manner, they would dearly learn what it was to fight white men.”*

“On the 7th of November,” says Mr. Ashmun, “intelligence was received at the Cape that the last measures had been taken preparatory to an assault on the settlement, which was ordered within four days. The plan of attack being left to the head warriors, whose trade it is to concert and conduct it, was not to be learnt.

“The agent was able, with assistance, to inspect the works, and review the little force the same evening. He stated to the people the purport of the intelligence just received; that ‘war was now inevitable; and the preservation of their property, their settlement, their families, and their lives, depended under God, wholly upon their own firmness and good conduct; that a most important point in the defence of the place, was to secure a perfect uniformity of action, which should assure to every post and individual the firm support of every other. To this end, they must as punctiliously obey their officers as if their whole duty were centered, as it probably was, in that one point; and every man as faithfully exert himself, as if the whole defence depended on his single efforts. A coward, it was hoped, did not disgrace their ranks; and as the cause was emphatically that of God and their country, they might confidently expect his blessing and success to attend the faithful discharge of their duty.’—Every thing was then disposed in order of action, and the men marched to their posts. They lay on their arms, with matches lighted, through the night.

“On the 8th the agent, by an effort which entirely exhausted his strength, proceeded to examine the obstruction thrown in the way of the avenues to the settlement; and perceived to his extreme mortification, that the west quarter was still capable of being approached by a narrow path-way, without difficulty; and that the utmost exertions of the workmen had accomplished only the mounting of the revolving nine pounder at the post; by which the path was enfiladed; but that the platform was still left entirely exposed. The eastern quarter was about equally opened to the approach of the enemy, but

* A phrase by which civilized people of all colours and nations, are distinguished in the dialect of the coast.

the station was protected by a stockade, and a steep ledge of rocks made the access difficult.

“Picket-guards of four men each were detailed, to be posted one hundred yards in advance of each of the stations, through the night. No man was allowed to sleep before the following day, at sun-rise; and patrols of native Africans were dispersed through the woods in every direction. An order was given to families occupying the most exposed houses, to sleep in such as were more centrally situated.*

“Throughout the 9th, the order established on the preceding day continued; and some progress was made in the labour of falling trees, and otherwise obstructing every practicable access to the settlement.

“*Sunday, November 10th.* The morning was devoted, as usual, to the refreshment of the settlers, none of whom had slept for the twenty-four hours preceding. At 1 P. M. all were remanded to their fatigue and other duties, till sun-set; when the order appointed for the preceding night was resumed. The women and children attended divine service.

“Intelligence had reached the agent early in the day, that the hostile forces had made a movement, and were crossing the Mesurado river a few miles above the settlement; but the patrols made no discovery through the day. At sun-set, however, the enemy again put themselves in motion, and at an early hour of the night, had assembled, as was afterwards learnt, to the number of six to nine hundred men, on the peninsula, where, at the distance of less than half a mile to the westward of the settlement, they encamped till near morning. Their camp, afterwards examined, extended half a mile in length, and induces a strong probability that the number of warriors assembled on this occasion, has been altogether underrated.†

“The most wakeful vigilance on the part of the settlers, was

* In the multitude of cares devolving on the agent, who dictated most of his instructions from his bed, the measures necessary to secure the proper observance of this order were unhappily omitted; and the rashness of the misguided individuals who disobeyed it, met with a signal punishment.

† The number given above, is deduced from the discordant accounts given by the kings of the country, after the termination of hostilities; some of whom rated it much higher; but all were ignorant of the true number, and all were interested to state it as low as would obtain credit.

kept up through the night.—But, with a fatality which was quite of a piece with all the hindrances that had impeded the progress of the defences on the western quarter, the picket-guard in advance of that post, ventured on a violation of their orders, by leaving their station at the first dawn of day; at which it was their duty to remain till sun-rise. The native force was already in motion, and followed directly in the rear of the picket-guard. The latter had just rejoined their gun, about which ten men were now assembled; when the enemy suddenly presented a front of ten yards in width, at sixty distant, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with their spears to seize the post. Several men were killed and disabled by the first fire, and the remainder driven from their gun without discharging it. These, retiring upon the centre, threw the reserve there stationed into momentary confusion; and had the enemy at this instant pressed their advantage, it is hardly conceivable that they should have failed of entire success. Their avidity for plunder was their defeat. Four houses in that outskirt of the settlement, had fallen into their hands. Every man on whose savage rapacity so resistless a temptation happened to operate, rushed impetuously upon the pillage thus thrown in his way. The movement of the main body was disordered and impeded; and an opportunity afforded the agent, assisted principally by the Rev. Lot Cary, to rally the broken force of the settlers. The two central guns, with a part of their own men, and several who had been driven from the western station, were, with a little exertion, brought back into action, and formed in the line of two slight buildings, thirty yards in advance of the enemy.

“The second discharge of a brass field-piece, double-shotted with ball and grape, brought the whole body of the enemy to a stand. That gun was well served, and appeared to do great execution. The havoc would have been greater, had not the fire, from motives of humanity, been so directed as to clear the dwellings about which the enemy’s force was gathered in heavy masses. These houses were known at that moment to contain more than twelve helpless women and children.

“The eastern and southern posts, were, from their situation, precluded from rendering any active assistance on the occasion; but the officers and men attached to them, deserve the highest

praise, of doing their duty by maintaining their stations, and thus protecting the flank and rear of the few whose lot it was to be brought to action.

"A few musketeers, with E. Johnson at their head, by passing round upon the enemy's flank, served to increase the consternation which was beginning to pervade their unwieldy body. In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the front of the enemy began to recoil. But the numerous obstructions in their rear, the entire absence of discipline, and the extreme difficulty of giving a reversed motion to so large a body, a small part only of which was directly exposed to danger, and the delay occasioned by the practice of carrying off all their dead and wounded, rendered a retreat for some minutes longer, impossible. The very violence employed by those in the front, in their impatience to hasten it, by increasing the confusion, produced an effect opposite to that intended. The Americans perceiving their advantage, now regained possession of the western post, and instantly brought the long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance! Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh! Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away, and the whole host disappeared. At eight o'clock the well known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes, was sounded, and many small parties seen at a distance, directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe employed in reconveying a party across the mouth of the Mesurado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several men killed.

"On the part of the settlers, it was soon discovered that considerable injury had been sustained.

"One woman* who had imprudently passed the night in the house first beset by the enemy, had received thirteen wounds, and been thrown aside as dead. Another,† flying from her house with her two infant children, received a wound in the head, from a cutlass, and was robbed of both her babes; but providentially escaped. A young married woman,‡ with the mother of five small children, finding the house in which they slept surrounded by savage enemies, barricadoed the door, in the vain hope of safety. It was forced. Each of the women then seizing an axe, held the irresolute barbarians in check for several minutes longer. Having discharged their guns, they seemed desirous of gaining the shelter of the house previous to reloading.—At length, with the aid of their spears, and by means of a general rush, they overcame their heroine adversaries, and instantly stabbed the youngest to the heart. The mother, instinctively springing for her suckling babe, which recoiled through fright, and was left behind, rushed through a small window on the opposite side of the house, and providentially escaped to the lines, unhurt, between two heavy fires.

"The agent had caused a return to be made at 9 o'clock, which certainly exhibited a melancholy statement of the loss sustained by the little company. But it was animating to perceive that none, not even the wounded in their severest sufferings, were dispirited, or insensible of the signal providence to which they owed the successful issue of their struggle.

"It has never been possible to ascertain the number of the enemy killed or disabled on this occasion. The only entry made on the subject in the Colonial Journal, is dated November 15th; and states, 'The following circumstances prove the carnage to have been, for the number engaged, great. A large canoe, from which the dead and wounded could be seen to be taken, on its arriving at the opposite side of the Mesurado, and which might easily carry twelve men, was employed upwards of two hours in ferrying them over. In this time, not less than ten or twelve trips must have been made. It is also known, that many of the wounded were conveyed away along the south beach, on mats; and that the dead, left of necessity

* Mrs. Ann Hawkins; who after long and incredible sufferings recovered, and is yet living.

† Mrs. Minty Draper.

‡ Mary Tines.

in the woods, where many fell, are carried off by their friends every night. But two days ago, twenty-seven bodies were discovered by a party of friendly Condoes employed by the agent for the purpose. On entering the wood, the offensive effluvia from putrid bodies, is at this time intolerable.'

"The numerical force of the settlers amounted to thirty-five persons, including six native youths not sixteen years of age. Of this number, about one half were engaged.

"At nine o'clock, the agent, after advising with the most sensible mechanics, and others of the settlers, issued an order for contracting the lines, by excluding about one-fourth part of the houses, and surrounding the remainder, including the stores, with a musket-proof stockade; at the angles of which, all the guns were to be posted. The fence palings and building materials of individuals, were taken for this palisade, of which, before night, more than eighty yards were completed.

"This work was resumed early the next day, and far advanced towards a completion, before it was judged safe to devote an hour even to the melancholy duty of burying the dead; which was performed on the evening of the 12th. By contracting the lines, the number of men necessary to guard them, was considerably reduced; and thus a relief for the people obtained, which their sickly and feeble state absolutely called for. As early as the 14th, one-half of their number were released from camp duty, after eight o'clock in the morning; but every man remanded to his post through the night. An additional gun was mounted and posted on the same day: on the 17th, the artillerists were newly organized; and every day witnessed either some improvements in the discipline of the men, or in the means of defence and annoyance.

"It could not fail, in the state of utter abandonment and solitude to which this little company was reduced, to be felt as an encouraging circumstance, that Tom Bassa, a prince of some distinction, should, at this moment, have sent a message to assure the colony of his friendship; and in testimony of his sincerity, to have forwarded a small present of the productions of the country.

"The enclosure was completed on Sunday morning, the 17th; when about one-half of the people had the privilege of celebrating divine service—a privilege which many of them very highly appreciated.

"It is not to be either concealed, or made the subject of a too severe censure, that several of the people should have yielded, as soon as leisure was afforded for reflection, to the discouraging circumstances of their situation. There were not at this time, exclusive of rice, fifteen days' provisions in store. Every individual was subjected to an allowance which could not sustain animal strength, under the burden of so many severe and extraordinary labours. Nothing could be obtained from the country. Seven infant children were in the hands of an enemy infuriated by his recent losses. The native forces were certainly not dispersed; but it was no longer in the agent's power either to learn the intention of the chiefs, or to convey any message through to them. Add to these unpleasant ingredients of their lot, the more cruel circumstance, perhaps of all, that the ammunition of the colony was insufficient for a single hour's defence of the place if hotly attacked, and an apology may surely be found for the very alarming despondency which was invading the minds of several of the settlers. It was a happy providence that, at this critical moment, the agent's health was so far mended, as to put it in his power often to attend the men, at their posts and labours, by night and day—to animate them by every method which his invention could suggest—and when these failed, to draw from their despair itself, an argument for a faithful discharge of their duty. In this difficult labour, he was ably and successfully supported by several of the most sensible and influential of the colonists.

"An earnest, but ineffectual effort was now made to engage the kings in a treaty of peace. The state of the settlement, as well as motives of humanity, urged that no proper means should be neglected of bringing the war to a termination.

"The enemy was assured 'that the Americans came with friendly intentions; that they had evinced those friendly intentions in all their intercourse with the people of the country; that they were willing to settle a peace, but were also prepared to carry on the war, and render it immensely more destructive than it had yet been found to their foes.'—But though messages were daily exchanged with the chiefs for a time, and though they professed a pacific disposition, it was known that they were earnestly engaged in securing allies from all quarters, and the agent made diligent preparations for a second attack.

“‘The 23d of November was devoted to humiliation thanksgiving, and prayer, both on account of the recent success, and losses, and the actual perilous state of the settlement. Two days afterwards, the most pressing wants of the people were relieved by a small purchase from a transient trader touching at the Cape.’

“A generous foreigner, Captain H. Brassey, of Liverpool, arrived on the 29th, ‘and nearly exhausted his own stores to relieve the distresses of the sick and wounded, and exerted an extensive influence, acquired by long acquaintance with the chiefs, to disarm their hostilities.’ But in vain. ‘It was ascertained to be their purpose to renew that very night, with a large reinforcement, their efforts to destroy the settlement. The presence of Captain Brassey’s large ship in the harbour, induced them to defer the attack.’

“In a letter dated November 30, addressed to the Board, Mr. Ashmun writes: ‘All the tribes around us are combined in war against us. Their principal object is plunder. We are surrounded only with a slight barricade, and can only raise a force of thirty men; have not time, limits, nor the means to erect an effectual and permanent fortification, nor any means except what casually offers of sending to Sierra Leone for aid. We endeavour to make God our trust. I have no idea but to wait here for His deliverance—or to lay our bones on Cape Mesurado.’ After many suggestions in regard to supplies by future expeditions, he concludes: ‘Dear sir, pray for us fervently, that if living, God Almighty *would* be with us.’

“Mr. Ashmun thus describes the contest on the morning of the 2d of December:

“‘The agent, for the first time, spent the whole night (29th) at the different posts; and had the satisfaction to perceive every man attentive to his duty, and every thing connected with the defence in a state of the most perfect preparation. The wood had been cleared for a considerable space about the town. The enemy in order to approach within musket shot of the works, was obliged to place himself unsheltered, in the open field; and could advance upon no point which was not exposed to the cross-fire of two or more of the posts. The stockade, for a distance on each side of all the several stations, was rendered impenetrable to musket shot; and in every part afforded a shelter, behind which the defenders might indulge the confi-

dence of being nearly secure—a point of the very first importance to be secured to the unpractised soldier.

“ ‘ November 30th was spent by the people in the order of action, as it was known that the enemy in the neighbourhood were in the actual observation of all that passed within the lines. No pickets could be safely trusted during the ensuing night, without the enclosure ; but the men attached to the different stations were ranged along the stockade at five yards’ distance from each other, with orders to repair to their guns on the moment the alarm was given. The agent, spent with the fatigue of waking two successive nights, had reclined at thirty minutes past four, the 2d inst., upon the light arms which he carried, when the onset was made. The works were attacked at the same moment on nearly opposite sides. The enemy’s western division had made their way along the muddy margin of the river, under the protection of the bank, to the north-western angle of the palisade; when, on rising the bank so as to become visible from the western post, they had opened upon it a sudden and brisk fire, which was promptly and very steadily returned by the iron gun, supported by the reserve field-piece from the centre. The assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Ten minutes afterwards they renewed the onset, and forcing their way higher up the bank than before, contended with great obstinacy, and suffered still more severely. A third attempt was made to carry this post, but with the same ill success.

“ ‘ On the opposite quarter the assault had commenced at the same moment, with still greater vigour. A large body had concealed themselves under a precipitous ledge of rocks forty yards distant; whence they crept nearly concealed from view, within the same number of feet of the station; when they suddenly rose, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with the utmost fury. At this moment, the two-gun battery was unmasked, and opened upon them with immediate effect. After a very few discharges, the body of the enemy having thrown themselves flat upon the earth, disappeared behind the rocks. Their marksmen had taken their stations behind projecting rocks, fallen trees, and large ant-hills, and still kept up a constant and well directed fire; under the cover of which the main body rallied and returned to the attack not less than four times,

and were as often repulsed by the well directed fire of the large guns, which were purposely reserved for those occasions.

“ ‘The agent, at this moment, perceiving the enemy in motion towards the right, under cover of a small eminence which favoured their design, proceeded to the southern post, which had not yet been engaged, and ordered it to open upon them the moment their movement brought them within the range of its guns. The order was punctually obeyed; which exposed a large number of the assailants to a galling cannonade both in front and flank, in a situation where their own arms could prove of no effectual service to them. The assault on the opposite side of the town had been already repulsed; and the signal for a general retreat immediately followed. This order was obeyed with such promptitude, that the most entire silence succeeded, and every warrior disappeared almost instantaneously.

“ ‘Not the most veteran troops could have behaved with more coolness, or shown greater firmness than the settlers, on this occasion. Such had been their hardships, and distressing suspense for the last twenty days, that the first volley of the enemy’s fire brought sensible relief to every breast; for it gave assurance that the time had arrived which was to put a period to their anxieties.

“ ‘The final repulse of the assailants on the western quarter, took place in seventy minutes from the commencement of the contest; the attack upon the eastern post, was prolonged ninety minutes; and of the two, was much the most obstinate and bloody. Three of the men serving at the guns of that station, Gardiner, Crook, and Tines, were very badly, the last mortally, wounded. The agent received three bullets through his clothes, but providentially escaped unhurt. As the natives in close action load their muskets (which are of the largest calibre) with copper and iron slugs, often to the enormous measure of twelve inches, their fire is commonly very destructive. In this conflict of scarcely an hour and a half, the quantity of shot lodged in the paling, and actually thrown within the lines, is altogether incredible; and that it took effect in so few cases, can only be regarded as the effect of the special guardianship of Divine Providence.

“ ‘The number of assailants has been variously estimated, but can never be correctly ascertained. It is known to be

much greater than of those engaged on the 11th. Their loss, although from the quantity of blood with which the field was found drenched, certainly considerable, was much less than in the former attack.

“ ‘The agent has often said that their plan of assault was the very best that they could have devised. It was certainly sustained and renewed with a resolution that would not disgrace the best disciplined troops. But they were not fully apprised of the power of well served artillery. None of the kings of this part of the coast are without cannon. But to load a great gun, is with them the business of half an hour; and they were seriously disposed to attribute to sorcery the art of charging and firing these destructive machines from four to six times in the minute.’

“ ‘The result of this action disheartened the foe, and animated for a moment, the hopes of the colonists. But the situation of the latter, was most distressing. The small number still more reduced—no aid near—provisions scanty, so that for six weeks they had been on an allowance of meat and bread; the sufferings of the wounded, relieved by little surgical knowledge, less skill, and no proper instruments, indescribable; and on an equal distribution of the shot among the guns, not three rounds remaining to each! ‘We cried unto God,’ says Mr. Ashmun, (in his letter to the Board of the 7th of December,) ‘to send us aid, or prepare us, and the society at home, for the heaviest earthly calamity we could dread.’

“ ‘On the following night, an officer at one of the stations, alarmed by some movement in the vicinity, discharged several muskets and large guns, and this circumstance was providentially the means of bringing relief to the almost despairing settlement.

“ ‘The British colonial schooner, Prince Regent, laden with military stores, and having on board Major Laing, the celebrated African traveller, with a prize crew commanded by Midshipman Gordon, and eleven seamen of his Britannic Majesty’s sloop of war Driver, was at this time passing the Cape on her way to Cape Coast Castle, when her officers, arrested by the sound of cannon at midnight from the shore, resolved to ascertain the cause of so extraordinary a circumstance. No sooner did they learn the truth, and behold a little company of brave men contending for their lives against the leagued forces

of nearly every barbarous tribe on that part of the coast, than they generously offered all the aid in their power. By the influence of Captain Laing, the chiefs were bound to a truce, and to refer all matters of difference between them and the colony, to the judgment of the Governor of Sierra Leone; while Midshipman Gordon, with eleven seamen, voluntarily consented to remain, and see that the agreement was preserved inviolate. As the chiefs had no just grounds of complaint, the provision for a reference was never afterwards recollected. The Prince Regent left at the colony a supply of ammunition, and took her departure on the 4th of December. From that hour the foundations of the colony were laid in a firm and lasting PEACE.

“And who was he, that ‘single white man,’ on that distant forest-clad shore, unbroken in spirit, though bowed beneath the heavy hand of sorrow and sickness, casting fear to the winds, directing and heading by day and night, a feeble, undisciplined, dejected, unfortified band of thirty-five emigrants, against whom the very elements seemed warring, while a thousand to fifteen hundred armed savages were rushing to destroy them? Who was he, that in reliance on God for wisdom and might, imparted such skill and courage to this little company,—so ordered every plan and guided every movement, that the fierce foe retired panic-struck before them, and they stood rescued and redeemed from impending destruction?

“Was he a veteran soldier, inured to danger, familiar with suffering, and bred amid scenes of battle and blood? Was he there adorned by badges of military honour, conscious of a reputation won by deeds of ‘high emprise,’ and stimulated to valour by hopes of glory and fears of disgrace?

“That was no tried, no ambitious soldier. He was a young man bred to letters, of retired habits, educated for the ministry of Christ, unknown to fame,—the victim of disappointment, burdened with debt, and touched by undeserved reproach. He had visited Africa in hope of obtaining the means of doing justice to his creditors; and impelled by humanity and religion, had consented, without any fixed compensation, to give, should they be required, his services to the colony. He found it in peril of extinction. He hesitated not. He failed not to redeem his pledge. He gathered strength from difficulty, and motive from danger. No thronging and admiring spectators cheered

him; no glorious pomp and circumstance were there to throw a brightness and a beauty even upon the features and terrors of death. He stood strong in duty, covered by the shield of faith. His frame shaken by disease; the partner of his life struck down by his side; amid the groans of the afflicted and in the shadow of hope's dim eclipse, he planned and executed, with the ability of the bravest and most experienced general, measures which saved the settlement, and secured for liberty and Christianity, a perpetual home and heritage in Africa. Raised up and guided by an Almighty, though invisible hand, to build a city of righteousness on that shore of oppression, before which the makers of idols should be confounded, and those in chains come over* to fall down in worship, and exclaim as they beheld her light, "surely God is in thee," no weapon formed against him could prosper, no wasting destruction by day, or pestilence walking in darkness, had power to defeat the work."†

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COLONY UNDER MR. ASHMUN.

THE Prince Regent, which had arrived so opportunely at the Cape, and to whose captain, officers, and crew, the colonists were so much indebted for their aid and protection, when she departed from the Cape, left midshipman Gordon, as we have seen, and eleven seamen, as a kind of guard for the colonists, and to see that the agreement into which the chiefs had entered was fulfilled. But these generous Englishmen had scarcely set foot on the African shore, to assist the feeble colony, when they were swept away by the fell malaria of this climate, so unfriendly to the constitution of white men.

The funeral of midshipman Gordon was attended by nearly all the colonists, and by the officers of several vessels who happened to be in port. Mr. Ashmun announced the melancholy event to Lieutenant Rotheray of the British navy, in a letter of

* Isaiah xlv. 14, 16.

† Gurley's *Life of Ashmun*.

cordial gratitude for the services secured, and tender sympathy for the loss of so promising a young man.

Important services were also rendered to the infant colony by the officers and crew of a Colombian armed schooner, which arrived on the 4th of December, 1822, and remained four weeks at the colony. Her mechanics assisted in putting the settlement into a better state of defence.

Mr. Ashmun's health continued to be poor; it was evidently injured by excessive exertion; so that it was not until February that he was again capable of active service. He felt that much was requisite to be done before the rainy season. Besides the public store, there was but one shingled roof in the settlement. Many of the cabins were without floors, covered with thatch, and afforded a very imperfect shelter. The war had occupied the attention of all the colonists for several months, and deranged all their habits of industry and economy. Provisions began also to run low, and every prospect was gloomy rather than cheering. But the stout-hearted agent was not easily discouraged: as he stood firm in the midst of his little band, when assailed by fifty times the number of his own men, and came off victorious, so now, when disease and famine threatened the little lonely colony, he still put his trust in God. In a letter to the Board he says:—"Our last barrel of salted provisions, is to be opened on next Saturday. But we do not complain. God has not, and will not fail to be our Provider. I have only to regret that the war has put back our improvements nearly a whole year." And again, to the secretary of the society, he says: "Divine Providence has, since my last, been gradually dispersing the clouds which then hung over us. We have opened a trade with a wealthy tribe in the interior for bullocks. They cost fifteen *bars* each.* Our people begin to breathe freely. We still keep up a strict watch at night, but are able with safety to reduce it, so as to make it very little burdensome to the colonists. Our wounded, though unable to labour, are once more moving about with their crutches, and their slings, and we have just begun to build and repair the houses in which ourselves, and the fresh emigrants, (if any arrive,) are to spend the rains. Finally, the progress of the colony is now forwards, and not as it has been for months past, retrograde. My health is nearly restored. I stand a monument of God's

* About eight dollars.

mercy; and behold the graves of fifteen white persons around me, all of whom have died since I landed on the Cape. Help me to praise the Lord, and pray, fervently pray, that I may spend a life thus astonishingly preserved, in some humble way of usefulness to his blessed cause in Africa and in the world.”*

On the 5th of March 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote, “We have all our captives back again. The kings met and agreed to send them without any demand. It was, however, expected that we would make them a present. This I did. The little things were all very much uncivilized. Some had forgotten the English language; some had forgotten their own parents; others had actually gone wild, and to avoid their friends, would scud like fawns into the bushes.”

The American ship of war *Cyane* having arrived on the African coast, Captain Robert Trail Spence, though his health was impaired, and his crew enfeebled by a cruise of twelve months in the West Indies; yet upon hearing of the state of the colony, determined to adopt efficient measures for its relief and safety. He saw the importance of leaving an armed vessel on the coast, and by the most energetic exertion, he fitted up and repaired the old schooner *Augusta*, bearing six guns, and manned her with twelve men, under the command of Lieutenant Dashiell, to guard the coast, and aid the colony in any exigency.

Captain Spence discovered every disposition to place the colony in a state of safety and comfort before he left the coast, and therefore not only incurred a heavy expense by purchasing at Sierra Leone necessary articles for the settlement, but employed a large part of his crew for twenty days in assisting the people to build a commodious house for the agent, and a stone fortress, which might prove “a tower of strength.” But in the midst of his benevolent exertions, he had the affliction to see Dr. Dix, the surgeon of his ship, expire, after a few days’ illness, with the fever of the climate. This valuable man had been a warm friend to the colony from the beginning; had visited and administered relief to the emigrants, when at Sherbro; and now the tears of a grateful people fell into his grave. The rapid progress of disease among the seamen on shore, compelled Captain Spence to leave incomplete the works he had commenced; but with all his precautions and exertions, he could

* Gurley’s *Life of Ashmun*, p. 153, 154.

not prevent the loss of a large number of his crew. As many as forty men fell victims to this deleterious climate.

The works which Captain Spence had commenced were all planned and superintended by Mr. Ashmun, who possessed not only undaunted resolution in time of danger, but extraordinary activity and versatility of mind.

Upon leaving the coast of Africa, Captain Spence consented that Mr. Richard Seaton, the first clerk of the Cyane, should remain at the Cape, to assist Mr. Ashmun, who saw, that with impaired health and increasing burthens, it was impossible for him alone to fulfil the numerous and arduous duties of the agency. But having now an assistant to whom he could intrust the affairs of the colony, he determined to make a coasting voyage to convey home about forty Kroomen, who had performed labours in the colony upon this condition, that they should be, without expense, conveyed to Settra Kroo, two hundred miles south of the Cape. He was absent twenty-one days on this expedition, and made accurate observations of every thing which he saw, and returned on the 13th of May, 1823.

In his communications to the Board, he remarks, "that the whole African coast was once populous, and the land cleared and cultivated; and that the present dense forests and entangled jungles, are a second growth; that the native towns are numerous but not large. The people raise their own rice, cassada, and palm oil; and procure their guns, powder, clothes, tobacco, knives, cooking utensils, and luxuries from French slave-traders." "We saw," says he, "at least three vessels of this description."

The chief men of every tribe which he visited, declared it to be their purpose to live in friendship, and trade with the colony. The report of the late war had spread every where among them, and had produced a high opinion of the strength and invincibility of the colony. Although, during his short absence the colonists had plied the work on hand, under the direction of one of their own number; yet he found that Mr. Seaton had been confined with a severe attack of fever. After languishing about two months, Mr Seaton determined on a return to the United States, in the Oswego, which had just come out with Dr. Ayres, and a company of emigrants. But it was determined that he should never see his native country.

On the fifth day of the voyage, he breathed his last. The affectionate memorial of this interesting young man, given by Mr. Ashmun, deserves a place in this history. "The bloom of youth had just ripened into the graces of manhood, and given to a person naturally prepossessing, the higher ornament of a benevolent and highly accomplished understanding. He perceived his services were needed by a colony which had interested his heart, and he gave them. Becoming the voluntary companion and assistant of the solitary agent, he saw the Cyane sail from the coast, with composure, on the 21st of April. His conciliating manners, aided by a judicious procedure, deepened in the hearts of the colonists, the impression first made by his disinterestedness. Seldom has the longest friendship power to cement a more cordial union, than had begun to unite to this generous stranger the heart of the writer."

Mr. Ashmun, notwithstanding his ill health and pressing engagements, omitted no opportunity of advising the Board of the state of the colony, and of suggesting such plans for its improvement, as occurred to his observing mind. The following extract will be read with interest. "Our little school is kept in operation, but it is a feeble affair. Our poor liberated captives work hard and cheerfully, but receive little instruction. My heart often bleeds for them, and others in similar circumstances. When can you send out a pious and accomplished schoolmaster? Permit me to say a word about a minister of the gospel. We are starving for want of the able, and regular administration of the word and ordinances. Does not *even the colony* deserve the attention of some missionary society? Let it be considered, that a zealous minister, catechists, &c., residing in the town, may bestow any part of their labours on the heathen. They may open schools on the opposite side of the river, which will be immediately filled with heathen youth and children. They may form in town a missionary family. The people of this part of the coast have no inveterate, anti-religious prejudices to prevent them attending every Sabbath or oftener, to hear the divine word. Very good interpreters can be procured for a trifling compensation. I am certain that an able minister of the gospel, clothed with all the authority and prerogatives of a commissioned ambassador of the Lord Jesus, is the man now wanting. Let catechists attend him."

The horrible nature of the slave trade as carried on in Africa,

by those who engage to supply the slave ships, will be understood from the following account of the proceedings of King Boatswain, one of the staunchest friends of the colony. "Having received a quantity of goods from a French slaver, for which he had stipulated to pay young slaves; and making it a point of honour to be punctual, and yet not having at present the means of fulfilling his contract; what does he do, but looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping inhabitants, in the dead of night, accomplished without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation of the whole tribe, a few towns excepted. Every adult man and woman was murdered; every hut fired; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents. The boys and girls alone were reserved for the Frenchman."

On the 24th of May, Dr. Ayres had returned to the colony, as principal agent, both of the government and society. By despatches that came with him, Mr. Ashmun had the mortification to learn, that his drafts, both on the government and society had been dishonoured; that neither had made any appropriation for his benefit; that he had been appointed to no agency by the government; that the society had invested him with no authority; but while it gratefully acknowledged his services and engaged liberally to reward them, had left his compensation for the past undetermined; and for the future, a matter for negotiation with the principal agent.

By the return of the Oswego, he informed the Board, "That by ordinary success in trade on the coast, he could realize at least four times the sum he should ever ask or expect, either of the government or the society; that it was his wish, however, to lend his services to the cause of the society, as long as they should be required;—that he felt unworthy of the vote of thanks passed by the Board, for endeavouring to perform, as well as he could, the arduous and perilous duties connected with the defence of the colony; and that to know that any part of his conduct merited the approbation of the Board, was amongst the most powerful motives for endeavouring in future to deserve it."

He continued to give the Board an exact account of the con-

dition and wants of the colony. He says, "A missionary and two schoolmasters, with a female teacher, are needed beyond measure."—Speaking of emigrants, he says, "They will come, I believe, as fast as the good of the colony shall require. It is not desirable, at present, that more than three or four shipments, of sixty persons each, be made in the course of the year. But the proportion may increase, and that largely, every year. Let one hundred families be well settled with a good house and perfectly improved lot to each, in town, and a plantation without, well cultivated:—let a warehouse and temporary receptacles for new comers be prepared—and the wheels of the machine—its schools, courts, &c., get a good momentum on them, in a proper direction, and you may throw in new settlers as fast as your funds will admit." Again, "The delays and dangers encountered in acquiring secure possession of a territory will endear it, and greatly enhance its value to the settlers for a long time to come. They have, even the most worldly, been *driven* by the extremity of their circumstances to supplication and prayer. The truly pious among us, have thus contracted the habit of regarding and acknowledging the hand of God in all their ways; and of trusting his gracious promises more implicitly, both for soul and body, for this world and the next.

"We are now one hundred and fifty strong, all in health, have about fifty houses, including three store-houses, and a heavy substantial stone tower, fourteen feet high, mounting six pieces of ordnance. We have a good framed house surrounded with a piazza: Dr. Ayres has brought out the frame of another of equal dimensions. Harmony and a good degree of industry, at present, prevail. Thus you see that we are prepared to go on and fulfil the anxious wishes of the friends of the cause, in relation to the cultivation of the lands, and the formation of a moral, regular, and happy society."

The death of Mrs. Ashmun took place in the year 1822. She died about the middle of September. The entry in the Colonial Journal for September 12th, says, "There is no rational hope of her recovery. All remedies have been tried in vain. Her husband, with a burthened heart, resigns her up to God. When last possessed of the power of reflection, she declared herself happy in her God, and to possess not a wish not absorbed in his holy will. She seemed to have intercourse with God in

prayer. Her husband ventures to record it as the first wish of his heart, that the will of the Lord may be done."

It may now with propriety be mentioned, that Lieutenant Dashiell left by Captain Spence, in the command of the schooner *Augusta*, sickened, and died on the 22d of June, 1823. He was succeeded in the command of the schooner by Lieutenant McMullin.

We will bring this chapter to a close, by adding some further description of Cape Mesurado, from the pen of Mr. Ashmun. (See Appendix to Sixth Report B. C. S.)

"The whole cape (I mean the promontory of four miles in extent) is of nearly equal elevation throughout the whole extent, running in a north-westerly, and south-easterly direction, and terminating in a double or bifurcated point. The river washes the north side of this promontory two miles before it falls into the sea; and its width from the river and sea on the north side, to the ocean on the south, is from two miles to three-fourths of a mile. The acclivity from the north side is abrupt, the descent towards the south, gentle; and near the sea contains an excellent tract of table land. The whole of this cape, except the alluvial table on the south side, is of volcanic origin. Two kinds of stone only are found, and these are abundant. The first is lava, in a state of partial decomposition, and exceedingly friable: the other is of the limestone species, and almost incapable of being split or reduced, with the heaviest hammers. The wood on the cape is as lofty and nearly as heavy as that of our sturdiest forests, in America. On the table lands it is lighter. Some extensive tracts, and containing a rich soil, are nearly covered with brushwood. Our force here can clear for planting, ten acres of it in a day. Whole forests here are strongly bound together, and rendered nearly or quite impervious, by a profusion of rank vines of all sizes; some nearly as large as a small cable, which creep, wind, and intertwine with other trees and themselves in all possible directions. Often a dozen trees must be separated from their trunks before one can be brought to the ground.

"Fish, in the river's mouth, are very numerous, especially in the dry season—many of them are large—all that I have seen, excellent.

"Every day I bless anew the favouring providence which eventually led your agents to establish the settlement on Cape

Mesurado. Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influences of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it. When comfortable habitations are built, a foreigner would endanger his health by a residence here no more than spending the same time in sailing down the coast." . . . "Could a person from America spend one week of the rainy season on this coast, on board a ship or on shore, he would find no difficulty as to the great cause of fever to new comers. In other parts of Africa it may be different; but on Mesurado, the cause of sickness is not marsh miasma, nor exhalations from the earth, nor the influence of the sun, but an atmosphere loaded with oceans of vapour. For months, this humid quality of the air receives not the least correction or abatement, day or night. Contrary to all former prejudices, I have indulged daily in the use of spirits, wine, and bark, for the purpose of giving tone to the system, and bracing it against the relaxing influence of a soaked and watery atmosphere, and have found benefit from the practice. I will say of Mesurado, that no situation in West Africa is more healthy.

"The sea air does all for it that can be done in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. The fevers with which our company have been visited, are all nearly of the same type; quotidian and tertian intermittent, rather of the putrescent than inflammatory character—commonly gentle in degree, and easily subdued by remedies. Such has been the character of the sickness so far. The violent symptoms of the Sherbro fever have not manifested themselves in a single instance.

"The rapidity and luxuriance of vegetation here, can scarcely be imagined by natives of temperate latitudes. A crop of beans now on the ground, grows without supporters, three and a half feet high. The pods on an average are eleven inches long. The seed was brought from America. I now find great advantage in having been bred a farmer. When the cape is a little more cleared away; and dry, airy, and substantial dwellings built, I do not conceive it a matter of the greatest importance to the health of the settlers, at what season they land here. The commencement of the rains would be the least favourable, but of any other season, there is little to choose. The constitution will be tried by the climate, arrive when they may."

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF ASHMUN CONTINUED.

DR. AYRES having returned to the colony as principal agent, both of the Colonization Society, and the government of the United States, Mr. Ashmun was relieved from his heavy burden of anxieties and public duties; but his mind was too vigorous and active to be contented with indolent repose; he therefore availed himself of this season of leisure to pursue his studies; which for several months he did with unusual alacrity and steadiness.

Dr. Ayres did what he could to promote the comfort and health of the emigrants who came out with him in the *Oswego*; but it was not long before his own health was seriously impaired; so that he was no longer able to visit the sick, and in his prescriptions, was obliged to trust to the representations of the Rev. Lot Cary, and of the most intelligent of the colonists. The houses which had been prepared for these emigrants were also miserably defective; and there was a want of suitable medicines; on account of all which circumstances, the mortality among these people was considerable; eight out of sixty having fallen victims of the fever of the country.

Mr. Ashmun, though not aware of the extent to which his reputation was suffering in the United States, yet was not a little mortified at the neglect with which he had been treated by the Board; and was not satisfied with the indefinite proposals made for his compensation for past services; and that in relation to the future, they had left every thing to the discretion of the agent. He determined, however, to be so explicit, that no future difficulty might arise on this score. He proposed that he would continue in the service of the Board, provided they would allow him a salary of \$1250, the greater part of which he desired might be applied to the payment of his debts, in the United States, contracted before he went to Africa. The agent did not feel authorized to promise this sum, and the proposal was sent home for the decision of the Board.

This subject was considered by the Board, at a meeting on the 25th of September, 1823; and it was resolved, "that considering the resources of the Institution, they could not make the appropriation for the salary which was required; but that they would make him a full and fair compensation for any services which he might be desired by Dr. Ayres to render to the affairs of the colony, as their funds would enable them to do; and that while residing with Dr. Ayres, and assisting him, he should be maintained and provided for, at the expense of the society." This resolution was communicated to Mr. Ashmun in December, just about the time that Dr. Ayres had determined to sail for the United States, on account of his declining health.

The vessel which had arrived from America, and in which Dr. Ayres intended to return home, brought eleven recaptured Africans, sent out by the government, who were speedily restored to their friends, residing at no great distance from the colony. The intelligence brought by this vessel, of the affairs of the society, was by no means encouraging. Their resources were very low; so that a bill drawn by Mr. Ashmun for articles of indispensable necessity, was returned *protested*. She had also disposed of nearly her whole cargo at Rio Pongas, and did not leave goods at the Cape, exceeding one hundred dollars in value.

Under existing circumstances, it became a serious question with Mr. Ashmun, whether, treated and dishonoured as he had been, he should now continue in the service of the Board. They had neither made any definite arrangements to remunerate him for his past services, nor made any definite proposals for his future support; and his bills drawn for the necessary expenses of the colony, had been returned, dishonoured. Certainly he was under no obligations to the Board; but he saw that his relinquishment of the colony now, must be followed by its ruin. The colonists were in a state of much discontent, in consequence of the manner in which the town lots had been distributed; and their confidence, both in the Board and their agents, was greatly diminished. Indeed, evident signs of insubordination began to be manifested. One individual declared, that neither he nor his associates would submit to government twenty-four hours after the *Fidelity* sailed. But Mr. Ashmun was the man for such an exigency. He declared that subordination should be enforced, even at the expense of life; and

compelled the person who had uttered the forementioned words, to revoke the threat, and pledge himself to the maintenance of the laws. Urged by the necessities of the colony, and forgetting or passing by his own injuries, he resolved to exert himself to the utmost to preserve the settlement from ruin, and to promote its best interests.

The provisions, when Dr. Ayres left the colony, were sufficient, with strict economy, to last four months, with such supplies as might be expected from the natives. The prospect however was not flattering. Many slavers were on the coast, in consequence of which, the price of rice was greatly enhanced; but the most alarming feature in the condition of the colony was, that several of the leading colonists were prepared to set at defiance the authority of the agent, and openly avowed their purpose, to aid in no survey of the lots, or in any public improvements; and to leave uncleared and uncultivated, the land which had been assigned them, until they should receive a reply to the remonstrance sent home to the Board. One of the regulations of the society was, that every adult male emigrant, should, while receiving rations from the public store, contribute the labour of two days in the week, to some work of public utility. Before Dr. Ayres's departure it had been announced, that on the 5th of June, 1824, all rations would cease, except in cases of special necessity, and it was now made known, that unless those who had appealed to the Board on the subject of their lands, would cultivate some portion of land designated by the agent, they should be expelled from the colony. About twelve of the colonists, however, persisted in their mutinous course; and not only threw off the restraints of authority themselves, but used their influence to seduce others from obedience. Mr. Ashmun, who was not the man to be intimidated, or driven from the plain course of duty, immediately published a notice, "That there then were in the colony, more than a dozen healthy persons, who will receive no more provisions out of the public store, until they earn them." The only effect of this was, to increase the irritation of the disaffected persons, which led them to express more seditious opinions, and more openly to violate the laws. Matters were now approaching a crisis. The agent, on the 19th of June, directed the rations of the offending individuals to be stopped. The next morning, they assembled in a riotous manner, at the agency-house, and

endeavoured by angry denunciations to drive the agent from his purpose; but finding him immovable, they proceeded to the store-house, where the commissary was at that moment issuing rations for the week; and seizing, each, a portion of the provisions, hastened to their respective homes.

Towards the evening of the same day, Mr. Ashmun addressed a "circular" to the colonists, setting forth the criminality of this mutinous proceeding; stating that a full representation thereof, would be transmitted to America, by the earliest opportunity—exhorting all to energy and industry in the construction of their houses, and the cultivation of their lands, during the dry season: and, finally warning them against disorder and rebellion, as they would avoid guilt, confusion, disgrace, shame, and ruin in this world, and in a future one the still more terrible judgments of God. They were reminded, that their oaths were as binding as when first taken; and the prospect for themselves, their friends, and their children depended upon their conduct; and that the agent, while disposed to use the language of friendship, would act as he had ever done, with the authority becoming the representative of the American Colonization Society. The effect of this judicious, seasonable, and solemn address, was happy. The well-disposed were encouraged; the wavering confirmed; and the rebellious struck with awe. The leader in the sedition, almost immediately confessed and deplored his error. And thus a speedy termination was given to this alarming mutiny, by the firmness, and wisdom of the agent.

On the 13th of February, 1824, arrived the ship *Cyrus*, only thirty-two days from the United States, bringing one hundred and five emigrants, mostly from Petersburg, Virginia, and inferior as a company, to none of their class, in intelligence, industry, and morality. Universal health had attended them, during the voyage; all were safely landed; some had property; supplies of ordinary provisions had been sent out for all; the season was delightful for building and clearing their grounds; and a mutual affection seemed to bind them together, as in one harmonious family. Mr. Ashmun was deeply affected with the goodness of God in this most seasonable relief.

He assembled these emigrants, and explained to them the views of the Society, and the regulations of the Board, and of the colony. They were exhorted and encouraged to proceed

diligently to build their houses, cultivate the soil, and with fortitude to meet and subdue the difficulties which might stand in the way of their prosperity. Thirty houses had been partially constructed since the departure of Dr. Ayres; and a new magazine was also commenced.

By the return of the *Cyrus*, Mr. Ashmun communicated to the Board a full and detailed account of the affairs of the colony, since the departure of Dr. Ayres; and entered into an earnest vindication of his own conduct, in relation to the purchases which he had made; the bills for the payment of which, had been protested. This defence, as far as can be now judged, amounted to a complete justification.

But the bright prospects which the arrival of the *Cyrus* had opened to the colony, were soon overcast, by a series of disasters. The whole company, which had come out in the *Cyrus*, without any exception, were attacked by the fever. No regular physician was in the colony; and the only substitute was the Rev. Lot Cary, whose skill resulted entirely from his good sense, observation, and experience. Not a pound of rice (an article most important to the sick,) was in the public store: nor had the agent either goods or credit, by which he could obtain a supply. Out of his own private stock, however, he advanced to the value of two hundred dollars, and despatched the colonial schooner to Bassa, which at the end of nine days, returned with only twenty bushels of rice.

The spirit of mutiny, which had for a while appeared to be subdued, still existed; and a number of persons continued secretly to fan the flame of rebellion.

On the 19th of March, it was found necessary to reduce the rations to one-half the usual quantity; which gave occasion to the malecontents to accuse the agent of oppression, and they did not hesitate to address to him the most opprobrious language. This induced Mr. Ashmun to assemble the inhabitants, and to make to them a solemn and affecting address, in which he showed them that they were bound by a solemn contract to the Colonization Society; and that by the solemnity of an oath, they had all bound themselves to the performance of certain duties. He explained to them the articles of the constitution, by which important privileges were secured to them and their children—that they had sworn to obey the government, and not attempt to overthrow it—that their peace and security de-

pendent essentially on their submission to rightful authority, and obedience to the laws ;—and that hitherto, their greatest sufferings had resulted from disrespect to the agents, and disobedience to the orders of the society. He proceeded then in the most pungent and impressive style to represent to them the disorderly course which they had pursued ; and especially, held up in its naked deformity, the crime of those twelve, who had openly rebelled, had threatened his life, and had violently and unrighteously seized a part of the public stores. He, moreover, set fully and clearly before them the present deplorable condition of the colony, and the speedy ruin which must inevitably come upon them, if they did not return to a course of industry and obedience. He assured them, that they would not be upheld either by the Colonization Society, or the government of the United States, in their present course of opposition to the agent. In the conclusion, he called upon every well-disposed man to give him a pledge of his submission to lawful authority ; and promised for himself, that while he would not consent to possess the mere shadow of authority, he was ready to exert himself to the utmost, to avert the impending calamity. Most of the colonists tacitly assented to the truth and justice of this address ; and Mr. Ashmun proceeded to adopt every measure in his power to relieve and preserve the colony. But they afforded him no vigorous support ; and he had already communicated to the Board his opinion, “ that the evil was incurable by any of the remedies which fell within their existing provisions.”

Since the departure of Dr. Ayres, he had heard nothing from the Board of Managers. He had the pain, however, of seeing that his conduct had been held up for censure in one of the public journals of the United States.

The prospects were such, that Mr. Ashmun began to meditate a withdrawal from his present painful situation, where for his services he received calumny instead of remuneration. He therefore, on the 15th of March, addressed a letter to the Board, desiring to be released from any further duties to the colony, which might require his residence in Africa. His letter to the Board, on this occasion, is the effusion of a generous and benevolent mind, deeply sensible that he had not received full justice at their hands ; but expressing a confidence in the equity

of their decision, when they should be fully informed of all the existing circumstances in which he was obliged to act.

Being fully persuaded that government, without an armed force, had become impossible, he now determined on a visit to the Cape de Verd Islands, in the hope that a sea voyage might be serviceable to his health ; and being unwilling longer to hold an office, the duties of which he had not the power to enforce. Whether he should ever return was in his own mind doubtful ; but he took the best measures he could to establish a provisional government during the absence of all the agents. He therefore appointed Elijah Johnson to take charge of the property and books of the colony, with particular instructions as to his duties, until a properly authorized agent should arrive from the United States.

In his fatiguing exertions to prepare for his departure, Mr. Ashmun ruptured an artery in the mouth, which had been injured in a bungling attempt to draw a decayed tooth, and a profuse bleeding commenced which could not be stopped. Advantage was taken of his helpless state by some unprincipled persons in the colony, to rob him of a considerable part of the little stores which he had provided for the voyage, and other property, to the value of a hundred and seventy-five dollars. Before leaving the Cape he left a paper, to be delivered to his successor in the agency ; of which, as being characteristic of the man, an extract will be inserted.

“J. Ashmun has cheerfully spent on this Cape nearly two of the best years of his life. He is now about to leave it, probably for ever. He has tried to do his duty—detected himself in occasional errors ; and without asking or expecting any recompense from his fellow-men, wishes only to avoid the hard destiny of his predecessors in the agency—the curses and false accusations of those whom it has been his constant aim to serve. His predecessors have been accused of transmitting false accounts of the colony to the Board. J. Ashmun here leaves it on record, that if any man, after his absence, brings this accusation against himself, that man is a slanderer and a liar.”

In the same style, the paper goes on to speak of the slanders against former agents for embezzling public property, revelling on the society's bounty, and pinching the people to furnish their own wardrobe and table luxuriously. All such accusations against himself he denounces as false and slanderous ; and men-

tions one man by his initials, who had deserved the pillory for slandering the agents. In the conclusion he says: "I do not wish to be remembered at all after I am gone. But if any of the colonists do me that honour, as it is unsolicited and gratuitous, I require it of them, as they must answer for it hereafter, to remember with me the command of the Most High, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' " And he requests his successor to preserve this paper, and read it to any one who should accuse him in the premises.

Of Mr. Ashmun's retirement from the duties of general agent, which had devolved upon him after the departure of Dr. Ayres, the Board speak in the following respectful terms:

"Mr. Ashmun, whose health had long been impaired by disease—whose mind was oppressed by a weight of cares, which no single individual ought to sustain—continued to discharge his duties until a short retirement from his station, and a change of air, seemed to offer the only chance of life."

For the benefit of any one who might succeed him, he left a full statement of the condition and necessities of the colony; appointed E. Johnson, a man of tried integrity and ability, general superintendent of affairs; provided for the instruction of the recaptured Africans; and took passage for the Cape de Verd Islands on the 2d of April, 1824.

The remonstrances sent home by some of the colonists, and the communications of Mr. Ashmun, had convinced the Board that immediate and strong measures were required, in order to prevent the subversion of the colony, and the total extinction of their hopes. And being struck with the lucid, manly, and candid style of his communications, they were persuaded that his indefatigable labours and anxieties deserved to be remunerated; therefore, just about the time of his leaving the colony the Board resolved to comply with the terms which he had offered, and sent home in Dr. Ayres's letter, and they now appropriated five hundred dollars for his benefit. They also gave their sanction to a reply to the remonstrants, and an address to the colonists in general, depicting vividly the ruin which must ensue in any community that dared to violate, or even ceased to venerate, the majesty of the law; but especially a feeble and exposed settlement, such as that to which they belonged. They earnestly exhorted them to industry, order, and the strict performance of every duty, by warnings, appeals, motives of interest, and the

solemn sanctions of religion; and finally, did not omit to threaten to punish offenders, while they would assist and encourage all the sober and virtuous who should exert themselves to maintain the peace, and guard the authority of the laws. This address was chiefly prepared by Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., the Secretary of the Society, and one of the most early and efficient friends of colonization.

But scarcely had these despatches been sent off, when the Board received new communications from the colony, in which Mr. Ashmun was charged with oppression, neglect of duty, and carrying away the goods of the Society. Certain naval officers also, who had visited the Cape after Mr. Ashmun's departure, had their minds prejudiced by the rumours which they heard from the colonists, and therefore brought home an unfavourable report of the agent. Those who had before doubted the integrity of Mr. Ashmun, now thought it certain that he had none; and those who had never questioned it before, now began to doubt.

In this uncertain and alarming state of affairs, the Managers of the Society represented strongly to the Executive of the United States the importance of sending an armed vessel to the colony, with some individual duly commissioned both by the Government and the Society to examine into the condition of the agency; and to make such temporary arrangements as the exigence of the case required. The person selected for this service was Mr. R. R. Gurley, so extensively known since as the Secretary of the Board; and without incurring the censure of invidiousness towards others, we may be permitted to say, the most active, zealous, and efficient friend of colonization in the United States.

Towards the last of June, 1824, Mr. Gurley embarked on board the *Porpoise*, at Norfolk, under the command of Captain Skinner; and on the 24th of July, the vessel having anchored at Porto Praya, Mr. Ashmun came on board. The first impressions of Mr. Gurley upon seeing him are thus described:

"There was that in his presence and aspect which, once seen, is never forgotten. The officers of the ship, who were strangers to him, felt that he was an extraordinary man. In his whole appearance were blended dignity and humility. The serene light of reason, of goodness, of meekness, softened the stateliness of sorrow, and threw a charm on the grandeur of his

storm-shaken, but self-sustained spirit. His soul seemed refreshed by tidings from his native land, and his social affections to gush forth, pure and simple, as those of childhood, from the deeply-stirred fountains of his heart."

Mr. Gurley explained to him the object of his mission, and informed him truly of the unfavourable impression made on the public mind respecting his agency. His purpose was soon formed to accompany Mr. Gurley to Africa, expressing the hope that he might be "enabled to render him some aid in the arduous duties of his mission."

Captain Skinner having offered him accommodations on board the *Porpoise*, which he accepted, they came to anchor at Cape Mesurado on the 13th of August. It must have been of unspeakable benefit to Mr. Gurley, in the execution of his trust, to have Mr. Ashmun's company for three weeks; by which means he was enabled to acquire a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs, the temper of the people, and the difficulties with which he would have to contend.

Every day's conversation increased Mr. Gurley's esteem for his companion; and after his arrival he found that there was not a shadow of evidence to convict him of any impropriety or mismanagement. Not a man in the colony dared to accuse him of an unwise or an unworthy action.

Mr. Gurley found some things encouraging in the state of the colony; and many others of an unfavourable nature. Among the former were the health of most of the people—their improvements and fortifications—their morality and religion, especially their Sunday schools—and the warm gratitude which they appeared to feel towards the Board for sending a special mission to promote their prosperity. But of the latter, were their dissatisfaction at the decision of the Board—the protracted weakness of the emigrants by the *Cyrus*, and the want of medicines and a skilful physician; and, above all, the want of strict subordination to authority, and obedience to the laws. The causes of these evils were seen to be various; but it does not comport with the brevity of our history to enter into details.

While Mr. Gurley remained at the Cape, a plan for the more perfect government of the colony was determined on, with the full concurrence of Mr. Ashmun. Harmony between the agent and colonists seemed to be fully restored; and the new regulations went immediately into force. It was not the purpose of

Mr. Gurley to continue long on the coast of Africa, at this season; and before he left Washington he had received his orders to return in the vessel which carried him out.

When he returned to the United States he fully expected to be able to remove every cloud of doubt or suspicion which still shaded Mr. Ashmun's character; but, to his disappointment, he found that this was not so easily effected as he had apprehended. And when the regulations adopted by him for the government of the colony were laid before the Board, to his great mortification he found that they were not approved.

The committee to whom these proceedings were referred arranged them, in their report, under six heads: upon each they pronounced an unfavourable judgment; and this report, adopted by the Board, was sent to Mr. Ashmun.

But on the 15th of December, 1824, communications of a very cheering kind were received by the Board, from Mr. Ashmun. These furnished, at the same time, conclusive evidence of the zeal, ability, and industry of the agent; and of the great, and even extraordinary, improvement of the colony. His own account is: "After the severe struggles, reiterated disappointments and nameless evils, which had for so many years filled the annals of the establishment, to see the whole course of things suddenly reversed,—a horizon without a cloud,—and unmingled, uninterrupted prosperity, such as, perhaps, never before marked the early progress of a similar settlement, may well excite in an individual situated as I am, feelings but little compatible with the coolness which ought to dictate an official despatch."—"The official decisions communicated to them, along with the new modification of the government, were received with an unanimity of acquiescence, which I confess was painful to me. I feared either that they could not understand them, or thought opposition *at that moment*, unseasonable. But the event has proved my fears unfounded; and I now consider myself authorized to state, that there is an enlightened and growing attachment rooted in the bosoms of the great body of the people, to their laws, their officers, and the authority of the society. The participation of the magistrates and council (according to the new form of government,) in the deliberations of the agent, and the administration of justice, has tended chiefly to form the officers themselves to a modesty of deportment and opinion, which they never

manifested before, and to secure to the government the united support of the people.”—“I witness with the highest pleasure, the increasing sense of the sacredness of LAW; and, as far as I know, the feeling is universal. The system of government has proved itself practicable.”—“The agent has adopted the rule, never to interpose his authority, where that of the proper officer, however inferior, is adequate to the emergency.” And among all the items of pleasing intelligence communicated in this letter of the agent, none was so important as the last—an increased attention to religion among the colonists. “It hath,” says he, “pleased the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sovereignty of his mercy, to visit the colony with an abundant effusion of his Spirit. This great event, an era in the history of the settlement, which has been marked in heaven, and will long be celebrated by its witnesses and monuments on earth, occurred in all the month of September. About the middle of that month, were witnessed the first appearances which gave evidence of the holy work.”—“About thirty of our colonists, of all ages and characters indiscriminately, have, as the fruits of the work, publicly professed their faith in the Redeemer. They have *so far* walked as the regenerate children of God. A change in their character and whole deportment, was as obvious as would be their transformation to another order of being. From lovers of sin and the world, they have become lovers of God and his people. Bad husbands, wives, children, and subjects, are changed to affectionate relatives, industrious, sober, and useful citizens. As far as mortal instrumentality was concerned in this blessed work, it was exerted by silent, humble supplications to Almighty God, a holy deportment of Christian professors, and a plain, simple and serious inculcation of the saving doctrines of Christ and his apostles.”

These despatches also gave information of the rapid progress of public improvements in the colony, and in the organization of the militia. A stone pier, one hundred feet in length, had been constructed in the river; several schools had been put in operation; and two new churches were in progress. Friendly negotiations had been entered into with the chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity, to encourage mutual intercourse in the way of trade, and by which they agreed to surrender any fugitives from justice, who might seek refuge among them.

The committee of the Board, to whom these despatches were referred, reported: "That in their opinion Mr. Ashmun had shown great attention to the important charge committed to him;" had conducted himself with "much prudence and propriety, generally;" and recommended that the Society should express their cordial approbation of his conduct.

After this, the clouds which had overshadowed Mr. Ashmun's character began to break; and it must have afforded a rare gratification to Mr. Gurley to find, that the new form of government which he, with Mr. Ashmun, had given to the colony, and which had met with so little favour from the Board, proved in practice to work well. Men, however intelligent and upright, who undertake to judge of the state of a people among whom they have never been, and to determine, on general principles, what system of government is best adapted to them, are almost sure to err. After two years' experience of the difficulties of governing the colony, Mr. Ashmun knew better what might and ought to be done to restore peace and preserve order, than all the wisest politicians in the United States. He had the enlarged views of a thorough statesman; and the devout feelings of an humble and sincere Christian. Doubtless, Mr. Gurley, though specially invested with the power of establishing such regulations as he judged most expedient, did not fail to avail himself of the longer experience and sagacious judgment of Mr. Ashmun. Indeed, it has occurred to us, that when this fabric of colonization is complete, the foundation of which has been so auspiciously laid, though in the midst of troubles, these two congenial spirits, Ashmun and Gurley, should have assigned to them niches, side by side.

CHAPTER XV.

ASHMUN'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

ON the 13th of March, 1825, the brig Hunter, with sixty-six emigrants, arrived at the Cape. Most of these had been brought up to agriculture; and now it was seen by Mr. Ashmun that

there would be a great convenience and advantage in having an addition to the territory of the colony. He therefore entered into negotiations with the chiefs who owned the land, for a tract on the river St. Paul's. This was more especially deemed expedient, because he had observed that the attempts at agriculture had failed, because the land belonging to the colony was not favourable to cultivation : it was either too high and rocky, or too low and wet ; or otherwise mere sand. The agent, to obtain a good tract of land, proceeded far up the Mesurado river ; but was disappointed in finding such as he wished. He therefore turned his attention to St. Paul's river. The tract of country stretching along the south bank of this river met his views fully ; and after a variety of delays, always incident to negotiation with the natives, he obtained a cession of the whole territory in question, and paid down part of the purchase money. This desirable tract of country Mr. Ashmun represents as having been once densely populated, and well improved, but has been desolated by the slave trade. The deed of purchase includes all the territory bounded north by St. Paul's river, and west by Stockton creek ; except such scattered settlements as are now actually in the possession of the natives.

The importance of this acquisition the agent considered very great ; the advantages of which he explained to the Board in a long communication on the subject. "It will," says he, "enable the Society to dispose of ten thousand settlers in a compass of ten miles from town : whereas, with the original territory, that number could not be comfortably settled within twenty miles ; and the settlement will be capable of an extension of twenty miles, without leaving the St. Paul's, or big eastern branch of Mesurado, more than three miles.

"This acquisition of territory will secure to the colony, in a short time, the entire command of the St. Paul's, and with it the trade of that river.

"The country on St. Paul's being much more salubrious than the Mesurado, future emigrants will suffer less in their health."

Some ferment was produced by the dissatisfaction of some of the chiefs, who violently remonstrated against the sale of so large a tract of country ; but the whole subsided without serious consequences.

Immediately, a number of families were designated to lay the

foundation of a new settlement, to be named ST. PAUL'S; and a large passage-boat was soon placed on the river, to ply between the Cape and St. Paul's. And on the 13th of November, 1825, the agent accompanied the first settlers who commenced the town of St. Paul's. They hired from the natives two small houses, until they could provide shelter for themselves. "Such," says Mr. Ashmun, "are the small beginnings of this settlement. The blessing of God Almighty, in whose name, and for whose praise, those beginnings have been made, and are humbly consecrated, alone can raise its head to the elevation which it is the prayer of the agent—who makes this record, seated on a bamboo pallet, in a solitary native cabin, on the margin of St. Paul's—that it may attain at no great distance of time."

By the Hunter, the decision of the Board respecting the new form of government, and new regulations, was received. It threw a momentary damp on the agent's hopes; but being fully persuaded that they had acted under imperfect information of the state of things, he sent them by the return of the Hunter a full view of the present state and prospects of the colony. He also informed them how well the new system had operated in practice, and of the great increase of his own confidence in its full and ultimate success.

The Board, on the 25th of April, 1825, rescinded their former act, disapproving the new form of government; and having at a former meeting appointed Dr. Peaco, the United States' agent, the agent of the Board also, they now reconsidered and rescinded that act, in lieu of which they resolved, "That Mr. Ashmun be appointed colonial AGENT to the Society; and that Dr. Peaco, the Government agent, be authorized and requested on his arrival in the colony, to assist Mr. Ashmun with his counsel; and fully authorized to take upon him all the duties of colonial agent, in the absence, inability, or death of Mr. Ashmun."

This places Mr. Ashmun's relations to the Board in their proper light; but still all were not satisfied. An influential member of the Board, not present at the foregoing proceedings, at an ensuing meeting, had a committee appointed to investigate certain charges which had been brought against Mr. Ashmun's character. The report of this committee was highly favourable to the agent; and thus the last cloud which oversha-

dowed the character of this distinguished man was dissipated : and his friend and biographer remarks with apparent exultation, " HE NOW STANDS ON AN EMINENCE IN CLEAR DAY."

Mr. Ashmun also possessed now the undivided confidence of the colony, whose best interests he endeavoured assiduously to promote by every means in his power.

But unclouded days, in this dark world, are few. The emigrants brought to Africa by the ship *Hunter* were nearly all attacked with the fever during the first month of their residence ; and there was no physician to attend them, for even Mr. Lot Cary was laid up with a hurt. In these painful circumstances the mind of Mr. Ashmun was agitated and distressed ; but the disease did not prove so fatal as was expected. The mortality was chiefly confined to children.

In the month of April, 1825, he made an accurate survey of the territory, and drew a map for the satisfaction of the Board.

At the close of the year 1825, Mr. Ashmun prepared and sent to the Board, a very full and detailed account of the state and progress of the colony. Health was restored ; adults, some time resident in Africa, preferred this climate to any other, and enjoyed as good health as in America. The government had proved efficient and popular ; the laws were venerated and obeyed ; the sentiments of the people had been purified and elevated. The settlement on St. Paul's river, opened a pleasing prospect of greater prosperity in agriculture. The colonists are represented as living in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching, in many instances, to elegance, unknown before their arrival in this country. Not a family, scarcely, but could set a plentiful table, and appear in decent apparel. Mechanics and labourers received an ample remuneration for their work, and all found as much employment as they wished. Several important public buildings had been commenced, some of which were nearly completed. Two beautiful chapels had been erected, and dedicated to the worship of God. Four schools, besides Sunday schools, were in successful operation. The militia were organized and exercised. Moreover, the good effects of the colony on the native tribes, began to appear. Sixty of their children had been adopted, as the children of the colony, and had already learned something of the great and interesting truths of the Christian religion. " Our influence over them," said Mr. Ashmun, " is unbounded ; it is increas-

ing; it is more extensive than at this early period I dare risk my character for veracity by asserting.”—“No man of the least consideration in the country, will desist from his importunities until one, at least, is fixed in some colonist’s family.” In this communication, he called loudly on the philanthropists of the United States, to come forth in the cause of education, in relation to this people, so solicitous to receive instruction. In the close, we have his views of the work achieved by the Colonization Society. “To the lasting honour,” says he, “of the American Colonization Society, it has founded a new empire on this continent, of which the basis is Christianity, intelligence, and rational liberty.”—“The society has demonstrated to the world, experimentally, the soundness of the views with which they appeared before it in 1817–18, without funds, patronage, or a precedent in the annals of the human race.”

The year 1826 opened on the colony under very favourable auspices. Mr. Ashmun, in writing to the Board, says: “Our town begins to assume the appearance of a beautiful little West India sea-port, and certainly is one of the most delightful situations on the face of the globe. In beauty, and grandeur of prospect, no station can be taken on the Potomac, half so charming, or half so commanding.”

The Board were contemplating the appointment of a Board of *Assistants*, as they had already a constitutional rule for the appointment of a Board of Agents. Mr. Ashmun freely expressed his opinion, as being entirely adverse to both these Boards. In regard to the latter, it had been tried, and had utterly failed. He insisted on the vast importance, in a colony like that, of having one directing head; and predicted, that if the Board of Agents should be restored, the anarchy of former years would return.

Two expeditions were fitted out this year. The first, consisting of thirty-four emigrants, in the brig *Vine*, mostly from Newport, Rhode Island. Eighteen of these, before their departure, were organized into a church. The Rev. Calvin Holton, as missionary, and a printer, accompanied them. The Rev. Horace Sessions went out also in the same vessel, intending to return in her.

The *Vine* sailed from Boston on the fourth of January, and arrived at Liberia on the seventh of February. A press, with its necessary appendages, many valuable books, and other

important articles, were sent out in this vessel by the generous citizens of Boston, who assumed the entire expense of printing for the first year.

The other vessel was the *Indian Chief*, which with a hundred and fifty-four emigrants, left Norfolk on the fifteenth of February, and reached Monrovia on the twenty-second of March. In this went Dr. John W. Peaco, agent for the Government for recaptured Africans, who was also empowered to act as Assistant Agent and Physician for the colony. By the return of the *Vine*, Mr. Ashmun expressed the high sense which he entertained, of the importance of the printing press, and also of the arrival of such a missionary as Mr. Holton, who was about to introduce a general system for the education of the colonists. This plan embraced, (1,) the children of the colonists; (2,) native children, living in the settlement; (3,) recaptured Africans, of whom there were one hundred and twenty; (4,) a class of young men and women, with a view to prepare them to be teachers. It was also determined to introduce the Lancasterian plan of instruction. Mr. Holston was a member of the Baptist denomination, and went out under the direction of the Baptist Board of Missions. Mr. Ashmun, to encourage their efforts, made to it a grant (subject to the decision of the Board,) of a tract of land adjoining to Monrovia, on the condition, that a school-house should be erected on it immediately, and that it should for ever be devoted to missionary purposes.

In the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the joy which pervaded the colony on the arrival of the *Vine*, was converted into sorrow and lamentation. These emigrants were attacked with the worst form of the African fever, and one half of them, including Mr. Sessions, Mr. Holton, and Mr. Force the printer, were carried off by the disease!

The Rev. Horace Sessions demands a particular mention in this history. He had but just entered on the public duties of the ministry; and as an agent, had done much to arouse the attention of New England to the subject of colonization. He superintended the embarkation of the emigrants in the *Vine*, and accompanied them to Liberia, but had no intention of remaining. He wished to obtain such knowledge of the colony as could only be obtained accurately, by a visit to the place. He did not die in Monrovia, but on the passage home,

and his remains sleep in the same ocean with those of the lamented Mills.

The Rev. Mr. Holton went out to Africa, under the influence of that divine charity, "which seeketh not her own." For some time after his attack, he was not thought to be in danger. He even appeared at one time to be convalescent; but in July, he gradually declined, until on the twenty-third of that month, he gently expired. "His spirit was uniformly sustained by a steadfast faith in the promises of Christ, to whom at an early stage of his sickness, he had resigned himself without reserve; and never afterwards appeared to admit for a moment, any distressing anxiety as to the termination of his affliction."

With one exception, all the emigrants by the *Vine*, were natives of the Northern States, or had long resided there; and leaving Boston in the depth of winter, they arrived at Liberia in the very hottest season of the whole year.

The difference of arriving in Africa from a southern climate and from a northern, could not have been more manifest, than in the case of the emigrants in the *Vine*, and the larger number in the *Indian Chief*. These last suffered very little, and some who left Virginia in bad health, found themselves much improved by the voyage. Most of the emigrants by these two vessels, were stationed by Mr. Ashmun on the territory recently purchased, of which mention has been made; so that in the month of June, there were thirty-three plantations on Stockton Creek, and seventy-three at Caldwell.

During Mr. Ashmun's absence from the agency-house, with four of his family, at the anniversary of the Liberia Missionary Society, the house was struck with lightning, and the house-keeper—the only person at home—instantly killed. This was indeed a very remarkable interposition of providence, to preserve his life. While some vessels were in port, Mr. Ashmun proposed an expedition to Trade Town, with a view of putting an end to the slave trade, carried on very extensively, at that place. This expedition was successful, and a number of slaves were found in the place.

During the year 1826, the commerce of the colony had rapidly increased: between the 1st of January, and the 15th of July, fifteen vessels had stopped at Monrovia. Five of the most important stations on the coast, between Cape Mount and Trade Town, were occupied by the colony, either by purchase, or by

agreement to be used by them, on deeds of perpetual lease. This includes an extent of one hundred and fifty miles. The country at the mouth of the Sesters river, which is very fertile, and abounding in palm oil, and camwood, and extending up the river to its source, was obtained. Also the right of occupancy to a tract, nine miles south of Sesters, was secured. Besides, a perpetual grant, rent free, had been secured of an independent territory, lying between the two Junk rivers, from thirty to forty miles south of Cape Mesurado. Mr. Ashmun regarded this as a very important acquisition.

The confidence in Mr. Ashmun, by the natives, increased daily; so that they began to give him the title of "Head-man of all their country," and "father of we all."

In one of his letters to the Board, in this year, (1826) he says: "All this region of Africa opens its bosom for the reception of her returning children. I rejoice in the testimonials furnished in different ways, of a growing and enlightened interest in your Board, among the American people. It is one of those great and benevolent designs on which the merciful Father of all mankind loves to smile, which the American Colonization Society has undertaken. Its root is deep, and its growth, however gradual, I entirely believe, will be sure. But the greatest difficulties, for difficulties the cause has always struggled with, I never supposed to be on this side the ocean. To obviate prejudices, unite the exertions, and secure the enterprise of the whole American people—this is the great labour; and to such as engage in it and prosecute it, will be chiefly due the acknowledgments of posterity."

The colony had now risen from weakness to strength; and many who had been incredulous, now began to change their opinion, and to admit that the scheme of colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa, was practicable. And as to Mr. Ashmun, his reputation, both in Africa, and among the friends of colonization in America, was as high as it well could be.

On the 11th of April, 1827, arrived at Monrovia, after a passage of forty days, the Brig Doris, Captain Mathews, with ninety-three emigrants, most of them from North Carolina. These, like those who went out in the Indian Chief, suffered but slightly from the climate, and at an early day, took up their residence at Caldwell, on the St. Paul's.

The ship Norfolk sailed from Savannah, on the 10th of July, with one hundred and forty recaptured Africans, and arrived at Liberia, on the 27th of August. Of this whole number, within one week after their arrival, not more than twenty remained an expense to the United States. They were taken by the older settlers into their families, for their services for two or three years; or were bound out for a reasonable time; or, when adult, hired out to receive equitable wages, at the year's end. And Mr. Ashmun's purpose was, as soon as they were prepared for it, to treat them, in all respects, as the other colonists.

This was the last year of Mr. Ashmun's agency for the colony: and as if he had anticipated that his time was short, he appears to have been more active and energetic in his operations, than ever. At one time, he had fully made up his mind to visit the United States, but pressing engagements led him to relinquish his purpose; yet Providence had determined that his useful labours in Africa, should, this year, be brought to a close. The schooner of the colony having been driven on shore, in attempting to cross the bar, was seriously injured. Mr. Ashmun, in attempting to save her, exposed himself for four hours, and thus contracted a rheumatic fever, from which, however, by the skilful prescription of Lot Cary, he recovered gradually; but being in a state of great debility, he was carried on board a ship going to Sierra Leone, that he might enjoy the benefit of the sea air. After his return, his health continued to be feeble; but the business of his agency was increasing daily, so that if he had been in perfect health, he could not have attended to all the concerns which pressed upon him. Indeed it is evident that he sacrificed his valuable life to the interests of the colony.

Early in the year, 1828, he made a fatiguing visit to the factories south of Monrovia; and on his return, found the commanders of several vessels waiting to settle concerns of business, and hasten their departure. The same evening the brig Doris arrived from Baltimore, with one hundred and seven emigrants, principally from Maryland; sixty-two of them liberated slaves. This arrival was on the 14th of January, 1828. And on the 17th arrived the schooner Randolph, from South Carolina, and twenty-six slaves, manumitted by a single individual. And on the 19th of February, the brig Nautilus, fifty-four days from Hampton Roads, with one hundred and sixty emigrants; mostly from the lower counties of North Carolina. There were now,

at one time, six vessels in port, requiring the attention of the agent. In regard to the pressure of business, Mr. Ashmun says, "Such an accumulation of labour, I never felt before"—"Days and nights are too short." And in addition, he had much trouble to defend the colony from a piratical, and strongly armed Spanish vessel, in which service he was much exposed. He was also, for three days and nights, continually engaged in negotiation, with the kings in the vicinity, which terminated in the conclusion, that a number of the colonists should occupy, without delay, the beautiful tract of country now bearing the honoured names of MILLS and BURGESS. This was succeeded by a laborious session of court, for two days. Thus he was occupied, until on the 5th of February, he was seized with a violent fever, which for a few days threatened his life; but his recovery was rapid. Still, however, it was evident, that his enfeebled constitution must sink under the pressure of business devolving on him at the colony; and his physician informed him that a visit to the United States had become necessary to the preservation of his life, and the restoration of his health. Accordingly he embarked on board the *Doris*, and left Africa for ever. The passage was long, forty-seven days to St. Bartholomew's, in the West Indies, during which time, his sufferings were nearly indescribable, on account of bodily illness, so that sometimes he despaired of ever seeing land again. But on the 16th of May he arrived at that island, but was unable to proceed farther.

Upon leaving the colony, he committed all the weighty concerns of the agency to Mr. Lot Cary, already mentioned, as a preacher of the Baptist denomination, and a physician, who had become skilful by experience, combined with strong good sense. Mr. Ashmun arrived at New Haven on the 10th of August. But he had only reached his native land, that there he might breathe his last breath, and there have his mortal part deposited in its kindred earth. He expired, "gently, and in a moment," says his biographer, on the 25th of August, 1828. During his illness his mind appears to have been calm, and much occupied with spiritual and eternal concerns, as appears by the devotional papers written about this time, which he left behind.

Thus fell another martyr to his zeal for African colonization. It seems to be the order of Providence, that every cause of real importance should be established and rise to prosperity only by

costly sacrifices of human life. So it was with Christianity, the best of all causes; and so it has ever been with the cause of civil liberty. Already our catalogue of martyrs to colonization is large for the time :—Mills, Bacon, Andrus, Sessions, Holton, Ashmun.

Before concluding this chapter, we shall introduce some particulars which were omitted in the preceding narrative.

Early in the year 1827, a treaty of peace was concluded between the colonial agent and the principal chief of Trade Town, by which the parties were bound mutually, to maintain and encourage friendly intercourse and an equitable trade; and to regard as inviolable, the persons and property of each other.

About the same time, the factory at Young Sesters was suspended, in consequence of the depredations of the surrounding people; and especially on account of a war breaking out between the people of this and Trade Town. Mr. Ashmun spent three days in endeavouring to reconcile the two parties; but in vain. This war, however, terminated more speedily than had been anticipated, and to the advantage of Freeman, the principal chief of Sesters.

During this year (1827) Mr. Ashmun founded an infirmary for invalids, on a plan which, while it secured to the aged, infirm, and sick, the means of a comfortable subsistence, good attendance and medical aid, provided that such as were able to do any thing to help to support themselves and families, should have the opportunity. It was not intended, however, for emigrants, suffering merely by a change of climate.

The whole system of schools which had been suspended by the death of Mr. Holton, was re-organized under the care of the Rev. G. McGill, an experienced coloured teacher, from Baltimore. The schools were sufficiently numerous to receive all the children in the colony, and all were required to attend.

The best method of providing for emigrants on their first coming out to Africa, had engaged much of Mr. Ashmun's attention; and the result of his thoughts was, that to purchase African provisions with trade goods was incomparably the most economical course that could be adopted. All emigrants should bring their tools; but those who came unprovided should be supplied with them at the expense of the Society. That they should be provided with houses for a reasonable time; and while on the sick list should be supported at the public expense.

It was stated as an indisputable fact, that the aged emigrants are peculiarly liable to fall victims to the African climate. Such, therefore, should not be encouraged to go out, as they, at best, can gain little by emigration.

Objects of public utility were never lost sight of by this agent, and he exerted himself greatly to infuse public spirit into the minds of the colonists; and not without good success. A company was formed to improve the navigation of the river Mesurado, with shares amounting to one thousand dollars, with the privilege of increasing the stock to four thousand.

No fact connected with the colony is more pleasing than the orderly and industrious behaviour of the recaptured Africans. Accustomed to the climate, and acquainted with the African methods of agriculture, they went on with but little interruption in the improvement of their grounds.

In the month of December, 1829, the United States ship of war *Ontario* touched at the colony, on her return to the United States from the Mediterranean. Captain Nicholson had had the benevolent forethought to collect a variety of seeds on the borders of the Mediterranean, which he presented to the colony, which donation was gratefully acknowledged by the colonial agent. When Captain Nicholson arrived in the United States, he gave a very favourable testimony of the contentment and general industry of the colonists. Every means was used to encourage the pursuits of agriculture, but still the strong inclination of the colonists was more to commerce, on account of the speedy returns for their investments, and as being attended with less labour.

At this time, by means of a coasting trade with the schooner of the colony, nearly the whole expense of the agency of the Board, and also that of the United States, had been defrayed. The net profits of this trade, during the year, amounted to little less than five thousand dollars.

Much additional territory, of great value, had also been obtained during the last years of Mr. Ashmun's agency: and as many as eight stations had been so far secured as that the colonial government had the privilege of founding settlements at these points; and the plan of the agent was, to open a farm at each of these stations.

One of the colonists penetrated one hundred and forty miles into the interior, and found a numerous population, industrious

and intelligent, possessed of a written language, with some knowledge of agriculture and the useful arts, and sharing largely in the comforts and enjoyments of social life.

Mr. Ashmun attributed the success of the colony, in a great degree, to the Christian religion; the good effect of which he had heard of before, but had never seen realized, until its effects on the colony of Liberia were manifested.

We attempt no sketch of the character of Mr. Ashmun. The actions of his life, and his success in sustaining the colony of Liberia, have raised for him a monument more enduring than brass or marble. He needs no sculptured honours to preserve his memory from oblivion. As long as the colony of Liberia exists, or as long as its history is preserved, the name of **ASHMUN** will be famous. And when this infant colony shall have grown into a great republic, and shall have diffused the lights of religion and science over a benighted continent, no name will be more honoured than that of **JEHUDI ASHMUN**.

The Board at Washington, were so impressed with conviction of the importance of Mr. Ashmun's services, and the excellence of his character, that they passed a resolution to have a handsome monument erected for him in New Haven, where his remains were deposited, and another in Monrovia, the scene of his incessant labours.

Although we approve of such testimonies of respect to the real benefactors of their race—and such, undoubtedly, was Mr. Ashmun—yet we are of opinion, that Mr. Gurley has erected a more valuable, and a more lasting monument to his friend, by the ample Memoir of his Life with which he has favoured the public. We sincerely wish it were in our power to turn the attention of the public to this interesting and eloquent performance. It has not yet ascended to its proper level among the biographies of the distinguished philanthropists of the age. And we take this opportunity of acknowledging how much we have been indebted to this work in compiling this History of African Colonization. Indeed, our temptation was to extract much more from this interesting volume than would have been compatible with the nature of this work. But as we have derived much instruction and pleasure from Mr. Gurley's Life of Ashmun ourselves, we cannot do less than cordially recommend it to all our readers. Few men have furnished such ample materials for biography in so short a life; and few could

have used such materials more skilfully than the author—than whom no one has more imperious claims on the respect of the friends of this noble and benevolent enterprise.

We shall conclude this chapter by noticing several things relating to the society at home, which were omitted for the sake of preserving the thread of the narrative of Ashmun's administration uninterrupted.

At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in February, 1824, General Robert Goodloe Harper, a gentleman well known in the political world and at the bar, attended and took a prominent part in the business of the society. And this was not an occasional and temporary paroxysm of zeal in this distinguished man; but ever after, as long as he lived, he yielded to none of the friends of Colonization, in active, persevering efforts, to promote the interests of the society.

On this occasion, he arose and addressed the meeting to the following effect:

“MR. PRESIDENT,—I will call the attention of the society to a matter of some, though not, perhaps, of very great moment. It is to the proposition for giving a name to our African colony. Names are at all times matters of convenience, and sometimes of advantage. Our colony has at present no name. It is situated, indeed, near a Cape called Mesurado, and has hitherto taken its name and designation from this circumstance; but that is not a name appropriate to its object; a name that means nothing. In reflecting on this circumstance, I have thought of a name that is peculiar, short, and familiar, and that expresses the object and nature of the establishment. It is the term, **LIBERIA**, and denotes a settlement of persons made free; for our colony may with truth be called the home and country of *freedmen*, in contradistinction to those slaves, of whom they once formed a part. This name, if I mistake not, will be found easy and apt, and it certainly has the merit of being very concise.”

This proposal was then submitted in the form of a motion, and unanimously adopted. He then rose again, and after paying a handsome and deserved compliment to President Monroe, offered another resolution,—“That the town laid out and established at Liberia, be called and known by the name, **MONROVIA**,” which was also unanimously adopted. General Harper then addressed the society in an eloquent speech, the

object of which was to show, that the grand object which they had in view could not be accomplished by merely private funds and voluntary associations; but that, in an enterprise so humane and patriotic, the aid of Congress should be earnestly and respectfully sought. At the close of his speech, therefore, he offered a resolution, "That a respectful memorial be presented to Congress, on the part of the society, stating the progress that has been made in establishing a colony of the people of colour, at Liberia; and praying for aid from the national Government, in the prosecution of this great and national undertaking."

General Mercer, who has been among the earliest and most efficient friends of colonization, gave his views on the state and prospects of the colonization scheme; but was of opinion, that it would not be expedient to apply to Congress at present. After some further discussion, it was finally concluded, that the resolution offered by General Harper should be referred to a committee of five, to inquire into the expediency of an immediate application to Congress, and to report at a subsequent meeting, to be held in March.

Dr. Ayres, on his first return to the United States from Africa, exerted himself much to excite an interest among the people, in favour of colonization. In company with the Rev. Mr. Boyd, of the Episcopal church, he took a tour through New England, to promote this desirable object. Every where he gave an interesting statement to the public, of the urgent wants of the colony; and of the absolute necessity of its being speedily strengthened, to prevent its utter destruction. This journey was attended with many advantages to the cause; especially by diffusing correct information relative to the state of things in Africa. The Board, also, in their Sixth Report, appealed to the benevolence of the public for contributions to enable them, at that critical moment, when the very existence of the colony was in jeopardy, to preserve the enterprise from absolute destruction. They say, "At this crisis of intense interest, when the weakness of the colony renders it exposed to disasters; when causes which could not impair a firmer establishment, may work its destruction; when the momentous question is, Shall Africa be freed, enlightened, saved, or shall all her hopes be extinguished, perhaps for ever? the Board

cannot believe, that they shall be denied the liberal contributions of their countrymen. They trust, that the editors of public papers and literary journals will aid their design, by diffusing correct information concerning it; that the patriot will think of his country, and give it his influence; and that all the ministers of religion will plead for it, in the name of Heaven."

In the Seventh Annual Report of the Board to the Society, we are informed, that after much difficulty and delay, they at length succeeded in chartering a vessel, and collecting emigrants. The brig *Oswego*, Captain Wightman, was the vessel obtained by the Board, to carry out the emigrants, sixty-one in number, and the stores for the colony which they were able to provide. Dr. Ayres, whose previous exertions had been so important, consented to return.

Just as the *Oswego* was ready to sail, information of a very alarming kind was received from the colony, relative to the hostile attack of the natives, of which an account has already been given. The reason for mentioning it here is, to give a proof of the candour, honesty, and good-will of the Board towards the emigrants whom they had collected to send out. They observe—"that duty as well as policy demanded that it should not be concealed; that those who were about to link all their temporal interests with the establishment in Africa, should not be left ignorant of its condition and prospects." A full statement was therefore made of all the facts which had come to the knowledge of the Board. They were plainly told that trials, perhaps death, stood in their way; "that a colony in Africa could only survive, through the efforts of energetic, patient, and fearless men; that regrets would be too late, when they were landed on a distant shore; but that they were now at full liberty to remain in this country." It is recorded as an honourable instance of resolution, that no change was expressed in the purpose of a single individual.

The *Oswego* sailed from Baltimore, on the 16th of April, and arrived at Cape Mesurado on the 24th of May. The joy produced in the colony by the arrival of this reinforcement, cannot be described. Soon, however, their trials commenced. Sick-ness attacked the new colonists; and it was an unfavourable circumstance, that Dr. Ayres himself was among the first attacked by the disease, in consequence of which the others were deprived of his medical skill and services. The mortality,

however, was not remarkably great. Only eight persons out of the whole died. And the Board were not discouraged by all the disasters and losses which had been sustained. By comparing Liberia with Plymouth, they found that the circumstances of the Puritan Pilgrims were much more disheartening, than any thing which had yet occurred in their colony. They remark, that, "since the origin of the society, two hundred and twenty-five emigrants, exclusive of those now on their passage, in the ship *Cyrus*, have sailed to Africa, under the patronage of the Board. The census received, with the last letters from Dr. Ayres, states the number then at the colony to be one hundred and forty. Let it not be supposed, that this diminution of numbers, has resulted from mortality alone. Previous to the purchase of Cape Mesurado, several discontented individuals abandoned the colony and settled at Sierra Leone, others returned to this country. Information of forty-six deaths only has been received by the Board. That more have occurred, the Board have no reason to believe. Twenty-two of these were among the passengers in the *Elizabeth*, the first vessel sent by the society to Africa, and occurred soon after her arrival, near the commencement of the rains, through the unhealthiness of the spot on which, for a season, they were compelled to reside; and various other causes, by which future emigrants can never be affected."

The last year, 1823, may be considered the critical year for the colony: its perils were never so great, and never can be again, from the same cause. At home the prospects of the society were unfavourable, and the funds exhausted. But in this report, they say, "The evidences of public favour which the Board have received during the year, have afforded the highest encouragement, and they can no longer doubt, that a general knowledge of their plans, will be succeeded by the common, vigorous efforts of the country to execute them, and that the design of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the opposition it has experienced, will be consummated by the continued energies of a nation, and approved by the civilized world. A thousand powerful minds scattered through the Union, are at work for this institution. The objects which it is intended to promote, are every where becoming subjects of thought and conversation, and the spirit of deep concern for its result is

rapidly extending, securing to it the counsels of wisdom, the donations of wealth, and the prayers of religion.”*

In the year 1825, the expressions of public opinion in favour of the Colonization Society, both from distinguished individuals and public bodies, became more explicit and decided than ever before. The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions passed a resolution, in which they declared their cordial approbation of the objects of the American Colonization Society; expressed their pleasure at the success which had attended the effort to establish a colony at Liberia, in Africa; and earnestly recommended it to their brethren to patronize it; and when practicable, make collections for its funds. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at their annual meeting, expressed their “high gratification at the progress of the American Colonization Society,” which they call, “a great work of humanity and religion.” They did not hesitate to say, that they believed, “that the temporal prosperity and moral interests of an extensive section of our country, of a numerous, degraded, and miserable class of men in the midst of us, and of the vast continent of Africa, uncivilized and unchristianized, are ultimately connected with the success of this institution. They therefore resolved, unanimously, to recommend to the churches under their care, to patronize the objects of the American Colonization Society, and particularly, that they take up collections in aid of its funds, on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day: and where that might be thought inexpedient, to give their assistance, in such manner as might be most conducive to the interests of the society.”

The General Synod of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church, resolved to recommend to the churches under their care, the American Colonization Society; and also, wherever meetings should be held on the fourth day of July, they earnestly recommended that collections be made in behalf of this institution.

At the annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, a resolution was passed, declaring, that the Convention had witnessed with the deepest emotions of gratitude to God, the success with which it hath pleased him to bless the efforts of the American Colonization Society; that they observe with

* Seventh Report, page 23.

pleasure an increasing interest in its prosperity every where manifested, throughout the Union. They, therefore, recommended continued and increasing exertions in its favour, and that collections be made in the respective churches under their care, on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding that day.

A flourishing colonization society had been formed in New Hampshire, embracing some of the most considerable men in the State, both lay and clerical. At the anniversary of this auxiliary, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana delivered an elegant address, which was published. The sentiments which it contains are in perfect harmony with the principles on which the American Colonization Society was founded.

In this same year the Rev. Dr. Meade delivered an animated address to a crowded audience in Winchester, Virginia. This gentleman has already received honourable mention, as one of the earliest and most efficient friends of the American Colonization Society; to which we may now add, that his whole family participate in his zeal and benevolence in promoting this good cause, of which they have given to the world the most substantial evidence.

The society found another able, zealous, and eloquent advocate, in the Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven. This gentleman first distinguished himself as the enlightened and cordial friend of colonization, in a review of the Reports of the Society, which embodied in an eloquent style the principal transactions of the society, up to the time when it was written. This able review was first published in the *Christian Spectator*, but was copied from that work into various other periodicals, and was read every where by the friends of colonization, with peculiar interest and pleasure. During the current year, (1825) Mr. Bacon came forward again with "A Plea for Africa." This work, though not comprehending so much information as his "Review," yet is written with more animation and elegance. Some passages, in which he describes the miseries of Africa, are truly touching, and eloquent. Among his concluding sentences are these: "The voice of public opinion in favour of this enterprise is becoming louder and louder. In every section of our country the ministers of Jesus have been pleading for it to-day. From hundreds of churches the cry of supplication has gone up in its behalf. And not a few are the freemen

who, in the midst of their rejoicings to-day, have remembered the miseries of Africa, and offered their contributions for her relief. Can you withhold from such an enterprise *your* voice of approbation? Can you, if you pray for any thing—can you refuse to pray for this undertaking? Can you look round on the abundance wherewith God has blessed you, and refuse to bestow some little offering on such a cause?”

It is pleasant to be able to record, that the torrent of abolitionism which has swept away so many of the former friends of colonization, has produced no unfavorable effect on this gentleman. He continues to be the warm friend of this only plausible and practicable scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the African race, either here or on the continent of Africa.

Auxiliary societies sprang up so fast, that it would be tedious, as it is unnecessary, to name them all: and even in remote parts of the country, speeches were delivered and published, which did credit to the speakers, and evinced, beyond a doubt, that the talent and eloquence of the country were enlisted in this cause.

The Society received much encouragement also from the fact, that the hopes entertained that many conscientious persons would embrace the opportunity to emancipate their slaves, began to be realized. Nathaniel C. Crenshaw, near Richmond, Virginia, informed the society of his wish to send his slaves to Liberia. And the Rev. Cave Jones, a chaplain in the United States navy, manumitted two men of colour, and directed them to be delivered to the society, in order that they might take passage to the colony at Liberia.

The society also received some seasonable donations of articles peculiarly suited to the wants of the infant colony. Among these, one deserves a particular notice, from Mr. E. S. Thomas, of Baltimore. This gentleman had with great pains collected a large quantity of seeds, which he presented to the Colonization Society; among which were no less than twelve hundred pounds of turnip seed, of various sorts. A more appropriate present for a young colony could not have been devised.

The American Board of Foreign Missions began to turn its attention to Africa as a missionary field. They authorized the Prudential Committee to admit the descendants of Africa into the Foreign Mission School, which was then in successful ope-

ration at Cornwall, Connecticut, with a view to their preparation for missionary labours on the coast of Africa. They also resolved to recommend to the committee to establish a mission in Africa, as soon as they shall find it practicable, and be able to make the requisite preparations.

Legislative bodies, also, had their attention turned to the subject of making some provision for emancipated slaves in a suitable colony.

The Hon. Rufus King, a Senator of the United States from New York, submitted for consideration to the august body of which he was a member, a resolution, that after the public debt was paid, all the proceeds of the sales of public land should constitute a fund to aid the emancipation of such slaves within the United States, and to aid in their removal, and the removal of such free persons of colour as by the laws of any of the States may be allowed to be removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.

Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, March 2d, made a motion in Congress, that the Secretary of War be requested to ascertain the probable expense of extinguishing the Indian title to a portion of the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, that may be suitable for colonizing the free people of colour, &c.

The State of Virginia, as early as 1816, as we have already seen, requested the Executive of the State to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place not within any of the States or Territories of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such people of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The State of Maryland, in 1818, by their Legislature, resolved unanimously, that the Governor be requested to communicate to the members of both Houses of Congress from Maryland, the opinion of the Legislature, that "a wise and provident policy suggests the expediency, on the part of our National Government, of procuring, by negotiation, by cession, or purchase, a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, for the colonization of the free people of colour of the United States."

A similar resolution was also passed by the Legislature of the State of Tennessee.

The Legislature of New Jersey also adopted a resolution, that in their opinion a system of foreign colonization, with correspondent measures, might be adopted, that would, in due time, effect the entire emancipation of the slaves of our country, and furnish an asylum for the free blacks, without any violation of the national compact, or infringement of the rights of individuals.

The State of Connecticut adopted resolutions very similar to those of New Jersey; concluding with the expression of an opinion, "That a system of colonization, under the patronage of the National Government, might be deemed conducive to the desirable end of freeing the country from the evils of slavery."

During their sessions in 1824, the Legislature of Ohio recommended the gradual abolition of slavery, in connexion with a system of foreign colonization.

In May, 1828, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, passed the following resolutions:

1. "That this Conference highly approve of the objects proposed, and the measures taken, by the American Colonization Society, in reference to the colonization of the free people of colour, on the coast of Africa. 2. That this Conference look to the settlement of Liberia, as opening a door for the diffusion of all the benign influences of the gospel over the continent of Africa; and, therefore, recommend it to our ministers and membership, to aid by their exertions and influence in the formation and support of auxiliary societies, and the making collections to aid in carrying on the benevolent designs of the parent institution. 3. That the Secretary be, and he is hereby instructed, to communicate the foregoing resolutions to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society."

Among the warm friends of African colonization, we have the pleasure of recording the name of that distinguished friend of liberty and of America, General Lafayette. In a letter, dated Lagrange, November 29, 1829, this venerable and beloved man observes, "I am delighted to hear, that the accounts from our very interesting Liberia, are so satisfactory. The honour I have received, in being elected an officer of the society, no one could more highly value."

In the same year, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution in favour of the American Colonization Society, both

houses concurring with great unanimity. After a preamble of some length, they adopted the following:

“Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met: That in the opinion of this General Assembly, the American Colonization Society eminently deserves the support of the National Government, and that our Senators be directed, and the Representatives in Congress be requested, to aid the same, by all proper and constitutional means.”

CHAPTER XVI.

LOTT CARY--MISSIONS IN AND NEAR THE COLONY.

WHEN Mr. Ashmun's health was so impaired that he was under the necessity of leaving Liberia, to which place he was never permitted to return, he left the colony in the charge of the Rev. Lott Cary, of whom mention has frequently been made already. But as he was among the earliest colonists, and a very extraordinary man for his opportunities, I propose, in this chapter, to give a sketch of his life.*

Lott Cary was born a slave, about the year 1780, thirty miles below the city of Richmond, in Virginia. His father was an eminently pious member of the Baptist denomination; and his mother, though not a member of any visible church, was believed by her acquaintances, to be truly pious. He was their only child. It may be inferred from the character of his parents, that he was trained up under the influence of sound religious and moral principles, but of his early life no memoirs remain. In the year 1804, when just four-and-twenty years of age, he was removed to the city of Richmond, and employed as a common labourer, in the Shockoe tobacco warehouse. At that time, his habits were rather irregular; he was frequently intoxicated, and had contracted the vicious habit of profane swearing; and for two or three years after his coming

* The author is indebted for this sketch of the early history of Cary to the Memoir of him, by the Rev. J. B. Taylor.

to Richmond, he appeared evidently to increase in wickedness. But he was a chosen vessel of divine mercy, and destined to act an important part in one of the noblest enterprises of the present day. Having been led to the discovery of his ruined condition as a rebel against the skies, he turned to the Lord with full purpose of heart, and was baptized by Elder John Courtney, and was received as a member, in the first Baptist church in Richmond, in the year 1807.

Lott Cary, though endowed with strong natural powers, was at the time of his conversion, extremely ignorant, not knowing a single letter of the alphabet. But hearing his minister read the discourse of our Lord to Nicodemus, he was seized with an earnest desire to learn to read, and did not cease until he had accomplished his purpose; and soon afterwards, he learned to write. About this time, he began to hold meetings with the coloured people of Richmond, and to exhort sinners to 'flee from the wrath to come:' the church observing that he had gifts to be useful as a public speaker, encouraged him to exercise them in preaching the gospel.

Having now the treasures of English literature unlocked to him, by the acquisition of the art of reading, he was not backward in availing himself of every opportunity of improving his mind, by such works as fell in his way. And his reading was not confined to such books as those of his class commonly peruse, but he extended his reading to History and Political Economy. A gentleman once entered his apartment, and found that he had been engaged in reading Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. He was also much engaged in preaching the gospel, not only in Richmond, but in all the surrounding country. His services at the tobacco warehouse were highly valued. Every thing with which he had any thing to do, was put in perfect order; so that if any one of the hundreds of hogsheads under his care, was called for, he could at any moment, produce it. This promptitude and order were of great importance in the shipments of tobacco. He often received rewards from the merchants, which he carefully husbanded and increased, by making small ventures of unmerchable tobacco on his own account. By the year 1813, he had acquired a sum sufficient to buy his own liberty, and that of two of his children. The sum paid was eight hundred and fifty dollars. His first wife was dead, at this time, and in 1815, he married a second. He now received a regular

salary, which was increased from year to year, until it amounted to eight hundred dollars.

About this time, Lott Cary became deeply affected with the unhappy condition of the people of Africa, and took pains to stir up a lively interest among his brethren in and about Richmond, in relation to the spiritual condition of these people. This led to the formation of an African Missionary Society in Richmond, which contributed annually, for several years, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars, towards the support of the African mission. But his active and benevolent mind could not be satisfied with the mere contribution of a part of his earnings. The desire to go in person, and carry the blessed gospel to that benighted region was like a fire in his bones. A great struggle was experienced between this pious and disinterested desire and his personal interests. He was now the possessor of a snug little farm in the vicinity of Richmond, was receiving a handsome salary, and his reputation as high as he could wish. Besides, he was the object of universal affection as a preacher, among the people of his own colour. There were also some discouraging circumstances in relation to Africa. The facilities for labouring there were few, and the climate was sickly; but none of these things could deter him from engaging in this benevolent enterprise. When asked by a brother in the ministry, how he could think of quitting a station of so much comfort and usefulness, to encounter the dangers of an African climate, and hazard every thing, to plant a colony on a distant shore, his reply was, "I am an African; and in this country, however meritorious my conduct, and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due to either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits—not by my complexion; and I feel bound to labour for my suffering race." When his employers understood that he contemplated a removal, they offered to raise his salary to one thousand dollars; but this had no effect on his fixed determination.

As soon as the journal of the exploring tour of Messrs. Mills and Burgess was published, the purpose of Lott Cary and Collin Teage was immediately made up to emigrate to Africa. This latter also lived in Richmond, and had by great exertion and economy, raised thirteen hundred dollars for the redemption of himself, a son, and a daughter. Collin Teage had, like Cary, received no education in early life; but he had learned the busi-

ness of a saddler and harness-maker, and by his own efforts had learned to read and write indifferently well. But he was a man of keen penetration, and possessed a mind capable of high improvement, of which he has given full evidence since he was settled in Africa.

These two men first offered themselves as missionaries to go to Africa, under the direction of the Baptist General Convention; and at the same time made application to the American Colonization Society to go out under their patronage. Various circumstances delayed their departure until January, 1821. Teage was also a preacher to his own colour, and was often associated with Lott Cary in preaching excursions into the country. Both of them now received ordination according to the usages of the Baptist denomination; and upon the eve of their departure, Elder Cary delivered a farewell discourse to the people of colour in Richmond, which is said to have been a sermon of great eloquence. His text was Rom. viii. 32. In the conclusion of his discourse he became very pathetic; and, among other things, said, "I am about to leave you, and expect to see your faces no more. I long to preach to the poor Africans the way of life and salvation. I do not know what may befall me—whether I may find a grave in the ocean, or among the savage men, or more savage wild beasts on the coast of Africa; nor am I anxious what may become of me. I feel it to be my duty to go; and I very much fear that many of those who preach the gospel in this country, will blush when the Saviour calls them to give an account of their labours in this cause, and tells them, 'I commanded you to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' " And with the most thrilling emphasis, looking round on his audience, he exclaimed, "The Saviour may ask—Where have you been?—what have you been doing? Have you been endeavouring to the utmost of your ability to fulfil the commands I gave you? Or have you sought your own gratification, and your own ease, regardless of my commands?"

These two devoted men left Richmond, January 23d, 1821, and sailed in the *Nautilus* for the coast of Africa. The parting scene, at Richmond, was very affecting. Cary united dignity with tenderness; and manifested a spirit becoming one who was to sustain the character of a missionary of the cross. There was a moral sublimity in the spectacle; for he was actually making a sacrifice of all his worldly interests, and was prepared

for death as well as life. They reached their destination after a voyage of forty-four days. Good order was preserved on board during the whole time that they were at sea, and Capt. Blair treated his passengers with humanity and attention.

At the time of Cary's arrival at Sierra Leone, the Colonization Society had obtained no place for a permanent settlement; but at the close of this year (1821) Cape Mesurado was purchased from the natives. Messrs. Cary and Teage therefore remained at Sierra Leone, and having exhausted their resources in preparing for the voyage, they soon found themselves in difficult circumstances. Lott Cary, to provide for present, urgent wants, engaged in the business of a cooper, and made tubs, buckets, &c., which he sold at Free Town for the support of his family. But he was not unmindful of the great object, to promote which he had made such sacrifices. He not only preached, as he had opportunity, among the colonists, but established a mission among the Mandingoes. But he was again called to suffer a severe affliction in the loss of his wife, who died while he resided at Sierra Leone. This was, indeed, a sore bereavement; but he had the satisfaction of knowing that she departed in the exercise of a lively faith, and an assured hope of everlasting life.

In 1822, he removed his family to Cape Mesurado, and became one of the most active and influential members of that little community. The native tribes repenting of the sale of the land on the cape, meditated the destruction of the colony, and after Ashmun, its salvation was owing to the exertions of none so much as those of Lott Cary. The general agent has given the following character of this remarkable man, "On his arrival in Africa, he saw before him a wide, and interesting field, demanding various, and energetic talents, and the most devoted piety. His intellectual ability, firmness of purpose, unbending integrity, correct judgment, and disinterested benevolence, soon placed him in a conspicuous station, and gave him wide, and commanding influence. Though naturally diffident and retiring, his worth was too evident to allow of his continuance in obscurity. It is well known, that great difficulties were encountered in founding a settlement at Cape Mesurado. So appalling were the circumstances of the first settlers, that soon after they had taken possession of the Cape, it was proposed that they should remove to Sierra Leone. The resolution of Mr. Cary, was not

to be shaken: he determined to stay, and his decision had great effect in persuading others to imitate his example. During the war with the native tribes, in November and December, 1822, he proved to be one of the bravest of men, and but for his well directed and vigorous support to the measures of Mr. Ashmun, during that memorable defence of the colony, the consequences might have been disastrous. It was to him that Mr. Ashmun was principally indebted for assistance, in rallying the broken forces of the colony, at a moment, when fifteen hundred of the exasperated natives were rushing forward to exterminate the settlement.

“Cary, in one of his letters, compares the little exposed company at Mesurado, at that time, to the Jews, who in rebuilding their city grasped a weapon in one hand, while they laboured with the other; but adds, emphatically, there never has been an hour, nor a minute, no not even when the balls were flying around my head, when I could wish myself again in America.”

In defect of regular medical aid, Lott Cary applied his powerful mind to this subject; and for a considerable time, he was almost entirely occupied in visiting the sick, and administering medicine to them. And it has been generally admitted, that he was remarkably successful in his practice.

The only single part of his conduct which deserves to be censured, was his taking part in the seditious proceedings of a number of persons, who became dissatisfied with the Colonization Society, and refused obedience to the orders of Mr. Ashmun, the agent. In fact, they set all law at defiance, and went, and by force took from the public stores, whatever they wanted. Cary, doubtless, had a leading influence in these seditious proceedings. But when Mr. Ashmun addressed to them a solemn appeal or remonstrance, in which he forcibly represented the iniquity, and destructive tendency of their proceedings, Lott Cary, convinced of the impropriety of his conduct, came to the agent, and ingenuously confessed his error; after which, he was ever found among the firm supporters of law and order. These mutinous proceedings were owing to very peculiar and critical circumstances, which if they could be fully explained, would go far to extenuate the misguided conduct of Cary, and others, in this affair. But as Mr. Ashmun's confidence was immediately and fully restored, it is judged to be expedient, to bury in oblivion all the circumstances of this unpleasant transaction.

Lott Cary, though necessarily much occupied with the affairs of the colony and its defence, and with his practice as a physician, yet did not neglect the main object of his mission. He not only laboured to promote the spiritual interests of the church at Monrovia; but gave instructions in the rudiments of the gospel to the Africans who had been recaptured from the slave-ships. And from letters addressed to his friends in Virginia, it appears, that religion was in a flourishing state in his church. His services as physician were especially valuable after the arrival of the *Cyrus* with one hundred and five emigrants. All these were seized with the fever, and our self-instructed physician had his hands full; and what greatly enhances the value of his services, they were gratuitously bestowed on all who needed them, and were willing to accept them.

His letters to his friends, during 1824, are full of interest, and contain an animated description of the affairs of the colony. In June, 1825, he gives an account of the establishment of a missionary school for native children, which was prosperous, and increasing in numbers. His attention was also particularly turned to Cape Mount, where he was solicitous that a school and mission should be established.

In the midst of his public labours he found time to pay attention to agricultural improvements. In one of his letters he says, "I have a promising little crop of rice and cassada, and have planted about a hundred and eighty coffee trees, this week, a part of which, I expect, will produce next season, as they are now in bloom. I think, sir, that in a very few years, we shall send you coffee of a better quality, than you have ever seen brought into your market. We find that trees of two species abound in great quantities on the Cape; both of the large green coffee, of which I will send you a specimen by the first opportunity."

In the autumn of 1825, a request was received from the Board at Washington, that the Rev. Lott Cary should pay a visit to the United States. This accorded much with his feelings. He had it at heart to confer with friends in America; especially, with the Missionary Society of Richmond. On this occasion Mr. Ashmun furnished him with ample testimonials, in which his services to the colony are duly appreciated; and a proper consideration of his medical services is strongly recommended to the Board; which, though they were rendered without fee or hope

of reward, in equity ought not to be suffered to remain without remuneration.

This visit, however, was disappointed, in consequence of the urgent demand for Mr. Cary's medical services; for of the late emigrants, many were sick. Mr. Ashmun himself had the utmost confidence in his medical skill, as appears by the following testimony: "The prescriptions of our excellent and experienced assistant physician, the Rev. Lott Cary, under the blessing of Divine Providence, so far succeeded as to afford complete relief, only leaving one in a very emaciated and enfeebled state, about the end of the first week in July." Though Mr. Cary had declined all offices which would be likely to interfere with his ministerial and missionary labours, yet so high was the estimation in which he was held, that in September, 1826, he was elected to fill the office of Vice-Agent. Indeed, all eyes were turned to him as the most fit person to fill that responsible office. His intrepidity, foresight, prudence, and firmness, eminently qualified him to sustain the government, and secure the welfare of the people. "In his good sense," says Mr. Gurley, "moral worth, public spirit, courage, resolution, and decision, the colonial agent had perfect confidence."

After receiving the necessary books, and finding a suitable teacher, he went to Cape Mount, to prosecute his long contemplated school at that place; and after a palaver, the king and his chiefs unanimously gave their consent to the proposed institution. And while there, he embraced the opportunity on the Sabbath, of preaching to the natives through an interpreter.

In one of his letters to the Richmond Missionary Society, he urges them "to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, for it seems as if the great flood-gate is about to be opened upon this part of Africa. One missionary arrived here in the Ontario, and he informs me, there are four following after him. He is all the way from Germany or Switzerland—of the Lutheran denomination. I do not know what to say, but I must say, O American Christians! look this way! come this way! and help, if you cannot come. Send help, for the Lord's sake. Help Africa's sons out of the devil's bush, into the kingdom of God. The harvest is already white. The heathen, in our vicinity, are very anxious for the means of light. They will buy it—beg it—and sooner than miss of it,

they will steal it." In confirmation of this last, he gives the following fact: "In removing our school establishment up to Cape Mount, I had upwards of forty natives to carry our baggage; and though they had every opportunity to commit depredations, nothing was lost, except fifteen spelling books."

In the early part of the year 1828, as was before related, Mr. Ashmun left Liberia for the United States, his physician having declared that such a step was necessary to his restoration. Under these circumstances, the whole government of the colony devolved on Lott Cary. Mr. Ashmun's confidence in his wisdom and integrity may be learned from his communications to the Board. "I was enabled," says he, "to arrange the concerns of the colony with Mr. Cary, even to the minutest particulars; and I have the greatest confidence that his administration will prove satisfactory in the highest degree, to the Board, and advantageous to the colony." And on his death-bed, Mr. Ashmun recommended that Mr. Cary should be permanently appointed to conduct the affairs of the colony.

Mr. Gurley states, "that for six months after the departure of Mr. Ashmun from the colony, Mr. Cary stood at the head, and conducted himself with such energy and wisdom, as to do honour to his previous reputation, and fix the seal upon his enviable fame."

Mr. Cary was not insensible of the magnitude of the charge which had devolved upon him; but he had a mind which rose in strength, in proportion to the pressure by which it was urged.

It will be gratifying to learn from his private journal, what sentiments were entertained towards Mr. Ashmun. In describing his departure, he says, "Never, I suppose, were greater tokens of respect shown by any community, on taking leave of their head. Nearly the whole (at least, two-thirds) of the inhabitants of Monrovia, men, women, and children, were out on this occasion; and nearly all parted from him, with tears; and in my opinion, the hope of his return in a few months, alone enabled them to give him up. He is indeed dear to his people, and it will be a joyful day when we are permitted to see him again."

Mr. Cary now called together the principal officers of the colony, and read to them, without reserve, the instructions left him by Mr. Ashmun, and requested their cooperation. "I

trust," says he, "through the great blessing of the Ruler of events, we shall be able to realize all the expectations of Mr. Ashmun, and render entire satisfaction to the Board of Managers, if they can reconcile themselves to the necessary expenses."

It will give some idea of Lott Cary's business talents, as well as of his enterprise and patriotism, to exhibit the following deed, which was executed to him, as agent for the colony, by several of the petty kings of the country:

"Know all men by these presents, that we, Old King Peter, and King Governor, King James, and King Long Peter, do, on this fourth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, grant unto Lott Cary, Acting Agent of the colony of Liberia, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, to wit: All that tract of land on the north side of St. Paul's river, beginning at King James's line below the establishment, called the Millsburg Settlement; and we, the kings, as aforesaid, do bargain, sell, and grant, unto the said Lott Cary, acting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, all the aforesaid tract of land, situated and bounded as follows: by the St. Paul's river on the south, and thence running an east, north-east direction up the St. Paul's river, as far as he, the said Lott Cary, or his successor in the agency or civil authority of the colony of Liberia shall think proper to take up and occupy; and bounded on the west, by King Jemmy's, and running thence a north-east direction, as far as our power and influence extend. We do, on this day and date, grant as aforesaid, for the consideration—[here follow the articles to be given in payment]—and will for ever defend the same against all claims whatever.

"In witness whereof, we set our hands and names;

"OLD ✕ KING PETER,

"LONG ✕ KING PETER,

"KING ✕ GOVERNOR,

"KING ✕ JAMES.

"Signed in presence of

"ELIJAH JOHNSON,

"FREDERICK JAMES,

"DANIEL GEORGE."

Mr. Cary wisely judged, that much depended on the vigour and success with which agricultural pursuits were prosecuted.

He, therefore, took an early opportunity of visiting the settlements of Millsburg and Caldwell, and was on the whole well pleased with the prospects of a plentiful crop: but on examination, he found that it would be necessary to allow the people to draw rations from the public stores, much longer than he had expected. He was also very attentive to such things as were required for the defence of the colony: the gun-house in Monrovia, and the jail, were soon finished, and the guns mounted. He also had suitable carriages made for the portable guns.

Towards the close of June, the colony was put into some commotion, by the appearance of three suspicious vessels in the bay. After a while, they hoisted Spanish colours, and one of them, a schooner, anchored within gun-shot. A gun was fired from the fort, which caused her boat to come on shore. They were from Havana, and professed not to be engaged in the slave trade. The reason assigned for coming so near, was to find shelter from one of the other vessels, a patriot brig, which had been for some time in pursuit of them. Cary did not believe a word that was said, and told them that he knew they were slavers; and therefore he refused to permit them to take in wood or water, and allowed them only one hour to get out of reach of the guns.

Speaking of the celebration of the fourth of July, Mr. Cary remarks, "The companies observed strictly the orders of the day, which I think were so arranged as to entitle the officers who drew them up, to credit. Upon the whole, I am obliged to say, that I have never seen the American Independence celebrated with so much spirit, and propriety, since the existence of the colony; the guns being all mounted and pointed, and previously arranged for the purpose, added very much to the grand salute. Two dinners were given, one by the Independent Volunteer company, and one by Captain Devany."

Having understood that the American Colonization Society expected to send out a large reinforcement of emigrants, he was at his wit's end to know, how he should make provision for the accommodation of so many persons; but after a full consideration of all circumstances, he determined to settle them at Millsburg, and assigned the following reasons: On account of the fertility of the lands and fewness of the inhabitants; and because he believed that they would, by being sent so far into the

country on the fresh water, experience little injury from the change of climate; and because he thought it expedient to strengthen the colony on that point; for although no hostilities from the natives were apprehended, yet it was best to be, and appear to be, able to repel them. In his communication to the Board, he gives a very flattering account of the condition of the colony: "I am happy to say, that the health, peace, and prosperity of the colony are, I think, still advancing; and I hope that the Board of Managers may have their expectations realized, to their fullest extent, with regard to the present and future prosperity of the colony."

Mr. Cary suggested to the Board the great importance of the colony having a vessel large enough to run down as far as Cape Palmas; which he was of opinion would save much expense to the society. This measure was urged by the consideration, that until the colony was able to raise provisions enough for its own consumption, it would be desirable to have the means of bringing them from a considerable distance, and not be dependent on the supplies from the immediate vicinity, which very often failed or were inadequate.

In a letter to the Board of Managers, dated May 7th, 1823, he says, "There have been no very important changes either in the state or face of the colony, since Mr. Ashmun left us, except in the rapid progress of the farming establishments. As I visited all those establishments, during the second and third of May, I am happy to say, that the prospect for crops, the present season, is tenfold, and I think their settlements will be beyond the reach of suffering, before the close of the present season." He speaks of some of the late emigrants who had made astonishing progress in clearing land, and getting it planted; so that their families would be rendered entirely comfortable before the end of the season.

It was, however, the peculiar trait of excellence in this man's character, that in the midst of pressing cares, and business of the most responsible nature, which had, in the providence of God, devolved upon him, he never lost sight of the main object which had brought him to Africa. His great object in emigrating to Africa was, to extend the power and blessings of the Christian religion. Before he left Richmond, a little church of about half a dozen members was formed, who were to accompany him.

The names of these devoted colonists were Lott Cary and wife, Collin Teage and wife and son Hilary Teage, and Joseph Langford and wife. These names deserve to stand out prominently in a history of colonization and missions in Africa. Lott Cary became the pastor of this church in Africa, and had the pleasure of seeing its members multiplied. Most earnestly did he seek access to the native tribes, and endeavour to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of that religion, which in his own case, "had proved so powerful to purify, exalt, and save." In one or two instances of hopeful conversion from heathenism, he greatly rejoiced; and many of his latest and most anxious thoughts were directed to the establishment of native schools, in the interior. One such school, distant seventy miles from Monrovia, and of great promise, was established through his agency, about a year before his death; and was patronized and supported by him until that mournful event."*

But we must now come to the unexpected, sad, and tragical close of a life so valuable, and which gave promise of increasing usefulness for years to come. There is nothing in the dispensations of divine providence more inscrutable, than that men eminently prepared for useful and important service to the church, and to their kind, are so frequently cut down in the midst of their labours, with their expected work only just commenced. There may be a reason for this entirely out of our sight; and it may, for aught we know, be intimately connected with the prosperity of the enterprises to which they had devoted themselves. Whether fanciful or not, it is a pleasing thought, that such men as Mills, Bacon, Ashmun, Cary, and other like spirits, are somehow still coadjutors in promoting the good work in which they sacrificed their lives.

The circumstances of this deplorable event were the following, as given by Mr. Gurley. "The factory belonging to the colony at Digby (a few miles north of Monrovia) had been robbed by the natives; and satisfaction being demanded, was refused. A slave-trader was allowed to land her goods in the very house where the goods of the colony had been deposited, and a letter of remonstrance addressed to the slave-dealer, was actually intercepted and destroyed by the natives. In this state of affairs, Mr. Cary considered himself solemnly bound to assert the rights and defend the property of the colony. He therefore

* Gurley.

called out instantly, the military of the settlements, and commenced making arrangements to compel the natives to desist from their injurious, and unprovoked infringements upon the territory, and rights of the colony. On the evening of the 8th of November, while Mr. Cary and several others were making cartridges in the old agency-house, a candle appears to have been accidentally upset, which caught some loose powder, and almost instantaneously, reached the entire ammunition, producing an explosion, which resulted in the death of eight persons. Six of these unfortunate persons, survived until the ninth, and Mr. Cary, and one other, until the tenth."

As soon as the intelligence of Cary's death reached the United States, a melancholy impression pervaded the public mind; but especially affected the minds of the friends of Liberia.

The following tribute to the memory of this excellent man was drawn up by those who were best acquainted with him, and in whose service he continued until his death:—the Richmond African Missionary Society. It was read and adopted at their annual meeting in 1829, and its truth and justice will be evident to all who have perused the history of his life.

"The loss which has been sustained, cannot in our estimation, be easily repaired. This excellent man seems to have been raised up by divine providence, for the special purpose of taking an active part in the management of the infant settlement. His discriminating judgment, his honesty of heart, and decision of character, qualified him eminently, for this service. But, especially, in relation to your society, is his death to be sincerely lamented. It will be recollected, that he was a principal instrument in the origin of this society, and for several years acted as its recording secretary. A little more than eight years ago, he received his appointment, and sailed, as missionary, in company with brother Teage, for the land of their forefathers. His exertions as a minister in that land have been of the most devoted and untiring kind. In the communications which have been received by the Board, he seemed to possess the most anxious concern for the salvation of the perishing multitudes around him. Through his instrumentality a considerable church has been collected together, which seems to be in a prosperous and growing condition. Sabbath and week day schools have been instituted for the instruction of native children and the children of the colony, which have proved eminently useful.

We were looking forward with confidence to the more perfect consummation of our wishes, when that moral desert should rejoice and blossom as the rose; but God has seen fit to cross our expectations, in calling from his station this laborious missionary. It becomes us to bow with submission to the stroke, and to realize the saying of the apostle, ‘how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out.’ Although we were not permitted to receive his dying testimony to the truth, we have the fullest assurance that our loss is his unspeakable and eternal gain.”

While we are faithfully recording the labours and services of the ardent friends of this blessed cause, in Africa, we ought not to pass over in silence, the names of benefactors, who have by their influence or their wealth, promoted the cause at home. We have, for many pages, been occupied with the character and indefatigable labours of that extraordinary man, Lott Cary; but just when his sun had risen to the meridian, it was suddenly extinguished. Without a moment’s warning he was snatched away from all his long cherished hopes of extensive usefulness to the heathen. And in the same year we must record the sudden departure of one of the earliest and most devoted friends of colonization in the city of Washington. Our reference is, to Doctor WILLIAM THORNTON. In another part of this history, we noticed that this learned and benevolent citizen had proposed a plan of colonizing the free people of colour as early as 1785, or 1787.

When the American Colonization Society was founded and organized, he was prepared at once to enter with ardour into the scheme. He was a member of the first Board of Managers ever chosen, and continued to be a faithful and punctual associate with the other gentlemen of the Board, until his lamented death. His temperament was ardent and his heart generous. While he was free in declaring and firm in maintaining his own opinions, he was candid and liberal towards those of others. His ardent mind would quickly kindle into a glow of indignation at acts of perfidy and inhumanity; but he was equally prompt to yield unstinted praise to noble and generous acts. If he was an enthusiast, it was an enthusiasm for the improvement of the human kind. Not satisfied with man’s present progress, he looked forward with high wrought anticipations,

to a state of society far more perfect than any thing which has yet been witnessed.

The Board of Managers, on the occasion of his death, met to express their deep sense of his value, as a member, and of the loss which the cause had sustained in his decease, and unanimously passed the following resolution: "This Board have heard with very deep regret, of the death of Dr. William Thornton, one of its earliest and most highly valued members, and whose loss must be severely felt by Africa and mankind."

Soon after the death of Mr. Ashmun, the Board of Managers elected as his successor, Dr. RICHARD RANDALL, of Washington city, a highly respected member of the Board. Measures were also taken to hasten his departure, that he might take upon himself the arduous and responsible duties of Colonial Agent. The Board considered themselves happy in so soon finding a person so fully qualified, as Dr. Randall, willing to undertake an agency surrounded with so many dangers.

During the year 1828, several pious and devoted missionaries were sent to Liberia, from the Missionary Society of Switzerland, who had been educated in the mission school of Basle, under the tuition of the venerable Blumhardt. They were five in number, and four of them arrived at Monrovia, in 1828. Mr. Sessing had preceded his brethren some months, and had made suitable preparation for their accommodation. By a letter to the Board at Washington, from the minister just named, it appeared that these pious men were greatly delighted with the prospect of labouring for the conversion of the poor heathen in Africa. In October, 1828, the Rev. Dr. Blumhardt addressed a letter to the Board of Managers, relative to the concerns of these young men, his former pupils.

The ship *Harriet*, Captain Johnson, left Hampton Roads, on the 9th of February, 1829, with one hundred and sixty emigrants for Liberia. A more orderly and respectable company, according to the African Repository, never had embarked for the colony. Of this number, between forty and fifty had been liberated by a few persons, for the special purpose of being transferred to the privileges of the Liberian colony. Fifteen of these were liberated by Miss Margaret Mercer, near Annapolis, Maryland, and eighteen by the Rev. Thomas P. Hunt, of

Brunswick county, Virginia. Six were lately the property of Edward Colston, Esq., of Virginia. Some of the number had been long free, and had accumulated considerable property; and all who embarked, took with them a liberal supply of provisions, household furniture, agricultural implements, and articles for trade. Most of these emigrants were in the vigour of life, highly recommended for their correct morals, and industrious habits; and a large proportion distinguished among their class, for intelligence, influence, and piety.

Among the passengers in this vessel, was the unfortunate Moorish prince, Abduhl Rahhaman, who had been long a slave in Mississippi.

Just before the vessel sailed, several ministers attached to the Presbyterian church, convened on board the Harriet, and ordained the Rev. Joseph Turner, who had long been an exemplary member and useful preacher, in that denomination.

The Rev. David Payne, a highly respectable preacher in the Methodist church, also embarked in this vessel.

CHAPTER XVII.

RANDALL'S ADMINISTRATION.

DOCTOR RANDALL arrived at Monrovia, December 22, 1828, where he received the first intelligence of the melancholy circumstances of the death of Lott Cary. The election of a successor to Cary, had raised Mr. Waring to the office of vice-agent. Dr. Randall estimated the property in the public stores, when he arrived, to be of the value of seventy thousand dollars, and twice that sum, if all the convertible property in the colony were included. "I am," says he, "much pleased with the climate, location, fertility, and population of Liberia. The climate is, at this season, most delightful. It is not very warm during the day, and at night it is cool enough to sleep under a blanket. Though this is considered the sickly season, we have but little disease, and none of an alarming character. The location of Monrovia, is the most delightful that can be

imagined. Since the woods have been cleared away on the south side of the peninsula, our town is in full view from the ocean, and has, really, a most imposing appearance.”—“The location of this place gives it most important commercial advantages; and whatever may be the final success of our colonizing operations, nothing but some most unfortunate disaster, can prevent its becoming one of the most important commercial cities on the African coast. The Cape lands are not very fertile, generally, but there are some situations quite so: even the most barren parts are suitable for gardening, with a little attention to manuring; and the very worst part of it will produce coffee, and several varieties of fruits. I visited Caldwell and the half-way Farms, a few days since, and was much pleased with the improvements which have been made there, during the period they have been occupied. Most of the settlers have good houses, and all of them have flourishing plantations of rice, cassada, plantains, and potatoes, with many other fruits and vegetables.”—“Though none of these people are as wealthy as their commercial brethren at Monrovia, they are all above want, and will, in a few years, become rich; for their lands are admirably adapted to the cultivation of sugar and cotton, in addition to the articles before mentioned. The lands on both sides of Stockton Creek are of the very best quality, being a rich, light alluvion, equal in every respect to the best lands on the southern rivers of the United States.”

“Mr. Cary has located the recaptured Africans, whose term of service to the colonists had expired, behind the Half-way Farms, between Stockton creek and the Mesurado river. I visited their town, and was much pleased with their improvements. They have been on their lands but three months, and have already built themselves comfortable houses, enclosed their lots, and have their cassada, plantains, and potatoes growing most luxuriantly.”—“The late vice agent, Mr. Cary, deserves much credit for his exertions, in the location and settlement of this flourishing village. I propose to have it called after him, Carytown.”

Concerning the condition of the slave trade, Dr. Randall writes: “If I had under my direction an armed vessel, with forty men, principally black sailors from the United States, I would pledge myself that the slave trade should not be carried on in the neighbourhood of the colony. From all I can learn

here, I am induced to believe, that the slave trade is now carried on at the Gallinas, between Cape Mount and Sierra Leone, and to the leeward of that place, to a greater extent than it has been for many years. The South American cruisers are alone efficient against the slavers. The slavers are generally fitted out in the island of Cuba, or Brazil, and land their cargoes, and establish factories for the collection of slaves, at some convenient spot, whilst the vessels cruise off and on with perfect security from the English, French, and other cruisers, who cannot capture them, unless they have the slaves actually on board: and as soon as the coast is clear, and the wind fair, they get their slaves on board, and being generally fast sailers, they defy all pursuers. But the South Americans being at war with Spain, and the Buenos Ayreans with both Spain and Brazil, they capture all under those flags, whether they have, or have not on board, their cargo of slaves.”—“The colonists, I find, are much alarmed at the idea of incensing these people, who are so powerful, lest they should injure them by cutting up their commerce on this coast. It will be recollected, that there has been no American vessel cruising on this coast for many years. The *Ontario* stopped here a short time last year, and the *Shark*, which is now here, is only authorized to delay for the reception of my despatches to the Navy Department. I hope the Board will urge on the Government, the necessity of keeping a vessel on the coast. I will pledge my medical reputation, that it can be done with but little risk from disease, if the proper precautions are used. Neither the officers nor men need be exposed on shore at night, the only dangerous period; and the men need not be landed at all, as the *Kroomen* may be employed for three or four dollars a month, to procure wood and water, and do all the work on shore.”

“I have been,” continues Dr. Randall, “so fortunate as to meet with a *Mandingo*, from *Susoo*, a country bordering on the territory of *Footah Jallo*, from whom, with the assistance of Mr. Gomez, a highly intelligent African educated in Europe, I have obtained a translation of the letter I obtained from Prince to his relations in *Teemboo*. I have sent enclosed the translation of the letter, in the hand of Mr. Gomez, as a specimen of African penmanship. I inquired of the *Mandingo*, whether he could take charge of the letter, but finding that he spoke doubtfully, and did not intend to return to his country for many

months, I determined not to entrust him with it, but to wait a better opportunity. I permitted him to take a copy of the letter, and promised him a handsome compensation, if he would obtain an answer to it from Teemboo."

Dr. Randall's enterprising spirit appears strongly manifested in the whole of this interesting communication to the Board. Although he had been only a few weeks in the colony, yet he seems to have directed his attention to every thing connected with the design and interests of the colony. The following information respecting the interior country of Africa, was obtained from a Mr. Dungey, who, with some others, had penetrated a considerable distance inland, for the purposes of trade. His statement (says Dr. Randall) is as follows. "Himself and three others of the colonists have been several times to King Boatswain's town, a hundred and fifty miles in the interior, for the purpose of trade. They take the path, which is an open one, and well suited for men and beasts of burden, about six miles from the mouth of St. Paul's, and penetrate in a northern direction, through immense forests, filled with herds of elephants, and innumerable other wild animals. During the whole distance, until they get within twenty miles of Boatswain's town, they pass no settlements, and meet with no natives, except the elephant hunters, who are very numerous, but always friendly. When they arrive within twenty miles of Boatswain's town, they find the country open and well cultivated, with many cattle and some horses. The town contains more than a thousand houses, and is well fortified with a barricade; and eight thousand men, armed with muskets, can be brought to its defence. Boatswain is generally at war with his neighbours, but has been uniformly friendly to us; and seems much disposed to carry on a more extensive trade with the people of the colony. By opening a direct path, the distance may be reduced to one hundred and twenty miles. Our traders carry with them tobacco, pipes, muskets, powder, clothes, and other articles of African trade; and in return, obtain bullocks, ivory, and gold. From what I can learn, the St. Paul's, after passing the falls at Millsburg, is a deep navigable river, extending several hundred miles in a northern direction. Mr. Dungey assured me that he was on the St. Paul's within twenty-five miles of Boatswain's town, and found it half a mile wide, and free from all falls or obstructions. There are several

large islands at this point, one of which, called Harahamiah, he describes as five miles wide, and more than ten long. He says the people there told him, that the time was, when the slavers came up in their boats to this point, with goods to buy slaves. This fine river is, on the map, described as the Mesurado; but its mouth is several miles north of Cape Mesurado, though it is connected with a river of that name by a navigable creek—the Stockton.

“I have no doubt that by means of this fine river, we will in time open a trade with the interior, by which we will divert to this place much of the gold and ivory which is now carried to Sierra Leone on the north, and Cape Coast to the south. I have already ascertained that a company can be formed, with a capital of a thousand or two thousand dollars, for the purpose of making an experiment in this trade, on a larger scale than hitherto has been done; and I will probably take shares in it, as authorized by the society, to the amount of two hundred dollars. I will send a message to Boatswain in a few days, with a present, and will endeavour to induce him to open a more direct path from our settlement, and to permit us to carry on a trade with the people beyond him, and establish a factory in his town. At present, the goods of our traders are carried on men’s backs, and cost them for transportation about fifty cents a hundred, there, and as much back with the returns. Mules or jacks might be used to advantage for this purpose; and if we could use the river St. Paul’s, even if we had to make a portage at Millsburg, it would be still better.”

The quarrel which had arisen before Cary’s death with the natives, on the coast near the colony, was not adjusted. “King Brister (Bristol) had expressed, in his communications to Mr. Waring, his desire for peace, but at the same time his determination to defend himself if attacked. He denied the right of the colony to interfere with him or his slave trade, beyond the St. Paul’s, the line of their territory. As the slave factory, the original cause of the difficulty, had been broken up when I arrived, I felt no disposition to renew the quarrel, and I will endeavour to adjust the thing amicably. Indeed, with our present very limited means of attack or defence, the colony has nothing to gain, and every thing to lose, by a war with the natives.

“The trade of this place is now very considerable, and is be-

coming greater every day, as its capital and number of vessels for carrying on the coasting trade increase. Besides six or eight smaller decked vessels, we have, belonging to the colony, two larger schooners, the one above thirty, the other above forty tons, employed in the coasting trade."

Dr. Randall estimates the exports from Monrovia, during the year past, to be equal to sixty or seventy thousand dollars.

As the society had resolved that a tonnage duty should be collected on vessels in the ports of this colony, Dr. Randall, by the authority vested in him, appointed Francis Devany revenue officer, and gave him the requisite instructions for the performance of the duties of his office.

About this time there seemed to be a rising sentiment among many friends of colonization in favour of Hayti, as the place to which the free people of colour should be sent, in preference to Africa. The country was already in complete possession of the coloured race, and there seemed to be no reasonable ground to fear that it would ever be wrested from them. The island is known to be exceedingly fertile, and capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it now contains. The transportation of emigrants to Hayti, it was thought, would be comparatively easy, as the island was near to our continent. And it had been ascertained that the Government would consent to permit emigrants to come and settle in the country; and that while they behaved themselves peaceably, and did nothing to interrupt or destroy the established religion, they should not be molested in the free exercise of their own religion. This scheme of colonization commended itself especially to the Society of Friends, and a number of colonists were sent by them from North Carolina, who actually took up their residence in Hayti, on lands assigned to them.

On the 17th of February, 1829, the schooner Cicero sailed for Port-au-Prince, having on board twelve coloured emigrants, liberated by Joseph Leonard Smith, Esq., a gentleman of Frederick county, for the purpose of establishing them as colonists in Hayti. Mr. Smith not only generously relinquished his legal rights to the services of these persons, but furnished them with a handsome outfit of provisions, clothing, and agricultural implements. He also paid their passage to Hayti, and engaged, at his own expense, the services of a gentleman well acquainted with the country and its government, to go out with them, and

assist them in making an advantageous location, and to procure for them all the facilities and benefits which are extended to persons of this description by the Haytien Republic.

Thomas Kennedy, of the Society of Friends, and a citizen of Wayne county, North Carolina, undertook the benevolent agency of visiting all the coloured emigrants who had been sent out by the Society of Friends, in that State. His report was by no means favourable to the scheme of colonizing our free people of colour on that island. He found the emigrants "generally, unpleasantly situated, and very much dissatisfied. They complained, that the proprietors of the lands, for whom they had laboured for two years and a half, had entirely disappointed them. That they had received but from six to ten dollars each as a compensation for their labour during the above time; and they declared, 'that they would rather be slaves in North Carolina, than to remain there under the treatment they had received since their arrival.'" Mr. Kennedy bore testimonials and instructions from the yearly meeting of Friends, in North Carolina, and was treated with civility by the President of the island; but all his efforts to improve the condition of the emigrants from the United States proved ineffectual; and in attempting to take under his protection, for removal, a family which he had formerly emancipated, he was treated with great indignity.

The general description of the country given by Mr. Kennedy, is, "that the land is vastly rich, producing with but little cultivation, most of the necessaries of life. The climate, air, and water, are salubrious and pure."—"Their government is an aristocratic, military despotism. Their Congress and its powers, are a mere fudge. The laws are better worded, than administered. In fact, I think," says he, "the will of the President may be deemed the law of the land, with a standing army (report says) of forty thousand, to enforce it. There, agriculture is very much neglected; particularly the growth of articles for exportation. Hence, their commerce is declining. Their manners and customs are disagreeable; their way, or mode of living, particularly in the country, is very poor and coarse. Polygamy is tolerated; at least, concubinage is practised with impunity. Hence, they have but few children. The people are generally ignorant, yet conceited and self-wise. As for their religion, I fear they have but little; notwithstanding,

they mostly profess to be Roman Catholics. From my short acquaintance with the Haytiens, and my observing their dispositions towards our American blacks amongst them, I am not disposed to encourage any free people of colour to go from the United States, to settle in Hayti; but as a friend, I would suggest to them the propriety of emigrating to Liberia, where I believe, they would live under good government and laws, enjoy equal privileges, and be among their own country people. The present colonists would have their own customs, manners, and religion. Added to which, they would be in the land of their forefathers' nativity; where, by proper application on their part, they might be instrumental in civilizing and christianizing benighted Africa." The intelligent friends of colonization were not disappointed in the result of the Haytien experiment, but they made no opposition to a scheme which aimed at the same objects in part, which had led to the formation of the American Colonization Society. And as we shall not have occasion to touch this subject again, it may be further remarked, that most of those who emigrated to Hayti, returned, and some of them in circumstances of great distress. And now, for many years, Hayti has not been thought of as a suitable place for the colonization of the free people of colour, from the United States.

But some time afterwards, a number of families emigrated from New York and New Jersey to Trinidad; and the result was not more favourable, and as many of these as could, returned. One of them, a preacher, informed the writer, that the prejudice on account of colour, did not exist there, but that such a difference of rank existed, as excluded nearly all the emigrants from good society.

Gerrit Smith, Esq. of New York, proposed a plan for raising one hundred thousand dollars for the Colonization Society, by getting a hundred persons to subscribe, each one thousand dollars. This scheme met with general approbation, and a number of persons manifested their zeal and liberality in the cause, by adding their names to the list: and although the proposed number of subscribers was not obtained, yet it is believed, that all who subscribed paid their quota; as certainly was the fact in regard to Mr. Smith himself; who, when he abandoned the Colonization cause, to join that of the Anti-Slavery Society, honourably discharged every debt which he had voluntarily

contracted to the former. Although we are aware, that with his present views, this whole subject must be reflected on with regret, yet as we deem his conduct, while connected with the Colonization Society, both liberal and honourable, we feel it to be due to him to mention with praise, the services rendered by him to the Colonization Society; and if he manifests as good a spirit toward the cause which he has since so zealously espoused, we doubt not that he will prove a powerful coadjutor. This scheme for raising funds, having been before the public for so many years, its origin and progress are properly a part of the history of African colonization.

Whatever may be the ultimate design of Providence, in regard to the Colonization Society, it is certain that no institution of modern times, has gained the approbation and enlisted the zeal of more eminent men than this. That it should have succeeded as far as it has done, is a result far above the calculations of many, who thought it their duty to give a fair trial to the enterprise. The disease was so desperate, and other remedies so hopeless, that without a sanguine feeling, many benevolent persons determined to give it their support. And now, when these incredulous friends cast their eyes over Liberia, they cannot but exclaim, "What hath God wrought?" "Surely, it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

We give at the bottom of the page, the names of all the subscribers* to "Gerrit Smith's Plan," as it was called; and however it may now mortify him to see his name at the head of the

* The following are the names of the subscribers to the plan of Gerrit Smith: Gerrit Smith, Peterborough, N. Y.; Jasper Corning, Charleston, S. C.; Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, N. J.; John F. Norton, Albany, N. Y.; E. F. Backus, New Haven, Ct.; a Gentleman in Mississippi; Mathew Carey, Philadelphia; Josiah Bissel, Rochester, N. Y.; William Crane, Richmond, Va.; Flemming James, Richmond, Va.; Robert Ralston, Philadelphia; Elliot Cresson, Philadelphia; Mrs. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontain, W. A. Carrington, and P. I. Carrington, Va.; General Edward Carrington, Walter C. Carrington, Va.; a Few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier; Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Mass.; a Friend in Virginia; Robert Gilmer, Baltimore; Arthur Tappan, N. Y.; George Burwell, Frederick, Va.; Association of Twenty, in Dr. Mead's Parish; Honourable Edward M'Ghee, Mis.; Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, La.; Four young Gentlemen, Alexandria, D. C.; Auxiliary Colonization Society of Georgetown; a Friend in Fredericktown, Md.; another Subscription in Bishop Mead's congregation; John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.; Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany, N. Y.

list, yet when Liberia shall have grown to be a great republic, and the friends of colonization receive their due honours, we are of opinion, that nothing which Mr. Smith has done, or is likely to do, will exhibit his character to posterity in a more amiable light. Indeed, his whole course, since he abandoned and denounced the society, has been rather indicative of a certain degree of mental derangement, than of wisdom and sobriety of mind. But we are only concerned with the character of this gentleman while he was connected with the American Colonization Society, during which time he was an active and efficient friend.

The following communication from the pen of Dr. Randall, before his much lamented end, is contained in a private letter to a friend, giving an account of a short journey up the St. Paul's. Its date is February 15, 1829.

"I have at length got through this much-talked-of African fever; and after all, do not think it any great thing. A Carolina or Georgia fever is just as bad; and as for an Alabama fever, it would be worth two of it. I continued to use precautions, and take medicines for six weeks after my arrival, and enjoyed perfect health; but I at length became tired and careless, and the consequence was, the fever. I was well taken care of, and had every attention that could be afforded; and since I am through with it, I am glad to have had it, as it will exempt me from it entirely hereafter.

"As soon as I had finished my business with the Shark, and she had sailed, I determined to set off on an exploring expedition, up the St. Paul's, which had hitherto been unexplored by civilized man, except to Millsburg, the head of safe navigation. The river, from its mouth, is most beautiful. Its banks are high and broken, and covered with the most dense and variegated verdure. Along the banks, here and there, we discovered an African town, with the thatched huts intermingled with the broad green leaf of the plantain, of which the beautiful pea-green colour distinguishes it from all surrounding verdure. On our approach to one of those villages, which is always announced by our boatmen, with their African boat-song, we generally found all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, assembled on the beach, to see and receive us. If you stop, you are immediately carried to the king or head-man's house, where you are expected to make him a *dash*, or present, before

any thing is said or done. If on a friendly visit, it is small, and returned by a dash on the other part. But if on business, and you have any great object to effect, your *dashes* must be larger and more numerous, and then you receive nothing in return. After passing half a dozen of these villages on the St. Paul's, and ascending twenty miles, we arrived at Millsburg, where we slept in country fashion, but had a good supper from our store basket. In the morning early, we left the settlement with our little party, as the natives say, 'to go into the bush.' One of the most enterprising of our settlers had penetrated along one of the branches of the river, by following the paths made by wild cattle, for about two miles, and we determined to follow the same path, as far as it would lead us. As the underwood here is the most dense and close that can be imagined, the course of procedure is, to send forward, to clear the path, two or three of the natives with their short straight cutlasses, with which they open the paths with great facility. By thus cutting a passage through the underwood, without cutting the large trees or shrubbery, a perfect alcove is formed, and you are entirely protected from the action of the sun, which is only now and then visible through the opening of the trees. When we had advanced in our route about two miles, we came to a place where the St. Paul's was joined by a considerable stream, which we at first concluded was a river from the north; but on ascending the river to a higher point, we ascertained that it was only a branch which had separated above, and was reunited at this spot. We were exceedingly anxious to cross the river, to survey the beautiful island opposite; but as there was no other means of getting over except by a native bridge, we abandoned the idea. The native bridges are constructed of rattan, or country rope, and consist merely of cords drawn across the river, to prevent the current from sweeping the swimmer down, and are sometimes, to the unskilful, more dangerous than useful. I was astonished to find the St. Paul's here most clear and limpid. Most of the African rivers are said to be turbid and muddy; but in the St. Paul's, the bottom was visible at twenty feet, and the fish, which were numerous, could be seen for many yards from us. As we advanced further on our route, up the northern branch, which we were determined to pursue till we came to the main stream again, our path was crossed by many more recent wild cattle tracks, all leading to or from the river;

and we occasionally saw the broad foot-print of the elephant. After following the course of this branch of the river for two hours, we found that we should have to leave it, or deviate from the course by which we expected to strike the St. Paul's above, where the natives told us it made a great sweep or bend, and 'made trouble or fuss.' We therefore left the river, and kept on northward by a cattle path, which soon brought us to a prairie. This was evidently an artificial prairie; and the numerous palm and cotton trees soon convinced us that this had been, at some former period, the seat of an extensive and populous native settlement. The appearance of the solitary palm tree is most truly majestic. In a plain on which there is no shrub six feet high, a half dozen of these fine trees will elevate their smooth round trunks, without a branch, eighty or a hundred feet, and then expanding their heads, by opening their broad pea-green leaves, they form a beautiful umbrella some twenty or thirty feet in diameter. After following a straight line through this prairie, which appeared to have been the favourite resort of the wild cattle and elephants, about two or three hours' walk, we began to hear the roar of the cataract, and now became convinced that we had taken the proper course, and would soon again be in sight of the river, breaking upon our view, just as we had ascended the height of a considerable mountain, which appeared to thrust itself immediately in our path. From this height, which is nearly two hundred feet, I had a view of the St. Paul's, only intercepted here and there by the density of the foliage. I found what the natives had described as a tremendous cataract or fall, was merely rapids in the river, produced by the sudden obstruction of its course offered by the chain of hills, on the point of which I then stood. As soon as I was able (for we had all been completely broken down in the ascent) I commenced the descent of the river, down a bank so steep that nothing but a strict adherence to the underwood could save us from falling down the declivity. On arriving at the foot of the declivity, close down to the edge of the river, I found that the sweep of the river from its original course was caused by its choosing the direction of this high chain of hills. The St. Paul's here is wider, and contains more water than the Potomac. It is a much more beautiful stream too, for its banks, though fully as precipitous, are clothed with the richest verdure, and this verdure is of a more variegated character.

"We continued to travel over the rough and precipitous shores of the river for about two hours, until we arrived at a point which presented to our view the first distinct fall we had seen. At this point we came to a beautiful valley, where a small stream, rushing down the rocks, precipitated itself into a natural circular basin of rocks, which presented the appearance of an artificial basin."

We have also a communication to the Board, written immediately after his return from the exploring journey, before mentioned.

"Gentlemen: The brig *Romp*, Captain Allen, from Portland, Maine, being about to depart for the United States, affords me an opportunity of communicating with you. This will necessarily be limited, in consequence of my having had a very severe attack of the fever; but I am happy to say that I am so far convalescent as to promise myself a speedy restoration to health. This month, although called by some residents here, the sickly season, has not, to judge from the few cases of illness that come under my notice, merited that appellation. Indeed, I do not know any part of the United States where the proportion of the sick is not full as great as here; nor are the cases of a refractory nature, almost all yielding to medicine."

He then proceeds to give the Board various details of the work performed, or in progress; after which he adds:

"The agriculture of the colony appears to be advancing slowly, but surely; but until we have some staple that will hold out greater inducements to agriculturists than the cultivation of rice and cassada, but little can be expected.

"Towards effecting so desirable an object, I intend commencing a sugar plantation this winter, which will give a stimulus to others to pursue the same course, and direct a greater portion of enterprise into a channel which will eventually prove very advantageous to the colony.

"The commercial prospects of the colony are at present very promising; and the trade to this place, both from the United States and Europe, will doubtless increase very rapidly, as the inducements held out to merchants are greater, every year.

"The Sabbath and day-schools of the colony are in a tolerably flourishing state, but the want of a person to give instruction in the higher branches continues to be severely felt."

He then mentions his exploring expedition, and promises a

full account of it in a future communication. But alas, this, as far as is known, was his last letter. His ardour of enterprise carried him too far. Before he was well recovered from the fever, he undertook this fatiguing journey; in which he was exposed to the sun by day, and the damps by night, at that season which is there reckoned most unhealthy.

The mournful account of the death of Dr. Randall was conveyed to the Board by a letter from Dr. Mechlin, a young gentleman who had accompanied him to Liberia, and who became his successor. He states, "that he died on the 19th of April, 1829, of an inflammation of the brain, brought on by too early exposure to the heat of the sun, and by a too close and unremitting attention to business, before he had recovered from the effects of the fever.

"Dr. Randall was born at Annapolis, Maryland. His father was, for many years, the collector of the customs in that place. Having received his education at St. John's college, Dr. Randall engaged in the study of his profession with Dr. Ridgley, of Annapolis, and subsequently took his degree of Doctor of Medicine, at the Medical School in Philadelphia. About the year 1818, he received the appointment of surgeon's mate, in the army, and was soon advanced to the rank of first surgeon. But in 1825, he resigned his commission, and commenced the practice of medicine in the city of Washington. Of the manner in which he performed the duties of his profession, one who knew him well has given the following testimony: 'Such was his unbounded benevolence and philanthropy, that no exposure to weather, no indisposition of body, no sacrifice of private interest, could prevent his efforts to relieve the distresses and promote the happiness of his fellow beings. To the poor, and those not well able to pay, he was particularly attentive, and not unfrequently performed surgical operations of the most difficult kind, without any other reward, than that (which, indeed, he most valued) of a consciousness of having fulfilled his duty. Instances, unknown even to his friends until recently, have come to light, in which, not only his medical services were gratuitously rendered, but even medicines and other supplies furnished to the needy and afflicted, at his own expense.'

"But his abilities, as a man of science, could not remain unnoticed, and in 1827, he was elected to the professorship of chemistry, in the medical department of Columbia College.

For some time before his departure for Africa, Dr. Randall had been an able and efficient member of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society. In the various deliberations of this Board, he evinced a deep interest, and the opinions which he not unfrequently expressed, were manifestly those of a discriminating, judicious, resolute, and benevolent mind."

None who were associated with him, in the management of the society's affairs, can forget the amiableness and frankness of his disposition, the candour and liberality of his sentiments, the ardour of his feelings, the energy of his intellect, and the force of his purposes. "He was," says one well acquainted with him, "a generous, kind, and noble-minded man. Withal he had a warmth of feeling, which uncontrolled, would have been enthusiastic, in the ordinary sense of the term, but which it was his constant, and almost invariably successful effort, to order by a sound judgment. The achievements and talents of Ashmun, his predecessor, made a strong impression on him. He once thought Ashmun a weak enthusiast, and that his character was blazoned forth here by equally deluded visionaries: but his judgment was enlightened, and his opinions have been frequently expressed, in terms of the highest admiration, of the extraordinary and diversified abilities of that greatest earthly friend to the African colony."

The same friend who furnished the foregoing sketch, observed most justly, that it is no wonder, considering the fine talents, the experience, the practical views of Dr. Randall, that he should have directed his thoughts towards such an object, as the government of the colony of Liberia. "The station required a knowledge of the objects of the society here and there. He had attained this knowledge at the Board of Managers. The station required a mind naturally firm, abounding with energies, liberalized by education and moral principle, and softened with benevolence. These traits strongly marked Dr. Randall's mind. That station would be completely provided for, if to the above qualifications were added, skill and experience in medicine. He was an accomplished and experienced physician, and that nothing might be wanted to protect the 'verdant spot in the wilderness,' he had spent his early life in the army, where he had acquired military knowledge, so necessary to defend the colony against the natives." . . . "Hon-

oured among men will be the memories of BACON, ASHMUN, and RANDALL."

"When Ashmun died, the Managers felt that the colony had lost a governor, upon the wisdom and energy of whose measures, its prosperity, if not its existence, depended. Dr. Randall was deeply sensible of the shock which our institution experienced in this event." He seems to have formed the noble purpose of devoting all his energies to this arduous and dangerous enterprise, as soon as he heard of Ashmun's death. An intimate friend could perceive that his mind was labouring with the momentous subject, before he gave any expression to his feelings or intentions. "When admonished by kind friends, of the danger of the enterprise, and implored to remain in the flattering career which he had commenced, in Washington, he replied, 'that in doing his duty he disregarded his life; and that with his feelings and purposes, he could readily exchange the endearing intercourse of relations, the alluring pleasures of refined society, the promised success of professional exertion, for the humble duty of promoting the happiness of the poor negroes in Africa, *and be happy in so doing.*'"

Perhaps no man could easily be found, who combined more of the qualities and habits, necessary to an accomplished agent, in conducting such an enterprise successfully, than Dr. Randall; and it was hoped that his medical skill and experience would have enabled him to guard against the dangers of a tropical climate: and, for a season, he enjoyed perfect health. But losing all apprehension of danger, and excited by the objects which presented themselves in Africa, he too much lost sight of the dictates of prudence, and yielded too much to the ardour of his natural disposition. However, we know but little about the real causes of disease. He might have sunk as many others have done, had he made no exertion.

"We rejoice in the belief," says the eloquent writer, from whom we have borrowed the aforesaid sketch, "that there is a quickening and undying energy in virtue. The noble-minded bequeath to after ages, an invaluable and imperishable legacy,—the legacy of their example. The fires which consumed the martyrs, lighted the church on to triumph; the sufferings and sacrifices of our fathers, are, to their descendants, among the most precious motives to virtuous action; and we trust, that

the names of those who have fallen in the glorious work of Africa's redemption, will prove as 'way-marks,' guiding an immense population on the shore where they perished, to knowledge, liberty and religion."

On the 22d of June, 1829, the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, passed the following resolutions:

"Inasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, to remove by death, on the 19th of April last, from his sphere of usefulness and duty, Dr. RICHARD RANDALL, colonial agent at Liberia, be it

"Resolved, That the Board of Managers hereby express their deep sorrow for the death of their amiable and valued colleague and agent.

"Resolved, That the relations of the deceased be assured of the sympathies of the members of this Board, the more deeply felt, because of their personal knowledge of his worth.

"Resolved, That a portrait of the late Colonial Agent be obtained, and placed in the room of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society."



CHAPTER XVIII.

OPERATIONS AT HOME.

It will be necessary now to return, and bring up the history of several miscellaneous matters, which occurred in the period of which we have given a narrative in some of the preceding chapters.

The anniversary meeting of the Colonization Society at Washington, in February, 1827, was one of great interest. Among the delegates from abroad, were several persons of great abilities and high distinction, in different States of the Union. Mr. Clay, as one of the vice-presidents, in the absence of the president, Judge B. Washington, took the chair; but in a short time, resigned it to Richard Rush, Esq., another of the vice-presidents. Motions were made or seconded by General Van Rensselaer, the Honourable Mr. Weems, the Honourable Mr. Powell of Virginia, Mr. Knapp of Boston, the Honourable

Mr. Lawrence, and others. Mr. Knapp addressed the meeting in a speech of great length and ability. He acknowledged his own former prejudices against the plan, but by a full and impartial consideration of the whole subject, he had been convinced of the wisdom and benevolence of the enterprise; and entered at large into the reasons which had brought his mind to entertain the sentiments which he had expressed. Mr. Knapp also took a learned view of Africa, as it had formerly existed, when it was foremost in arts and arms, and in the cultivation of letters and religion.

Mr. Clay's speech at this meeting, was lucid, eloquent, and argumentative. He also stated, that upon hearing of the scheme, his first impressions were unfavourable. He spoke of the opposition which the society had met from two opposite quarters, from its very commencement; first, from that class whom nothing could satisfy, but immediate, unqualified emancipation of all the slaves; second, from those who believed that slavery was a good and useful institution, and were afraid, to extreme sensibility, of any thing which in the most indirect manner seemed to have a bearing on emancipation. He remarked, however, that no great enterprise was ever accomplished without opposition; and spoke highly of the resolute and even course pursued by the society, under all their embarrassments. He showed, that slaves were not at all embraced as the objects of the society, but the free people of colour; and that in regard to these, it proposed no coercion: every thing was perfectly voluntary. He noticed the predictions which had been uttered, that none would be found willing to go; but the fact was, that the society had never experienced any difficulty in obtaining emigrants: the number offered was always greater than their means of comfortable transportation. "And why," said he, "should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social degradation; aliens, political, moral, social aliens; —strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends, and their kindred; at home, though born in a foreign land!" Mr. Clay took up the objection, from the inadequacy of the scheme to accomplish what it undertook. He denied that the Colonization Society ever contemplated, by its own exertions, to transport the whole African race within the limits of the United States, without the aid of the general and state governments. But to prove that it was not a chimeri-

cal but a practicable object, Mr. Clay entered into an actual calculation of what could easily be done, if the government of the United States and of the several States, would apply their resources to this object. From a reference to facts and figures, it was made evident, that there was nothing impossible in the full accomplishment of the object. While Mr. Clay has so warmly advocated the cause of the Colonization Society, and so firmly and strenuously opposed the mad schemes of the abolitionists, he has ever openly declared his hostility to slavery. On this subject, he says, "If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach, on account of it, by foreign nations,—if I could be only instrumental in ridding of this foul blot the revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State, which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror."

He then proceeded in a strain of eloquent remark, to show, that there is a fitness in the scheme of sending these people to Africa, the land of their fathers, rather than to any other country. He depicted, in striking colours, the evils, civil and moral, which are suffered from the existence of these people among us; and expatiated on the benefits which must arise from colonizing them on the African continent. "Every emigrant to Africa," said he, "is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it, that the degree of success of missionary exertion is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose benevolence and piety prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different colour, and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust towards foreigners, which repels and rejects them in all countries; and these feelings are in proportion to the ignorance and barbarism which prevails. But the African colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen, are of the same colour, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the colony are fully understood, they will be received, as long lost brethren, restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred, by the dispensations of a wise Providence."

The Honourable C. F. Mercer, also addressed this meeting with his usual clearness and ability. The object of his speech was, to incite the society to do what they could to put an end to the slave trade; that they should address a memorial to every maritime government, in the language of the respective countries, urging them to put an end to this nefarious traffic, by pronouncing it piracy.

The matters comprehended in the Tenth Report of the Board presented to the Society in 1827, are such as have already been noticed in our history, and need not be repeated. The appendix contains a number of resolutions in favour of the colonization enterprise, by various ecclesiastical bodies, most of which will be found recorded in another part of this work. We have also in this appendix the memorial which the Board of Managers presented to Congress, soliciting their aid, which is a candid, sober, dignified document, and worthy of being preserved.

The anniversary of 1828 was not less interesting, and the Report of the Board more animating than that of the preceding year.

General Harper, of Baltimore, made the first speech on this occasion. Among other encouraging and stirring things he said: "So it must ever be, sir, with this undertaking. It is in harmony with the noblest and best feelings of the human heart; and the mind itself expands and glows in the contemplation of its great and various merits. You must alter our nature before you can make us indifferent to African colonization. Before you can arrest its course, you must stifle the press, and lay an interdict on the liberty of speech. Already, the cool and calculating statesman finds himself labouring by the side of the enthusiastic devotee; and the secluded man of science attains by argument the same conclusion to which feeling impels the multitude. It is thus we have united in our ranks men of all capacities, all places, all denominations. We have gone to the meetings of the learned and astute, and they have favoured us. We have gone to the primary assemblies of the people, and they have favoured us. The people, sir, are the source alike of revenue and law. To them we have gone. We have called on their philanthropy, their patriotism, their religion. They have offered us their hearts, and their purses. Our agents have penetrated every district of the country, to explain our

views, and to embody those who approve, to convince or persuade those that are opposed, and to convert the irregular and precarious donations, upon which we have hitherto subsisted, into a concerted system of regular and steady contribution.

Mr. Latrobe, of Baltimore, next addressed the meeting in support of a resolution, contemplating the acquisition of new territory, particularly at Cape Palmas and the island of Bula-ma; of both which places he gave a geographical description, and expatiated on the advantages which must attend the acquisition of territory so important. This speech is replete with important information respecting the whole western coast of Africa.

The third speech on this occasion was delivered by Mr. Harrison, of Lynchburg, Virginia. Mr. Harrison had already acquired no small celebrity among the friends of colonization, by a long and animated speech, delivered before the Lynchburg Colonization Society, in which, as a native Virginian, he took more liberty in speaking of the evils of slavery than would have been readily accorded to a stranger; and, indeed, that speech would not have been tolerated in that State, since the abolition spirit of the North has roused the people's feelings, and opened their eyes to see the danger which threatened them. The speech now delivered before the society was elaborate, and indicative of an energetic and benevolent mind.

The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Key, in his usual strain of clear, strong, good sense. Mr. Key has been from the commencement of the enterprise one of the most judicious and efficient members of the Board.

Mr. Custis, of Arlington, also made a speech, characterized by his lively imagination, and by the peculiar associations of his mind, which he always exhibits without disguise.

The report, as has been intimated, was full of encouragement and hope. The colonization horizon seemed evidently to grow brighter.

The brig Doris left Hampton Roads on the 25th of February, 1827, and after a passage of forty-five days, arrived at Liberia on the 11th of April. The whole number of passengers, ninety-three, enjoyed perfect health, and the only effects experienced from the climate was the loss of two children. In regard to the natives of North Carolina, in this expedition, it was remarked by Mr. Ashmun, that "all the change they seemed to have un-

dergone, was less a *disease* than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of a tropical climate." These emigrants were doubtless much indebted to Mr. William P. Matthews, supercargo and part owner of the *Doris*, for their very comfortable passage. They were immediately removed to a large building, erected for the purpose, at Caldwell, a settlement on the St. Paul's.

Shortly before the arrival of the *Doris*, Lieut. Norris, of the *Shark*, had visited the United States Agency at the colony, and by his presence and exertions contributed to aid the influence of the colonial government for the suppression of the slave trade, and to strengthen sentiments of good will towards the settlement among the neighbouring tribes. The report of this officer was, "That he found the colony to be in a very flourishing condition; the people contented and healthy, and the native tribes friendly."

By a decree of the Supreme Court of the United States, one hundred and forty-two recaptured Africans, in the State of Georgia, were placed under the humane provisions of the law of Congress, which authorizes the Executive to restore to their native land all such Africans as may have been illegally introduced into this country, and the ship *Norfolk* was employed to convey them to the Agency at Liberia. This vessel sailed from Savannah on the 10th of July, and anchored at Cape Mesurado on the 27th of August. Of this whole number, in one week after their arrival, not more than twenty remained a charge to the United States. They were taken into the service of the colonists for terms of from one to three years, and some immediately received wages for their labour.

The Board were so much encouraged by the reports from the colony, that during the autumn of this year they despatched three vessels. The first of them was the brig *Doris* again, which sailed from Baltimore on the 10th of November, having on board one hundred and five emigrants. Of this whole number, more than one half, namely, sixty-three, were liberated especially for colonization in Africa. The schooner *Randolph* was employed by the society to convey from Georgetown, South Carolina, twenty-six Africans, manumitted by a single benevolent individual, near Cheraw. This vessel sailed for the colony on the 5th of November. Subsequently, one hundred and sixty-four persons embarked in the brig *Nautilus*. These last were

principally from the lower counties of North Carolina, and had enjoyed the advice and superintendence of the Society of Friends.

The *Doris*, after a protracted voyage of sixty-one days, arrived at Liberia on the 15th of January, 1828. The only death which occurred was that of an aged female.

The schooner *Randolph*, arrived on the 17th of January, and the *Nautilus*, on the 19th of February. From the too crowded situation of the passengers in the *Nautilus*, four children died, during the passage. After their arrival, the emigrants by the *Randolph* and *Nautilus*, suffered little from the climate; but the passengers by the *Doris* were sorely afflicted, and twenty-four of their number fell victims to disease. The season, however, was one of the unhealthiest ever known. During the past year, the number of emigrants sent to Liberia, amounted nearly to five hundred: as many, certainly, as it would have been prudent to add to the colony in one year, if the resources of the society had been ever so ample. The whole number in the colony, at this time, was above twelve hundred. Large accessions were made during this year to the territory of the colony. Besides the country on Stockton creek, of which an account has already been given, perpetual and entire jurisdiction had been obtained over the Junk country, a territory south-east of Monrovia. They also obtained a region of country on the south branch of St. John's river. But the situation of these various acquisitions, will be better understood by a single glance at the map, than by any verbal description.

Information was about this time received, that within a hundred and fifty miles from the colony, resides a comparatively civilized, and populous nation, where the horse is a common domestic animal; and where the comforts of life are enjoyed in abundance. In this region, the Arabic is used as a written language, in the ordinary commerce of life.

Two vice-presidents of the society, Col. John Eager Howard, of Maryland, and the Hon. William Phillips of Boston, finished their earthly career, during the present year. The Board had also to lament the death of Dr. Peaco, late physician to the colony, who died at Savannah on his return to Africa.

The popular favour towards the society, appeared to be on the increase; and contributions to its funds were more liberal than in any former year. The spirit of emigration also in-

creased, and more persons were offered to the Board, than in any former year.

But no event of the past year seems to have had a more auspicious bearing on the Colonization Society than the appropriation, by the Legislature of Maryland, of one thousand dollars annually, for ten years, to aid in the removal of the free coloured population of that State, to the African colony.

The committee of the Board which had been directed to present a memorial to Congress, soliciting aid in carrying on their benevolent and patriotic scheme, reported, that they had executed that trust; and that the committee to whom the subject was referred, expressed the opinion, that it would not be easy to discern an object, to which the pecuniary resources of the Union could be applied, of greater importance to the national security and welfare, than to provide for the removal, in a manner consistent with the rights and interests of the several States, of the free coloured population within their limits. But the time of the session was so nearly come to an end, that there was no opportunity of any action on the report, but the prayer of the memorialists was earnestly recommended to the early attention of the House.

Among the events which could not but be considered disastrous, was the death of the Honorable Judge Washington, who had been the president of the society from its first organization. This venerable man expired in Philadelphia, while engaged in the duties of his office, on the 26th of November, 1829, in the seventy-first year of his age. Judge Washington was the nephew of General Washington, who manifested his high esteem of him, by leaving him Mount Vernon, and a larger share of his property, than to any other person. He was a man of remarkable purity of moral character, and did not conceal his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion, but made an open profession of the same in the Episcopal church, in which he was a regular communicant. His understanding was excellent, and his diligence in study, during a great part of his life, could not be surpassed. His knowledge of the law was so perfect, that when he had an important cause committed to him, as an attorney, it was usually taken for granted by the court, that every precedent had been examined and adduced, which had any bearing on the point at issue. And as a judge, his incorruptible integrity and unsus-

pected impartiality, raised him very high in the estimation, not only of the legal profession, but of the whole community. Judge Washington continued to the end of his life to feel a lively interest in the Colonization Society, although his pressing professional duties prevented him from devoting as much of his time to its interests as he wished: but he was ever a liberal contributor to its funds. At the first annual meeting of the society, he delivered an address, an extract from which will not be inappropriate, in this place.

“In the magnificent plans carrying on for the improvement and happiness of mankind, in many parts of the world, we cannot but discern the interposition of Almighty power, who alone could inspire and crown with success, these great purposes. But amongst them all, there is, perhaps, none, upon which we may more properly implore the blessing of heaven, than that in which we are now associated. Whether we consider the grandeur of the object, and the wide sphere of philanthropy which it embraces, or whether we view the present state of its progress, under the auspices of this society, and under the obstacles which might have been expected from the cupidity of many, we may discover in each a certain pledge, that the same benignant hand which has made these preparatory arrangements, will crown our efforts with success. Having, therefore, these motives of piety to consecrate and strengthen the powerful considerations which a wise policy suggests, we may, I trust, confidently rely upon the liberal exertions of the public, for the necessary means of effecting this highly interesting object.”

Entertaining such views, Judge Washington was prepared to rejoice in all the successes of the institution over which he presided, and to meet with Christian fortitude and firmness, all the obstacles inevitably to be encountered in its progress. He did much to advance its interests, and was far from considering his obligations limited to the influence of his opinions, and the weight of his name.

The resolution adopted by the Board, upon hearing of the decease of their president, was in the following words: “The Board having learned with the deepest regret, that the revered and distinguished President of the Colonization Society, the Honorable Bushrod Washington, expired at Philadelphia, on the 26th of November, and desirous of expressing their respect

for the character, and grief for the loss of this eminent man, therefore, *Resolved*, that the members of this Board will wear crape on the left arm, for the space of thirty days; and that a committee be appointed to express the cordial sympathy of this Board with the relatives of the deceased, and the affectionate remembrance which the members cherish, of his eminent intellectual and moral worth."

It has, in a former chapter, been mentioned, that the young men in the missionary school at Basle, in Switzerland, had turned their attention to West Africa, as the field of their labours. Of these Mr. Sessing was the only one who escaped the deleterious effects of the African climate; and he was obliged to leave Bassa, where he had been labouring fourteen months, to conduct Mr. Hegele back to Switzerland, who was exceedingly debilitated by disease.

These disasters, however, did not discourage the young men of the seminary, nor the Missionary Society of Basle; but they immediately sent out Mr. Sessing again, with three brethren; and, as it had been suggested to the Rev. Dr. Blumhardt, that it might answer a good end, if these missionaries would take America in their way, that they might confer with the Managers of the Colonization Society, in whose territory they were to be situated; these missionary brethren, accordingly, arrived at New York, bearing a letter from Dr. Blumhardt to Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The true spirit of the Swiss Society may be learned from the following brief extracts from the aforesaid letter:

"Permit me, my dear sir, to introduce to you and your committee, four of my dearly beloved missionary brethren, Messrs. Sessing, Dietschy, Buhrer, and Graner, with the wife of Mr. Sessing, who are going to Liberia as messengers of salvation, and who have been directed by our Missionary Society to make their passage to Africa by the way of North America, with the view, not only to explain personally to you, and your honorable committee, our sincere and warm feelings of Christian affection towards you, and the sacred work of your hands, and to be the instruments of entering into a full and active communion of Christian fellowship and interests, with your Christian Society, but to make a modest trial, with your brotherly advice, if some of our and your Christian brethren, under the blessing of God, might be united in an auxiliary society, in

behalf of their missionary exertions amongst the poor negro tribes, in the neighbourhood of your African colony.”—“Our God and Saviour has been pleased to try, by truly heavy calamities, even the first beginning of our work in Africa. Five of our dearly beloved brethren have been reduced in the first year, to one, who is still struggling with difficulties from all sides; but we all are permitted, by divine grace, to say with St. Paul, ‘we are troubled on every side, yet not distressed;’ we are perplexed, but not in despair; and we fully trust in the Lord, that by our dearly beloved brethren, though bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, yet the life of Jesus will be manifested in their body.”

“Our brethren intend to commence their work with the Bassa people, in the neighbourhood of Liberia, while Mr. Dietschy, as agent of our society, in all external affairs and wants of our mission there, shall take up his permanent abode in the missionary house, at Monrovia, which our truly lamented friend, Mr. Ashmun, was so kind as to leave by his will to our German mission in Africa.

“Mr. Sessing intends to make provision of a small vessel for continuing the connexion of the Bassa Cove mission with the colony.”

At a public meeting, held in Philadelphia, with the missionaries from Switzerland, the Rev. Mr. Sessing, one of their number, made a deeply interesting address to the assembly, which, though pronounced in a broken manner, was well received, and was replete with views and considerations adapted to promote the cause of African missions and colonization.

During the year 1829, the Synod of Virginia resolved to establish a school at Liberia, and appointed Mr. Joseph Shepherd, a coloured man, who had successfully conducted a school in Richmond, as their teacher; and he accordingly sailed in the *Harriet*.

But a still more interesting accession to the colony was Mr. J. B. Russwurm, a young man of colour, who had been liberally educated, and graduated at Bowdoin College, Maine. This person undertook to publish a paper for the coloured people in the city of New York, in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Cornish. The sentiments expressed in this paper were in opposition to the principles of the Colonization Society, and were often ex-

pressed with a violence which was offensive to many. But Mr. Russwurm was the enemy of this noble enterprise only because he did not understand its real principles. As soon as he had opportunity of a full examination of the subject, he declared himself a convert to the principles of the colonizationists. And having thus changed his views, he soon gave a practical proof of his sincerity, by offering to go out to Liberia, and was cordially received by the Board. Few men, who have gone to Africa, have exerted a more considerable influence than Mr. Russwurm,—for soon after his arrival, he set up a paper entitled, “The Liberia Herald,” which, for several years, he edited with such ability, that it attracted attention and obtained many subscribers in the United States. This gentleman, however, has been invited to act as the general agent, or rather governor of the colony of New Maryland, at Cape Palmas, where his administration up to the last accounts continued to give general satisfaction, both to the colonists, and to the managers of the society, in Baltimore.

About the middle of this year, the managers in Washington, received a visit from two native Africans, who belonged to the nation so well known every where along the coast, under the name of Kroomen. Six of these having gone aboard of a Mexican brig in quest of employment, lost their canoe, and having no means of reaching the shore, were brought to America. One of them, called Prince Will, had been long in the service of Mr. Ashmun, and stood by him, as his devoted friend, when the attack was made upon the settlement by the natives. These Kroomen expressed a strong desire, that an American settlement should be made in their country, about two hundred miles south-east of Monrovia. These Africans were exhibited with advantage, at several public meetings, in our large cities: and were then sent back to their own country, with letters recommending them to American merchants on the coast of Africa.

The communications received from Liberia, were such as to induce the opinion, that the slave trade was still carried on in different parts of the coast, with no mitigation of the horrors which had before attended it. Dr. Randall gave it as his opinion, that the trade could only effectually be destroyed by ten or twelve well-armed, light, fast sailing schooners, which

might touch at those places, from whence the slaves are taken; which should relieve one another and remain in this service the whole year.

The vacancy which had occurred in the colonial agency, by the lamented death of Dr. Randall, was supplied by the election of Dr. Mechlin, already at Liberia. The Board expressed a strong confidence in the energy, intelligence, and prudence of this young gentleman.

Dr. Mechlin had gone out with Dr. Randall, in the capacity of physician to the colony; but by being appointed colonial agent, he was necessarily called off from the performance of medical services; whereupon, the Board chose Dr. G. W. Anderson, of Hagerstown, Maryland, as physician and assistant agent of the colony of Liberia; concerning whom, the Board observe, "The character, talents, and acquirements of this gentleman, give assurance, that the duties to which he is called, will be faithfully and ably executed."

In consequence of the frequent change of colonial agents, the financial affairs of the Board began, about this time, to be embarrassed. Expenses had been increased at Monrovia, without the knowledge of the Board, and when the bills were forwarded, they were not prepared to liquidate the debts contracted. Much injury to the cause, arose from these pecuniary embarrassments, which, at one time, threatened the existence of the society and darkened the prospects of the colony.

The general sentiment, however, was manifestly more and more favourable to the objects of the society. Resolutions of civil and ecclesiastical bodies recommending the objects of the society became so numerous, that it would be tedious to enumerate them. The clergy, of all Christian denominations, entered cordially into the views of the Board, and many of them took up collections to aid its funds, on or about the fourth of July.

As early as 1825, the Board had formed a constitution, or set of fundamental regulations for the government of the colony. As Mr. Gurley and Mr. Ashmun had, agreeably to the discretion granted to them, adopted for the colony a set of laws and regulations, which went immediately into force, and which had operated successfully, the committee now appointed by the Board to attend to this matter, were directed to consider whether these laws should be continued, amended, or repealed, and

others introduced. In their report, they approved the same, and recommended that they be considered as in force, in the colony.

The substance of the constitution, or fundamental laws of the colony, adopted by the Board, is contained in the following articles:—

ARTICLE I. All persons born in the colony or removing thither, to be free and to enjoy the rights of citizens.

ART. II. The Colonization Society shall make such laws and rules as they judge best; until they withdraw their agents, and resign the government into the hands of the people.

ART. III. Society's agents to compose a Board and exercise judicial powers.

ART. IV. Agents shall appoint all officers not appointed by the Board.

ART. V. There shall be no slavery in the colony.

ART. VI. The common law to be in force, as in the United States.

ART. VII. Every settler to take an oath of allegiance at the age of twenty-one.

ART. VIII. Agents authorized to make rules for cases not provided for.

ART. IX. This constitution must be so administered, as not to interfere with the agents, and regulations of the United States.

ART. X. Provides for alterations.

Mr. Ashmun, after seeing the operation of the digest of laws formed for the colony, was able to suggest several alterations and additions, which he communicated to the Board before his death. This code the Board, after revision, adopted. The laws relate to the following particulars:

1. Power of the colonial agent.

2. Qualifications of voters.

3. Annual appointment of civil officers.

4. The officers to be chosen by the qualified voters, but the agent to have a negative. The officers to be thus chosen, are, a vice-agent, two councillors, a sheriff, a register, and a treasurer, and for every settlement containing not less than sixty families, two commissioners of agriculture, two commissioners of health, and two censors.

5. The vice-agent to consult with the agent, and in case of

his death or absence, to assume the chief superintendence of the colony.

6. The vice-agent and two councillors shall constitute a council.

7. Vice-agent must consult his council in cases of importance.

8. The high-sheriff to preside personally, or by his deputies, at elections; act as marshal; execute processes, judgments, and commands of the courts.

9. The secretary shall carefully keep the papers and records of the colony, and record the acts and proceedings of the agents and council, &c.

10. The register shall record all public documents of the government.

11. The treasurer shall receive and keep safely, all moneys and public securities, &c.

12. Commissioners shall be the organs of government, and report to them.

13. The censors shall act as conservators of public morals, and possess all the powers incident to grand jurors.

14. The judiciary to consist of the agent, and justices to be appointed by him. All officers of court appointed by the agent.

15. Relates to the militia of the colony.

As many prejudices began to be artfully excited in the minds of the free people of colour in the United States, against the colonization scheme, and against the colony itself, the people of Monrovia, at a public meeting on the 27th of August, 1827, united in an "Address" to the coloured people of the United States, in which they undertook to give them correct information respecting the condition of the colony. This address is ably drawn up, and contains a clear and candid statement of facts in relation to the condition and contentedness of the colonists. And although it is long, yet, as it contains authentic information of the then state of the colony, it will be best to insert it entire.

"As much speculation and uncertainty continues to prevail among the people of colour in the United States, respecting our situation and prospects in Africa; and many misrepresentations have been put in circulation there, of a nature slanderous to *us*, and, in their effects, injurious to *them*; we felt it our duty,

by a true statement of our circumstances, to endeavour to correct them.

“The first consideration which caused our voluntary removal to this country, and the object, which we still regard with the deepest concern, is liberty—liberty, in the sober, simple, but complete sense of the word: not a licentious liberty, nor a liberty without government, or which should place us without the restraint of salutary laws—but that liberty of speech, action, and conscience, which distinguishes the free enfranchised citizens of a free State. We did not enjoy that freedom in our native country; and, from causes which, as respects ourselves, we shall soon forget for ever, we were certain it was not there attainable for ourselves or our children. This, then, being the first object of our pursuit in coming to Africa, is probably the first object on which you will ask for information. And we must truly declare to you, that our expectations and hopes, in this respect, have been realized. Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, “all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States;” and these rights and privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and, what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own: they grow out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit; and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow-citizens, ourselves. We have all that is meant by *Liberty of Conscience*. The time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.

“Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources, of the country at our disposal; we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of

the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation. We are not so self-complacent as to rest satisfied with our improvement, either as regards our minds or our circumstances. We do not expect to remain stationary. Far from it. But we certainly feel ourselves, for the first time, in a state to improve either to any purpose. The burthen is gone from our shoulders: we now breathe and move freely; and know not (in surveying your present state) for which to pity you most—the empty name of liberty, which you endeavour to content yourselves with, in a country that is not yours, or the delusion which makes you hope for ampler privileges in that country hereafter. Tell us, which is the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can associate with one of you, on terms of equality? Ask *us*, which is the white man who would decline such association with one of our number, whose intellectual and moral qualities are not an objection? To both these questions we unhesitatingly make the same answer: There is no such white man.

“We solicit none of you to emigrate to this country: for we know not who among you prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow-men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty which you already possess, and your children will inherit after you, in America. But if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher—if your minds are not as servile as your present condition—we can decide the question at once; and with confidence say, that you will bless the day, and your children after you, when you determined to become citizens of Liberia.

“But we do not hold this language on the blessings of liberty for the purpose of consoling ourselves for the sacrifice of health, or the suffering of want, in consequence of our removal to Africa. We enjoy health after a few months’ residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest persons in this community. On these points there are, and have been, much misconception and some malicious misrepresentation in the United States.

“We have nearly all suffered from sickness, and, of the earliest emigrants, a large proportion fell in the arduous attempt to lay the foundation of the colony. But are they the only persons whose lives have been lost in the cause of human liberty, or sacrificed to the welfare of their fellow-men? Several out of every ship’s company have, within the last four years, been carried off by sickness, caused by the change of climate. And death occasionally takes a victim from our number, without any regard at all to the time of his residence in this country. But we never hoped, by leaving America, to escape the common lot of mortals—the necessity of death, to which the just appointment of Heaven consigns us. But we do expect to live as long, and pass this life with as little sickness as yourselves.

“The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in the cases of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty, from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate. The disastrous fate of the company of settlers who came out from Boston in the brig *Vine*, eighteen months ago, is an exception to the common lot of emigrants; and the causes of it ought to be explained. Those people left a cold region in the coldest part of winter, and arrived here in the hottest season of our year. Many of them were too old to have survived long in any country. They most imprudently neglected the prescriptions of our very successful physician, the Rev. Lott Cary, who has great experience and great skill in the fevers of the country, and de-

pended on medicines brought with them, which could not fail to prove injurious. And, in consequence of all those unfortunate circumstances, their sufferings were severe, and many died. But we are not apprehensive that a similar calamity will befall any future emigrants, except under similar disadvantages.

“People now arriving have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony.

“But you may say that even health and freedom, good as they are, are still dearly paid for, when they cost you the common comforts of life, and expose your wives and children to famine, and all the evils of want and poverty. We do not dispute the soundness of this conclusion either: but we utterly deny that it has any application to the people of Liberia.

“Away with all the false notions that are circulating about the barrenness of this country: they are the observations of such ignorant or designing men, as would injure both it and you. A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Its hills and its plains are covered with a verdure which never fades; the productions of nature keep on in their growth through all the seasons of the year. Even the natives of the country, almost without farming tools, without skill, and with very little labour, raise more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

“Cattle, swine, fowls, ducks, goats, and sheep, thrive without feeding, and require no other care than to keep them from straying. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the sugar cane, are all the spontaneous growth of our forests, and may be cultivated at pleasure, to any extent, by such as are disposed. The same may be said of rice, Indian corn, guinea corn, millet, and too many species of fruits and vegetables to be enumerated. Add to all this, we have no dreary winter here, for one half of the year to consume the productions of the other half. Nature is constantly renewing herself, and constantly pouring her treasures, all the year round, into the laps of the industrious. We

could say, on this subject, more; but we are afraid of exciting too highly the hopes of the imprudent. Such persons, we think, will do well to keep their rented cellars, and earn their twenty-five cents a day at the wheelbarrow, in the commercial towns of America, and stay where they are. It is only the industrious and virtuous that we can point to independence, and plenty, and happiness, in this country. Such people are nearly sure to attain, in a very few years, to a style of comfortable living, which they may in vain hope for in the United States; and however short we come of this character ourselves, it is only a due acknowledgment of the bounty of Divine Providence to say, that we generally enjoy the good things of this life to our entire satisfaction.

“Our trade is chiefly confined to the coast, to the interior parts of the continent, and to foreign vessels. It is already valuable, and fast increasing. It is carried on in the productions of the country, consisting of rice, palm oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee; and it brings us in return, the products and manufactures of the four quarters of the world. Seldom, indeed, is our harbour clear of European and American shipping; and the bustle and thronging of our streets show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States.

“Mechanics of nearly every trade are carrying on their various occupations: their wages are high, and a large number would be sure of constant and profitable employment.

“Not a child or youth in the colony but is provided with an appropriate school. We have a numerous public library, and a court-house, meeting-houses, school-houses, and fortifications, sufficient, or nearly so, for the colony in its present state.

“Our houses are constructed of the same materials, and finished in the same style as in the towns of America. We have abundance of good building stone, shells for lime, and clay of an excellent quality for bricks. Timber is plentiful, of various kinds, and fit for all the different purposes of building and fencing.

“Truly we have a goodly heritage: and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country: it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But from these evils we confide in Him, to whom

we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and he knows with what sincerity we were ever conducted, by his Providence, to this shore. Such great favours, in so short a time, and mixed with so few trials, are to be ascribed to nothing but his special blessing. This we acknowledge. We only want the gratitude which such signal favours call for. Nor are we willing to close this paper without adding a heartfelt testimonial of the deep obligations we owe to our American patrons and best earthly benefactors, whose wisdom pointed us to this home of our nation, and whose active and persevering benevolence enabled us to reach it. Judge, then, of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced; and that, too, by men too ignorant to know what that society has accomplished—too weak to look through its plans and intentions—or too dishonest to acknowledge either. But without pretending to any prophetic sagacity, we can certainly predict to that society the ultimate triumph of their hopes and labours, and disappointment and defeat to all who oppose them. Men may theorize, and speculate about their plans in America, but there can be no speculation here. The cheerful abodes of civilization and happiness which are scattered over this verdant mountain—the flourishing settlements which are spreading around it—the sound of Christian instruction, and scenes of Christian worship, which are heard and seen in this land of brooding pagan darkness—a thousand contented freemen united in founding a new Christian empire, happy themselves, and the instruments of happiness to others—every object, every individual, is an argument, is demonstration, of the wisdom and goodness of the plan of colonization.

“Where is the argument that shall refute facts like these? And where is the man hardy enough to deny them?”

The following States, by their Legislatures, have expressed in terms more or less favourable, their approbation of the plans of the American Colonization Society: Virginia, Georgia, Maryland, Tennessee, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, Kentucky, Delaware, Vermont, Indiana, and most of these have recommended the Colonization Society to the patronage of the general Government of the United States.

At the close of the year 1829, the exports of the colony were estimated at seventy thousand dollars.

At the anniversary next after the decease of Judge Washington, Charles Carroll, Esq., of Carrollton, was chosen President of the American Colonization Society.

During this year (1829) State Societies, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, were formed, both in New York and Pennsylvania. At the meeting which resolved to form a society for the State of New York, Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union College, made an interesting speech, which is published at large in the *African Repository* for November, 1829. In this speech Dr. Nott waived all discussion respecting the views and motives of those who first conceived the plan, but undertook to discuss the two questions, "Is the plan practicable? Is it expedient?"

In the city of Philadelphia, also, a Society for the State of Pennsylvania was formed, under very favourable auspices. This society came forward very opportunely with an offer of funds to the American Colonization Society, to aid in sending out a large number of emigrants, who were waiting to go, but whom the Board had not the means of sending.

The Lynchburg Auxiliary Colonization Society has, from its commencement, manifested uncommon zeal in the cause. We have adverted already to the able and decided speech of Mr. Harrison, before that society. Now is the proper time to mention a lucid and eloquent speech of William C. Rives, Esq., before this society. Mr. Rives gives a succinct but perspicuous history of the society from its origin, and exhibits the present condition, government, and prospects of the society. After this comprehensive survey, Mr. Rives draws the conclusion, "that it is no longer problematical, whether a colony of free persons of colour can be established on the continent of Africa." He next takes up and considers various objections which had been made to this enterprise, and returns a solid answer to each of them, and undertakes to demonstrate, by a fair calculation, that there is nothing in the scheme of transporting the whole coloured population, which is beyond the means and resources of the United States. In his conclusion, he says: "Nor let it be supposed that the people of the United States will derive from the successful prosecution of this enterprise no other benefit than grows out of the removal of this unprofitable and baneful class

of population. Vice corrupts by example, but it poisons those only in contact with it. Virtue also finds a powerful auxiliary in the same weapon, and happily its influence is less restricted. The name and fame of good deeds circulate widely, and the moral beauty of this magnificent design shall exalt our national character above deeds of prowess in war, or skill in science and art. At home, its beneficent influence shall pervade all classes of society, administering pleasure to age, stimulus to manhood, and instruction to youth; constituting at the same time the evidence of a grateful recollection of past dispensations of Providence, and an appeal for the continuance of his goodness, guardianship and protection."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE COLONY UNDER DR. MECHLIN, 1830.

THE Board at Washington had the pleasure of receiving the following letter from Mr. Hodgson, a gentleman of rare attainments in oriental literature, who has for some years resided in the north of Africa.

"ALGIERS, JUNE 1, 1829.

"The late travels of Captain Clapperton in the interior of Africa, have made invaluable contributions to science. The geography, the political and natural history of Nigritia, were heretofore as obscure as are the fountain and issue of its mysterious Nile. So ignorant were the ancients of this remote country, that in the Augustan age of Rome, the fifth zone of the globe, comprehending the equatorial regions, was deemed *inhabibilis æstu*—uninhabitable from heat. It was reserved for the British traveller to visit and describe the populous kingdoms of Soudan.

"Associated with Major Denham in his first expedition from Tripoli, Capt. Clapperton traversed Fezzan and the desert of Tibbou, and reached Bournou, a great negro empire, the extent and power of which was represented to our own Ledyard,

whilst at Cairo. Between Bournou and the river Niger or Quorra, to the east, lie the populous states of Haoussa, Gouber and Sackatoo. The town of Sackatoo, which was the limit of Capt. Clapperton's first expedition; is the capital of the Fellatahs and the residence of the sultan, the renowned and learned Bello.

"In the latter part of 1825, Capt. Clapperton proceeded to the Gulf of Benin, with the object of penetrating to Sackatoo and Bournou, in a direction opposite to that of his former expedition. He landed at Badagri, west of Dahomey, and his journey thence to Sackatoo, was marked by extreme hospitality from the negro nations through which he passed. His happy arrival at the capital of Sultan Bello, completed an accurate survey of this continent, from Tripoli to Benin. The untimely death of Capt. Clapperton at Sackatoo, leaves us deeply to regret that he had not survived to perform other voyages of discovery in that Cimmerian land, which has equally attracted the curiosity of science and the benevolence of philanthropy. The great objects of both will be much facilitated by the enterprise of this distinguished pioneer.

"Of all the nations of central Africa, described by Capt. Clapperton, the Fellatahs are esteemed the most remarkable. The publication of his first journey to Soudan, represented this people as inhabiting the country of the negroes, but differing from them essentially in physical character. They have straight hair, noses moderately elevated, the parietal bones not so compressed as those of the negro, nor is their forehead so much arched. The colour of their skin is a light bronze, like that of the Wadreagans, or Melano Gætulians, and by this characteristic alone, can they be classed in the Ethiopian variety of the human species.

"The Fellatahs are a warlike race of shepherds, and have within a short period subjugated an extensive portion of Soudan. The lamented Major Laing, who arrived at Tombuctoo, assures us that they were then in possession of that far-famed city. It was an order from the Fellatah Governor which compelled him to leave Tombuctoo, and to his instigation or connivance is his death, probably, to be attributed. Mungo Park was killed by a party of these people, while descending the Quorra. They may be supposed to occupy the banks of this unknown river, from its rise to its termination.

“During the late visit of Capt. Clapperton to Sackatoo, his inquiries were particularly addressed to the history, the social and political condition of the Fellatahs. The publication of his narrative will be received with unusual interest, for this nation presents itself as a curious and important subject of philosophic speculation. The Fellatahs will probably erect one vast empire in Soudan, and the influence this power may exercise in the great question of African civilization, gives to them no ordinary importance. If Sultan Bello should be induced to abolish slavery, the most efficient means will have been discovered for its entire suppression. The example of so great an empire, or the menace of its chief, would effectually check the inhuman cupidity or barbarism of the lesser tribes of the coast. Such an event would cause a great revolution in the commerce of these countries, and the arts of civilized life would speedily be adopted. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, would lose their lucrative trade in slaves, which being no longer objects of barter, commerce would seek the more convenient markets of the Atlantic coast, in preference to encountering the horrors and perils of the desert. This view of the subject has not escaped the Moorish statesmen, who, it is known, have been using their influence with the negro governments, to obstruct the free access of Christians among them. The colony of Liberia is destined to have an agency in such a revolution of commerce, and will participate in the great advantages thence to result.

“The history and character of the Fellatahs acquire importance; and in anticipation of the more extensive information to be derived from Capt. Clapperton’s travels, some remarks are submitted upon this nation.

“The Fellatahs are so denominated by the negroes; but the name by which they call themselves is *Fellan*, which might be more correctly written *Foulan*, according to the sound of the syllables. The origin of the term Fellatahs is not known, but as they are *anthropoklepths*, like the Tuarycks, and steal negroes, to make slaves of them, it is probably an appellation of reproach, like that of Sergoo, given to these latter. They are known on the Senegal and Gambia, as Foolahs and Poulis. Mungo Park describes them under the first denomination, and M. Mollien under the second. The Fellatahs extend from the Atlantic to the confines of Darfour, and speak every where the same language.

"A vocabulary is here subjoined, with grammatical inflections of words:

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Water	Deam	
Fire	Gheahingol	
Sun	Nandjee	
Moon	Lauro	
Man	Gorkoo	Gorbai
Woman	Debbo	Eroubai
Head	Horee	Koiee
Eye	Yeteree	Gitee
Hand	Djungo	Djundai
Dog	Rawano	Dawaree
Cow	Naga	Nai
House	Sodo	Ouro
Horse	Putcho	Putchee
Cat	Musoro	Musodee
Bird	Sondo	Chiullee
Day	Handee	Nyandee
Night	Djemma	Baldee
Year	Dungoo	Doobee

"Adjectives suffer no change of gender.

"The pronouns personal are —

Mee	I	Meenorn	We
An	Thou	Anoon	Ye
Kankoo	He	Kambai	They

"Possessive pronouns are thus —

Horee-am	My Head
Djungo-an	Thy Hand
Sodo-mako	His House

"This vocabulary shows that the Fellatahs are not of Arabic origin, as suggested by the *Revue Britannique*, January number, 1829, nor of Berber, as M. Mollien seems inclined to think. This nation issued probably from the elevated plateau, about the source of the Niger, where a temperate climate may be supposed to reign. As the Fellatahs are found in the vicinity of Abyssinia, they would be identified with the Falasha, of that country, if their language should be ascertained to be the same. Bruce says that the Falashas are Jews, and speak the ancient Æthiopian. About this language, little is known.

"Negro languages possess a peculiar character. An investigation of the idioms of Tibbou, Bournou, Haoussa and Tombuctoo, discovers that they have no distinctions of gender and number. Perhaps verbs are not inflected. If the complex languages of the Tuarycks on the north, and the Fellatahs to

the south, which nations occupy co-extensive parallels of latitude, be compared with the simple, rude dialect of Soudan, it might be inferred that the great Author of the universe has made as broad a difference in the speech as in the skins of men. If a full investigation establish the fact that languages may be divided into white and black, then philosophy will demand illustrations of the moral history of man.

“The exploration of Africa has been an object of constant solicitude to the British Government. To accomplish this, several expeditions have been sent, at great expense, and its enterprising travellers have penetrated across this continent, hitherto the *terra incognita* of geography. The interesting question of the rise and termination of the Quorra (Niger) has not yet, however, been completely solved. The Quarterly Review of the last year, infers from the observations made by Capt. Clapperton, that it runs into lake Tchad, in the kingdom of Bournou. Whether it takes a southerly direction, and empties into the gulf of Benin, or flowing easterly, it falls into lake Tchad, is a question yet *sub judice*, and we may enter the field of discovery with peculiar advantage.*

“Our colony of Liberia is planted at a point of the African coast, which offers great facilities for voyages into the interior. The river Mesurada† takes its rise in the mountains of Kong, and in a district which, from mild temperature of climate, fertility of soil, and beautiful aspect of nature, is called by the natives, *Alam*—the country of God. It is probable that the Quorra has its source in the same elevated region, and that it interlocks with the Mesurada. If the Fellatahs have a western origin, they must be indigenous to these mountains; and it may be imagined that they have descended to the southern plains, as they now occupy the north. That negro tribe discovered by Mr. Ashmun, in the country adjacent to Liberia, which had advanced in arts and was familiar with the Arabic language, may be Fellatahs.

“The solution of these questions would be interesting in science, and is important to Liberia, which is destined to become a great empire, and may now be esteemed the nucleus of African civilization. At no other point could it so favourably

* The discovery of the mouths of the Niger occurred since this was written.

† This is an error. The Mesurada, or Montserado, is a small river, the St. Paul's being much larger.

commence. In the countries north of the Sahara, where the climate permits the white man to exist, the savage fanaticism of the Mahomedan religion would not tolerate a Christian settlement. Among the negroes of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande, that religion has taken so deep root that a Christian colony of negroes would be extirpated in obedience to the sanguinary precepts of the Koran. Liberia is on the confines of Islam, where the *fetiche* of the simple African does not require the blood of man, in the name of God. To the west of the colony, along the coast, are the fierce people of Ashantee and Dahomey, and a settlement further south, would have been too distant from the centre of Africa and from the coast of America. The selection, therefore, of the windward coast for the establishment of an American colony, was by providential direction.

“The nations of the interior have already heard with astonishment and delight, that black men from America are settling on the coast, and that they possess the arts of the white man. To cultivate good intelligence with these nations, to make known the objects of the colony, its pacific and commercial character, will be deemed a wise policy. This purpose would be best effected by a mission from among the colonists. A small expedition from Monrovia, ascending the Mesurado to its head waters, and proceeding from the source of the Niger, along its course, would accomplish these objects, and at the same time make useful discoveries. Perhaps the solution of the *quæstio vexata* of geography, the rise and termination of the Niger, is reserved for the Liberian. Such an expedition is conveniently within the means of individual enterprise; it would promote the general interests of science, procure commercial advantages, and in the prospective of philanthropy, might have a happy and active influence in the suppression of the slave trade.

“In this view, a small part of the national appropriation, might not be deemed misapplied for that object. Should it be reserved for individual undertaking, I now offer a contribution of one hundred dollars, which are placed at the disposition of Peter S. Duponceau, Esq. A scientific expedition for African discoveries, is an object worthy of the American Philosophical Society, and under the direction of which, that now suggested, should be performed.

WILLIAM B. HODGSON.”

Information has been received that Mr. Hodgson, the writer of the above interesting letter, has been elected a corresponding member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London; also, that this gentleman has translated the four Gospels and the book of Genesis, into the language of the Berbers in Africa.

The Colonization Society of Kentucky addressed a strong memorial to both houses of Congress, in favour of granting national aid in promoting a scheme in which the national welfare and character are so deeply involved.

The anniversary of the American Colonization Society was held in the city of Washington, on the 18th of January, 1830. The meeting, as usual, was deeply interesting, and a number of able and animated speeches were delivered. Among the speakers on this occasion we find Philip J. King, Esq., G. W. P. Custis, Esq., J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq., Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen.

At this meeting the following resolution was passed, in honour of the memory of their late President:

“Resolved, That the society entertain a deep sense of the loss which it has sustained by the decease of its venerable President, the Honourable Bushrod Washington, and that it will cherish an affectionate remembrance of his moral and intellectual worth.”

The above was moved by Walter Jones, Esq., and was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Key then offered a resolution in honour of the memory of Dr. Richard Randall, their late colonial agent. Mr. Key portrayed his character and zeal in glowing colours, and then presented the following, viz:

“Resolved, That this society will cherish a sincere and affectionate remembrance of Dr. Richard Randall, late colonial agent of Liberia, and that the Board of Managers be authorized to cause a monument to be erected in the colony, in commemoration of his talents and his worth.”

On the 16th of January, this year, (1830,) the brig *Liberia*, which had been chartered for the purpose, by the liberality of the friends of the cause in Philadelphia, sailed from Norfolk, with fifty-eight coloured passengers. The number was not as considerable as was expected; and only a few days after her departure, thirty slaves, liberated by Joel Early, arrived at

Norfolk; and of the fifty-eight who sailed in the *Liberia*, forty-nine were emancipated slaves.

Two Swiss missionaries, Messrs. Rudolph Dietschy and H. Granur, together with Dr. Anderson, appointed to succeed Dr. Meehlin, as colonial physician, went out in the *Liberia*.

At the close of the year 1830, twelve State Legislatures had expressed their approbation of the American Colonization Society.

At the very close of the year 1829, Henry Clay delivered a discourse before the Colonization Society of Kentucky, which, though long, deserves a place in this history.

*"Gentlemen of the Colonization Society of Kentucky:—*I most sincerely wish that the task of addressing you on this occasion, had been assigned by the Board of Managers to some individual more competent than I am, to explain and illustrate and enforce the claims of the society to the friendly and favourable consideration of the public. I yield to none in a thorough persuasion of the utility of the scheme of the society, in a profound conviction of its practicability, and in an ardent desire for its complete success. But I am sensible that there are many others who could more happily than I can, throw around the subject those embellishments which are best calculated to secure attention, and engage the cordial and energetic cooperation of the community. When the application was first made to me to deliver this address, I hesitated to comply with it, because I apprehended that my motives would be misconceived, and my language be misrepresented. Subsequent reflection determined me to adhere to the maxim of my whole life, to endeavour to render all the good in my power, without being restrained by the misconceptions to which I might expose myself. In entering upon the duty which has devolved upon me, I ask only the exercise of ordinary liberality, in judging the imperfections which will doubtless mark its performance.

"In surveying the United States of North America, and their Territories, the beholder perceives, among their inhabitants, three separate and distinct races of men, originally appertaining to three different continents of the globe, each race varying from the others in colour, physical properties, and moral and intellectual endowments. The European is the most numerous; and, as well from that fact, as from its far greater advance in

civilization and in the arts, has the decided ascendancy over the other two, giving the law to them, controlling their condition, and responsible for their fate, to the Great Father of all, and to the enlightened world. The next most numerous and most intelligent race, is that which sprung from Africa; the largest portion of which is held in bondage by their brethren, descendants of the European. The aborigines, or Indian race, are the least numerous, and, with the exception of some tribes, have but partially emerged from the state of barbarism in which they were found, on the first discovery of America. Whence, or how they came hither, are speculations for the research of the curious, on which authentic history affords no certain light.

“Their future fortunes or condition, form no part of the subject of this address. I shall, I hope, nevertheless, be excused for the digression of dedicating a few passing observations, to the interesting remnant of these primitive possessors of the New World. I have never been able to agree in the expediency of employing any extraordinary exertions, to blend the white and copper-coloured races together, by the ceremony of marriage. There would be a motive for it, if the Indians were equal or superior to their white brethren, in physical or intellectual powers. But the fact is believed to be otherwise. The mixture improves the Indian, but deteriorates the European element. Invariably, it is remarked, that those of the mixed blood, among the Indians, are their superiors in war, in council, and in the progress of the useful arts, whilst they remain in the rear of the pure white race, still farther than they are in advance of the pure Indian. In those instances (chiefly among the French) during the progress of the settlement of this continent, in which the settlers have had most intercourse with the Indians, they have rather sunk to the level of their state, than contributed essentially to their civilization.

“But if there be no adequate recommendation to the white race of an union, by intermarriage, with the Indian, we are enjoined, by every duty of religion, humanity, and magnanimity, to treat them with kindness and justice, and to recall them, if we can, from their savage to a better condition. The United States stand charged with the fate of these poor children of the woods, in the face of their common Maker, and in the presence of the world. And, as certain as the guardian is answerable for the education of his infant ward, and the management of

his estate, will they be responsible here and hereafter, for the manner in which they shall perform the duties of the high trust which is committed to their hands, by the force of circumstances. Hitherto, since the United States became an independent power among the nations of the earth, they have generally treated the Indians with justice, and performed towards them all the offices of humanity. Their policy, in this respect, was vindicated during the negotiations at Ghent, and the principles which guided them in their relations with the Indians, were then promulgated to all Christendom. On that occasion, their representatives, holding up their conduct in advantageous contrast with that of Great Britain and the other powers of Europe, said: 'From the rigour of this system, however, as practised by Great Britain and all the European powers in America, the humane and liberal policy of the United States has voluntarily relaxed. A celebrated writer on the laws of nations, to whose authority British jurists have taken particular satisfaction in appealing, after stating, in the most explicit manner, the legitimacy of colonial settlements in America, to the exclusion of all rights of uncivilized Indian tribes, has taken occasion to praise the first settlers of New England, and the founder of Pennsylvania, in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate, notwithstanding their being provided with a charter from their sovereign. It is this example which the United States, since they became by their independence, the sovereigns of the territory, have adopted and organized into a *political system*. Under that system, the Indians residing within the United States, are *so far independent*, that they live under *their own customs, and not under the laws of the United States*; that their rights upon the lands where they inhabit or hunt, are *secured* to them by boundaries defined in *amicable treaties* between the United States and themselves; and that whenever those boundaries are varied, it is also by *amicable and voluntary treaties*, by which they receive from the United States ample compensation for every right they have to the land ceded by them. They are so far dependent, as not to have the right to dispose of their lands, to any private person, nor to any power other than the United States, and to be under *their protection alone*, and not under that of any *other* power. Whether called subjects, or by whatever name designated, *such* is the relation between them and

the United States. That relation is neither asserted now for the first time, nor did it originate with the treaty of Greenville. These principles have been *uniformly recognized* by the Indians themselves, not only by that treaty, but in *all the other previous as well as subsequent treaties* between them and the United States.' Such was the solemn annunciation to the whole world, of the principles and of the system regulating our relations with the Indians, as admitted by us and recognized by them. There can be no violation of either, to the disadvantage of the weaker party, which will not subject us as a nation, to the just reproaches of all good men, and which may not bring down upon us the maledictions of a more exalted and powerful tribunal.

"Whether the Indian portion of the inhabitants of the United States will survive or become extinct, in the progress of population which the European race is rapidly making from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific ocean, *provided they are treated with justice and humanity*, is a problem of less importance. The two races are not promiscuously mingled together, but are generally separate and distinct communities. There is no danger to the whites or to their purity, from the power or from the vices of the Indians. The case is widely different with those who form the immediate object of this address.

"The African part of our population, or their ancestors, were brought hither forcibly and by violence, in the prosecution of the most abominable traffic, that ever disgraced the annals of the human race. They were chiefly procured, in their native country, as captives in war, taken, and subsequently sold by the conqueror, as slaves to the slave trader. Sometimes the most atrocious practices of kidnapping were employed, to obtain possession of the victims. Wars were frequent between numerous and barbarous neighbouring tribes, scattered along the coasts, or stretched upon the margin of large rivers of Africa. These wars were often enkindled and prosecuted for no other object, than to obtain a supply of subjects for this most shocking commerce. In these modes, husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children, brethren from each other, and every tie, cherished and respected among men, was violated. Upon the arrival at the African coast, of the unfortunate beings thus reduced to slavery, they were embarked on board of ships carefully constructed and arranged to contain the greatest

amount of human beings. Here they were ironed and fastened in parallel rows, and crowded together so closely, in loathsome holds, as not to have room for action or for breathing wholesome air. The great aim was, to transport the largest possible number, at the least possible charge, from their native land to the markets for which they were destined. The greediness of cupidity was frequently disappointed and punished in its purposes, by the loss of moieties of whole cargoes of the subjects of this infamous commerce, from want and suffering and disease, on the voyage. How much happier were they who thus expired, than their miserable survivors!

“These African slaves were brought to the continent of America, and the islands adjacent to it, and formed the parent stock of the race now amongst us. They were brought to the colonies, now constituting the United States, under the sanction and by the authority of British laws, which, at an early period of our colonial existence, admitted and tolerated the trade. It is due to our colonial ancestors to say, that they frequently and earnestly, but unsuccessfully, remonstrated to the British Crown against the continuance of the practice. The introduction of slavery into this country is not, therefore, chargeable to them, but to a government in which they had no voice, and over which they had no control. It is equally due to our parent State to advert to the honourable fact, that, in the midst of the Revolutionary war, when contending for her own independence and liberty, she evinced the sincerity of the spirit in which those remonstrances had been addressed to the British throne, by denouncing under the severest penalties, the further prosecution of the slave trade, within her jurisdiction. And I add, with great satisfaction, that the Congress of the United States passed an act abolishing the trade, as early as by their constitution it was authorized to do. On the second day of March, 1807, the act was passed, for which it was my happy lot to vote, the first section of which enacts, ‘That from and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign kingdom, place, or country, any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such negro, mulatto, or person of colour, as a slave, or to be held to service or labour.’ Thus terminated, we may hope for ever, in the United States, a disgraceful traffic, which drew after it a train of enormities

surpassing in magnitude, darkness, and duration, any that ever sprang from any trade pushed by the enterprise or cupidity of man.

“The United States, as a nation, are not responsible for the original introduction, or the subsequent continuance of the slave trade. Whenever, as has often happened, their character has been assailed in foreign countries, and by foreign writers, on account of the institution of slavery among us, the justness of that vindication has been admitted by the candid, which transfers to a foreign government the origin of the evil. Nor are the United States, as a sovereign power, responsible for the continuance of slavery within their limits, posterior to the establishment of their Independence; because by neither the articles of confederation, nor by the present constitution, had they power to put an end to it by the adoption of any system of emancipation. But from that epoch, the responsibility of the several States in which slavery was tolerated commenced, and on them devolved the momentous duty of considering whether the evil of African slavery is incurable, or admits of a safe and practical remedy. In performing it, they ought to reflect, that if when a given remedy is presented to their acceptance, instead of a due examination and deliberate consideration of it, they promptly reject it, and manifest an impatience whenever a suggestion is made of any plan to remove the evil, they will expose themselves to the reproach of yielding to the illusions of self-interest, and of insincerity in the professions which they so often make of a desire to get rid of slavery. It is a great misfortune, growing out of the actual condition of the several States, some being exempt, and others liable to this evil, that they are too prone to misinterpret the views and wishes of each other in respect to it. The North and the South and the West, when they understand each other well, must be each convinced, that no other desire is entertained towards the others by any one of them, than for their welfare and prosperity. If the question were submitted, whether there should be either immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them. For I believe, that the aggregate of the evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of such general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining promiscuously

among us, would be greater than all the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.

“The several States of the Union were sensible of the responsibility which accrued to them, on the establishment of the Independence of the United States, in regard to the subject of slavery. And many of them, beginning at a period prior to the termination of the Revolutionary war, by successive but distinct acts of legislation, have effectively provided for the abolition of slavery, within their respective jurisdictions. More than thirty years ago, an attempt was made in this Commonwealth to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, similar to that which the illustrious Franklin had mainly contributed to introduce, in the year 1779, in the State founded by the benevolent Penn. And, among the acts of my life which I look back to with most satisfaction, is that of my having cooperated with other zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the establishment of that system in this State. We believed that the sum of good which would have been attained by the state of Kentucky, in a gradual emancipation of her slaves, at that period, would have far transcended the aggregate of mischief which might have resulted to herself and the Union together, from the gradual liberation of them, and their dispersion and residence in the United States. We were overpowered by numbers, but submitted to the decision of the majority with the grace which the minority, in a republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have, nevertheless, never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been to place us in the rear of our neighbours, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society.

“Other States, in which slavery exists, have not been unmindful of its evils, nor indifferent to an adequate remedy for their removal. But, most of them have hitherto reluctantly acquiesced in the continuance of these evils, because they thought they saw no practical scheme for their removal, which was free from insuperable objection and difficulty. Is there then, really, no *such* remedy? Must we endure, perpetually, all the undoubted mischiefs of the state of slavery, as it affects both the free and bond portions of the population of these States? Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten, the former being in the propor-

tion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably duplicate in periods of thirty-three years. In the year 1863 the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions; in 1896, forty and eight; and in the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach, what nerves sufficiently strong, to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences? If the two descriptions of population were equally spread and intermingled over the whole surface of the United States, their diffusion might diminish the danger of their action and corrupting influence upon each other. But this is not the state of the fact. The slaves of the United States are chiefly restricted to one quarter of the Union, which may be described with sufficient general accuracy, by a boundary, beginning with the mouth of the Potomac river, extending to its head, thence to the Ohio river, and down it and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and with that and the Atlantic ocean, and the Bay of Chesapeake, to the beginning. Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, a part of Louisiana and Arkansas, compose the whole of the residue of the slave district of the United States. Within those limits all our slaves are concentrated; and, within a portion of them, irresistible causes tend inevitably to their further concentration. In one of the States, comprised within these limits, the slave stock had, at the last census, the superiority in numbers, whilst in several others, the enumeration exhibits the two races in nearly equal proportions.

“Time alone, which unveils every thing permitted men to see, can disclose the consequences, now wrapt in futurity, of the state of things which I have slightly touched. But, without violating his prerogative, we may venture to catch, in anticipation, a glimpse of some of them.

“The humanity of the slave States of the Union has prompted them greatly to meliorate the condition of slaves. They are protected, in all instances, by just laws, from injury extending to their lives, and in many, from cruelty applied to their persons. Public opinion has done even more than the laws in elevating their condition in the scale of human existence. In this State, as well as in others, they are treated with much kindness, and abundantly supplied with substantial food of meat and bread and vegetables, and comfortable clothing, whilst they are mode-

rately tasked in labour. But still they are subject to many civil disabilities, and there is a vast space between them and the race of freemen. Our laws continue to regard them as property, and, consequently, as instruments of labour, bound to obey the mandate of others. As a mere labourer, the slave feels that he toils for his master, and not for himself; that the laws do not recognize his capacity to acquire and hold property, which depends altogether upon the pleasure of his proprietor; and that all the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others. He knows that, whether sick or well, in times of scarcity or abundance, his master is bound to provide for him, by the all-powerful influence of the motive of self-interest. He is generally, therefore, indifferent to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master, being contented if he can escape his displeasure or chastisement, by a careless and slovenly performance of his duties.

“This is the state of the relation of master and slave, prescribed by the law of its nature, and founded in the reason of things. There are undoubtedly many exceptions, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with a zealous and generous devotion, and the master to the slave with a parental and affectionate attachment. But it is not my purpose to speak of those particular though endearing instances of mutual regard, but of the general state of the unfortunate relation.

“That labour is best, if it can be commanded, in which the labourer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry; that his employment depends upon his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. He has then every motive to excite him to exertion, and to animate him in perseverance. He knows that if he is treated badly he can exchange his employer for one who will better estimate his service; that he does not entirely depend upon another's beck and nod; and that whatever he earns is *his*, to be distributed by himself, as he pleases, among his wife and children and friends, or enjoyed by himself. He feels, in a word, that he is a free agent, with rights and privileges and sensibilities.

“Wherever the option exists to employ, at an equal hire, free or slave labour, the former will be decidedly preferred, for the reasons already assigned. It is more capable, more diligent, more faithful; and, in every respect, worthy of more confidence. In the first settlement of some countries, or communities, capital may be unable to command the free labour which

it wants, and it may, therefore, purchase that of slaves. Such was, and yet is, the condition of many parts of the United States. But there are others, and they are annually increasing in extent, in which the labour of freemen can be commanded at a rate quite as cheap as that of slaves, in States which tolerate slavery.

“Although in particular States, or parts of States, the increase of the African portion of population would seem to be greater than that of the European stock, this fact is believed to be susceptible of an explanation, from the operation of causes of emigration, which would not assign to it greater prolific powers. On the contrary, all the enumerations of the people of the United States sustain clearly the position, that, contrasting the whole European race throughout the Union with the whole of the African race, bond and free, also throughout the Union, the former multiplies faster than the latter. As time elapses our numbers will augment, our deserts become peopled, and our country will become as densely populated as its agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial faculties will admit. In proportion to the density of population are the supply and the wages of labour. The demand for labour also increases with the augmentation of numbers, though probably not in the same proportion. Assuming our present population at twelve millions, when it shall be increased, as in about thirty years it will be, to twenty-four millions, we shall have double the amount of available labour that we can command at present. And there will consequently be a great, though probably not proportionate, reduction in the wages of labour. As the supply of labourers increases, a competition will arise between, not only individuals, but classes, for employment. The superior qualities which have been attributed to free labour will ensure for that the preference, wherever the alternative is presented of engaging free or slave labour, at an equal price. This competition, and the preference for white labour, are believed to be already discernible in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and probably existed in Pennsylvania and other States north of Maryland, prior to the disappearance of slaves from among them. The march of the ascendancy of free labour over slave, will proceed from the North to the South, gradually entering first the States nearest to the free region.

Its progress would be more rapid, if it were not impeded by the check resulting from the repugnance of the white man to work among slaves, or where slavery is tolerated.

“In proportion to the multiplication of the descendants of the European stock, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave labour, by the general diminution of wages, will there be an abatement in the force of motives to rear slaves. The master will not find an adequate indemnity in the price of the adult for the charges of maintaining and bringing up the offspring. His care and attention will relax; and he will be indifferent about incurring expenses when they are sick, and in providing for their general comfort, when he knows that he will not be ultimately compensated. There may not be numerous instances of positive violation of the duties of humanity, but every one knows the difference between a negligence, which is not criminal, and a watchful vigilance stimulated by interest, which allows no want to be unsupplied. The effect of this relaxed attention to the offspring will be, to reduce the rates of general increase of the slave portion of our population, whilst that of the other race, not subject to the same neglect, will increase and fill up the void. A still greater effect, from the diminution of the value of labour, will be that of voluntary emancipations; the master being now anxious to relieve himself from a burthen, without profit, by renouncing his right of property. One or two facts will illustrate some of these principles. Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about one hundred dollars, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of that province was unfavourable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade, the price of adults rose very considerably, greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now, no where is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the Southern States is supposed to be more favourable to rearing the offspring. The serfs of Russia possess a market value inferior to that of the African slaves of the United States; and, although the lord is not believed to be bound to provide for the support of his dependent, as the American master is for his

slave, voluntary manumissions of the serf are very frequent, influenced in some degree, no doubt, by his inconsiderable value.

“What has tended to sustain the price of slaves in the United States has been that very fact of the acquisition of Louisiana, but especially the increasing demand for cotton, and the consequent increase of its cultivation. The price of cotton, a much more extensive object of culture than sugar cane, regulates the price of slaves as unerringly as any one subject whatever is regulated by any standard. As it rises in price, they rise; as it falls, they fall. But the multiplication of slaves, by natural causes, must soon be much greater than the increase of the demand for them; to say nothing of the progressive decline which has taken place in that great Southern staple, within a few years, and which there is no reason to believe will be permanently arrested. Whenever the demand for the cultivation of sugar and cotton comes to be fully supplied, the price of slaves will begin to decline; and as that demand cannot possibly keep pace with the supply, the price will decline more and more. Farming agriculture cannot sustain it; for it is believed that no where in the farming portion of the United States would slave labour be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

“Partial causes may retard the decline in the value of slaves. The tendency of slaves is, to crowd into those countries or districts, if not obstructed by the policy of States, where their labour is most profitably employed. This is the law of their nature, as it is the general law of all capital and labour. The slave trade has not yet been effectively stopt in the island of Cuba. Whenever it is, as slaves can be there more profitably employed, on more valuable products than in the United States, and as the supply there is much below the demand which will arise out of the susceptibilities of the island for agricultural produce, they will rise in price much higher there than in the United States. If the laws do not forbid it, vast numbers will be exported to that island. And if they do prohibit it, many will be smuggled in, tempted by the high prices which they will bear.

“But neither this, nor any other conceivable cause, can for any length of time check the fall in the value of slaves to which they are inevitably destined. We have seen that, as slaves

diminish in price, the motive of the proprietors of them to rear the offspring will abate, that consequent neglect in providing for their wants will ensue, and consequent voluntary emancipation will take place. That adult slaves will, in process of time, sink in value even below a hundred dollars each, I have not a doubt. This result may not be brought about by the termination of the first period of their duplication, but that it will come, at some subsequent, and not distant period, I think perfectly clear. Whenever the price of the adult shall be less than the cost of raising him from infancy, what inducement will the proprietor of the parent have to incur that expense? In such a state of things, it will be in vain that the laws prohibit manumission. No laws can be enforced, or will be respected, the effect of which is the ruin of those on whom they operate. In spite of all their penalties the liberation or abandonment of slaves will take place.

“As the two races progressively multiply and augment the source of supply of labour, its wages will diminish, and the preference already noticed will be given of free to slave labour. But another effect will also arise. There will be not only a competition between the two races for employment, but a struggle, not perceptible perhaps to the superficial observer, for subsistence. In such a struggle, the stronger and more powerful race will prevail. And as the law which regulates the state of population in any given community, is derived from the quantity of its subsistence, the further consequence would be an insensible decline in the increase of the weaker race. Pinched by want, and neglected by their masters, who would regard them as a burthen, they would be stimulated to the commission of crimes, and especially those of a petty description.

“When we consider the cruelty of the origin of negro slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the irresistible progress of public opinion, throughout America as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the United States. They are rational beings like ourselves, capable of feeling, of reflection, and of judging of what naturally belongs to them as a portion of the human race. By the very condition of the relation which subsists between us, we are enemies of each other. They know well the wrongs which their ancestors suffered at the hands of our ancestors, and the wrongs which they believe they

continue to endure, although they may be unable to avenge them. They are kept in subjection only by the superior intelligence and superior power of the predominant race. Their brethren have been liberated in every part of the continent of America, except in the United States and the Brazils. I have just seen an act of the President of the Republic of the United Mexican States, dated no longer ago than the 15th of September last, by which the whole of them in that Republic have been emancipated. A great effort is now making in Great Britain, which tends to the same ultimate effect, in regard to the negro slaves in the British West Indies.

“Happily for us, no such insurrection can ever be attended with permanent success, as long as our Union endures. It would be speedily suppressed by the all-powerful means of the United States; and it would be the madness of despair in the blacks that should attempt it. But if attempted in some parts of the United States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence, might not be perpetrated before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And after it was put down, what other scenes of military rigour and bloody executions would not be indispensably necessary to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of a terrible example!

“Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are, by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned. There are many honourable exceptions among them, and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to some I know. It is not so much their fault as the consequence of their anomalous condition. Place ourselves, place any men in the like predicament, and similar effects would follow. They are not slaves, and yet they are not free. The laws, it is true, proclaim them free; but prejudices, more powerful than any laws, deny them the privileges of freemen. They occupy a middle station, between the free white population and the slaves of the United States, and the tendency of their habits is to corrupt both. They crowd our large cities, where those who will work can best procure suitable employment, and where those who addict themselves to vice can best practice and conceal their crimes. If the vicious habits and propensities of this class, were not known to every man of attentive observation, they would be demonstrated by

the unerring test of the census. According to the last enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, it appeared that the rate of its annual increase, was only about two and a half per cent., whilst that of the other classes was about three. No other adequate cause for this disproportion can be assigned, but that of the improvidence and vices of the class referred to. If previous enumerations exhibited different results, they were owing chiefly to the accession of numbers, which it received by the acquisition of Louisiana, and the events of St. Domingo. But, if the reasoning which I have before employed, be correct, this class is destined, by voluntary manumission or abandonment, to increase and ultimately, perhaps, to be more numerous in the United States, than their brethren in bondage, if there be no provision for their removal to another country.

“Is there no remedy, I again ask, for the evils of which I have sketched a faint and imperfect picture? Is our posterity doomed to endure for ever not only all the ills flowing from the state of slavery, but all which arise from incongruous elements of population, separated from each other by invincible prejudices, and by natural causes? Whatever may be the character of the remedy proposed, we may confidently pronounce it inadequate, unless it provides efficaciously for the total and absolute separation, by an extensive space of water or of land, at least, of the white portion of our population from that which is free of the coloured.

“This brings me to the consideration of the particular scheme of the American Colonization Society, to which this is auxiliary. That scheme does not owe the first conception of its design to any individuals, by whose agency the society was first constituted. Several of them, and especially the late Rev. Mr. Finley, of New Jersey, and Mr. Caldwell, of the District of Columbia, were entitled to great praise for their spirited exertions in the formation and organization of the society. But the original conception of such a project is to be traced to a date long anterior to their laudable efforts on this subject. However difficult it might have been supposed to be in the execution, it was an obvious remedy, and the suggestion of it may be referred back to a period as remote as the Revolutionary War. The State of Virginia, always pre-eminent in works of benevolence, prior to the formation of the American Colonization Society, by two distinct acts of her Legislature, separated by intervals of

time of sufficient length to imply full deliberation, expressed her approbation of the plan of colonization.

“In considering the project of the American Colonization Society, our first inquiry should be into what it really is—then what it has done; and, finally, what it is capable of achieving. It is a voluntary association, formed for benevolent purposes, as must be freely acknowledged by all, if they should even prove the experiment to be impracticable. Its aim is to transport to the western shores of Africa, from the United States, all such free persons of colour as choose voluntarily to go. From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. It is not only without inclination, but it is without power, to make any such interference. It is not even a chartered or incorporated company; and it has no other foundation than that of Bible societies, or any other Christian or charitable unincorporated companies in our country. It knows that the subject of emancipation belongs exclusively to the several States in which slavery is tolerated, and to individual proprietors of slaves in those States, under and according to their laws. It hopes, indeed, (and I trust there is nothing improper or offensive in the hope) that if it shall demonstrate the practicability of the successful removal to Africa, of free persons of colour, with their own consent, the cause of emancipation, either by States or by individuals, may be incidentally advanced. That hope is founded not only on the true interest of both races of our population, but upon the assertion, so repeatedly made, that the great obstacle to emancipation arose out of the difficulty of a proper disposal of manumitted slaves. Its pecuniary means, applicable to the design of the institution, are voluntarily contributed by benevolent States or individuals. The States of Virginia and Maryland, besides numerous pious or generous persons throughout the United States, have aided the society.

“Such was the object of the American Colonization Society, organized at the city of Washington about thirteen years ago. Auxiliary institutions have been formed, in various parts of the Union, to aid and cooperate with the parent association, which have limited their exertions chiefly to the transmission to the treasurer of the society, of such funds as they could collect by

the voluntary contributions of benevolent and charitable individuals. The auxiliary society for the state of Kentucky, which I now address, was organized at the commencement of the present year.

“The American Colonization Society, so constituted, with such objects and such means, shortly after its formation, went into operation. It transacts its business at home, principally through a board of managers, which for the sake of convenience is fixed in the metropolis of the Union, and in Africa, through an agent abiding there, and acting under instructions received from the Board. The society has an annual session in the city of Washington, which is attended by its members, and by representatives from such of the auxiliary institutions, as can conveniently depute them, at which sessions the Board of Managers makes a report of the general condition of the affairs of the society, during the previous year.

“It would be an inexcusable trespass upon your time, to enter into a minute narrative of all the transactions of the society, from its commencement up to this time. Those who choose to examine them particularly, will find them recorded in the several reports of the Board of Managers, which from time to time have been published under its direction and authority. It will suffice at present to say, that one of the earliest acts of the society, was to despatch a competent agent to Africa, to explore its coasts and the countries bordering upon them, and to select a suitable spot for the establishment of the contemplated colony. The society was eminently fortunate in the choice of its agent, as it has been generally in those whom it subsequently engaged in its service. A selection was finally made of a proper district of country, a purchase was effected of it from the native authorities, to which additions have been made, as the growing wants of the colony, actual or anticipated, required. The country so acquired, upon terms as moderate as those on which the Government of the Union extinguishes the Indian title to soil within the United States, embraces large tracts of fertile land, capable of yielding all the rich and varied products of the tropics, possesses great commercial advantages, with an extent of sea-coast, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, and enjoys a salubrious climate, well adapted to the negro constitution, and not so fatal to that of the whites, as many thickly peopled parts of the United States.

“Within that district of country, the society founded its colony, under the denomination of Liberia, established towns, laid off plantations for the colonists, and erected military works for their defence. Annually, and as often as the pecuniary circumstances of the society would admit, vessels from the ports of the United States, have been sent to Liberia, laden with emigrants and with utensils, provisions and other objects, for their comfort. No difficulty has been experienced in obtaining as many colonists as the means of the society were competent to transport. They have been found, indeed, altogether inadequate to accommodate all who were willing and anxious to go. The rate of expense of transportation and subsistence during the voyage, per head, was greater in the earlier voyages. It was subsequently reduced to about twenty dollars, and is believed to be susceptible of considerable further reduction. The number of colonists of both sexes, amounts now to about fifteen hundred.

“The colony, in the first periods of its existence, had some collisions with the native tribes, which rose to such a height as to break out in open war, about four or five years ago. The war was conducted by the late gallant Mr. Ashmun, with singular good judgment and fortune, and was speedily brought to a successful close. It had the effect to impress upon the natives, a high idea of the skill, bravery, and power of the colonists, and having since become better acquainted with them, perceived the advantages of the colony, and gradually acquired a taste for its commerce and arts, no further misunderstanding with them is apprehended, and the colony is daily acquiring a salutary influence over them.

“The colony has a government adequate to the protection of the rights of persons and property, and to the preservation of order. The agent of the society combines the functions of governor, commander-in-chief, and highest judicial officer. The colonists share in the government, and elect various officers necessary to the administration. They appoint annually boards or committees of public works, of agriculture and of health, which are charged with the superintendence of those important interests. It has established schools for the instruction of youth, and erected houses of public worship, in which divine service is regularly performed. And, it has a public library of twelve

hundred volumes, and a printing press, which issues periodically a gazette.

“The colonists follow the mechanical arts, or agriculture, or commerce, as their inclinations or attainments prompt them. The land produces rice, cassada, coffee, potatoes, and all kinds of garden vegetables; and is capable of yielding sugar cane, indigo, in short, all the productions of the tropics. It is rich, easily tilled, and yields two crops of many articles in the circle of a year. They carry on an advantageous commerce with the natives by exchanges for ivory, gums, dye-stuffs, drugs, and other articles of African origin; and with the United States, which is annually increasing, and which amounted last year to sixty thousand dollars, in the produce of the colony, and in objects acquired by their traffic with the natives; receiving, in return, such supplies of American and other manufactures as are best adapted to their wants.

“Such is the present condition of the colony, according to the latest intelligence. Here the society may pause, and with its pious and enlightened patrons and a generous public, look back with proud satisfaction, on the work, which, with the blessings of Providence, has so prospered. That, in its progress, it has met with obstacles and experienced discouragements, is most true. What great human undertaking was ever exempt from them? Its misfortunes in Africa have been similar in character, though it is confidently believed, less in degree, than those which generally attend the establishment of distant colonies, in foreign lands, amidst ignorant and untutored savages. A large portion of the deaths which have taken place may be attributed to rash exposure, and other imprudencies, under an untried sun, and subject to the action of a strange climate. But the colony can triumphantly exhibit its bills of mortality, in comparison with those of other colonies, in their early foundation, on this or any other continent. And experience justifies the hope, that the instances of mortality will constantly diminish with the augmented population, means, and strength of the colony.

“But at home, in the parent country, here in the United States, notwithstanding the concurrence of so many powerful motives, recommending success to the exertions of the society, has it met with the most serious opposition, and bitter denunciation. At one time, it has been represented as a scheme to

forge stronger and perpetual chains for the slaves among us. Then, that it had a covert aim to emancipate them all immediately, and throw them, with all their imperfections, loose upon society. Those who judged less unfavourably of the purposes of the institution, pronounced it a bright vision, impracticable in its means and Utopian in its end. There is, unfortunately, in every community, a class not small, who, devoid themselves of the energy necessary to achieve any noble enterprise, and affecting to penetrate with deeper sagacity into the projects of others, pronounce their ultimate failure, with self-complacency, and challenge by anticipation, the merit of prophetic wisdom. Unmoved by these erroneous and unfriendly views, the society, trusting to the vindication which time and truth never fail to bring, has proceeded steadily and perseveringly in its great work. It has not been deceived. It has every where found some generous patrons and ardent friends. The Legislatures of more than half the States of this enlightened Union, among which I am happy to be able to mention our own, have been pleased to express their approbation of the scheme. It has conciliated the cordial support of the pious clergy, of every denomination in the United States. It has been countenanced and aided by that fair sex, which is ever prompt to contribute its exertions in works of charity and benevolence, because it always acts from the generous impulses of pure and uncorrupted hearts. And the society enrolls amongst its members and patrons, some of the most distinguished men of our country, in its Legislative, Executive, and Judicial councils. We should be guilty of an unpardonable omission, if we did not, on this occasion, mingle our regrets with those of the whole people of these States, on account of a lamented death of one them, which has recently occurred. He was the President of the American Colonization Society from its origin, and throughout the entire period of its existence. Like the Father of his country, his illustrious relative, whose name he bore and whose affection he enjoyed, he was mild and gentle, firm and patriotic. The Bench, of which he was an ornament, and the Bar, of which he was the delight, feeling his great loss, deeply share with us all in the grief which it produces.

“The society presents to the American public no project of emancipation, no new chains for those who are unhappily in bondage, no scheme that is impracticable. It has no power,

and it seeks none. It employs no compulsion, and it desires to employ none. It addresses itself solely to the understanding; its revenue flows from spontaneous grants, and all its means and agents and objects are voluntary.

“The society believes it is within the compass of reasonable exertions, to transport annually to the colony of Liberia, a number of free persons of colour, with their own voluntary consent, equal to the annual increase of all that class in the United States. That annual increase, estimated according to the return of the last census, from the parent stock of 233,530, at a rate of augmentation of two and a half per cent. per annum, may be stated to be six thousand. Estimating the whole expense of the voyage at twenty dollars per head, the total cost of their transportation will be one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Is this sum of such an appalling amount, as to transcend the ability of the people of the United States? All admit the utility of the separation of the free people of colour from the residue of the population of the United States, if it be practicable. It is desirable for them, for the slaves of the United States, and for the white race. Here, invincible prejudices exclude them from the enjoyment of the society of the whites, and deny them all the advantages of freemen. The bar, the pulpit, and our legislative halls, are shut to them, by the irresistible force of public sentiment. No talents, however great, no piety, however pure and devoted, no patriotism, however ardent, can secure their admission. They constantly hear the accents, and behold the triumphs, of a liberty which here they can never enjoy. In all the walks of society, on every road which lies before others to honour, and fame, and glory, a moral incubus pursues and arrests them, paralyzing all the energies of the soul, and repressing every generous emotion of laudable ambition. Their condition is worse than that of the fabled Tantalus, who could never grasp the fruits and water which seemed within his reach. And when they die,

‘Memory o’er their tomb no trophies raises.’

Why should such an unfortunate class desire to remain among us? Why should they not wish to go to the country of their forefathers, where, in the language of the eloquent Irish barrister, they would ‘stand redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the mighty genius of universal emancipation.’

“The vices of this class do not spring from any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, but from their unfortunate situation. Social intercourse is a want which we are prompted to gratify, by all the properties of our nature. And as they cannot obtain it in the better circles of society, nor always among themselves, they resort to slaves and to the most debased and worthless of the whites. Corruption, and all the train of petty offences, are the consequences. Proprietors of slaves, in whose neighbourhood any free coloured family is situated, know how infectious and pernicious this intercourse is. And the penal records of the tribunals, especially in the large cities, bear frightful testimony to the disproportionate number of crimes committed by the free people of colour. The evil of their increase in those cities is so enormous, as to call loudly for effective remedy. It has been so sensibly felt in a neighbouring city (Cincinnati) as to require, in the opinion of the public authorities, the enforcement of the vigorous measure of expulsion of all who could not give guaranties of their good behaviour. Their congregation in our great capitals has given rise to a new crime, perpetrated by unprincipled whites, and of which persons of that unhappy coloured race are the victims. A New York paper, of the 27th ultimo, but lately fell into my hands, in which I found the following articles: ‘Beware of kidnappers! It is *well understood* that there is at present in this city, a gang of kidnappers, busily engaged in their vocation of stealing coloured children for the southern market! It is believed that three or four have been stolen within as many days. A little negro boy came to this city from the country, three or four days ago. Some strange white persons were very friendly to him, and yesterday morning he was mightily pleased that they had given him some new clothes. And the persons pretending thus to befriend him, entirely secured his confidence. This day he CANNOT be found. Nor can he be traced since seen with one of his new friends yesterday. There are suspicions of a foul nature, connected with some who serve the police in subordinate capacities. It is hinted, that there may be those in some authority, not altogether ignorant of these diabolical practices. Let the public be on their guard.’ To which the editor of the paper from which this quotation is made, appends the following remarks: ‘It is still fresh in the memories of all, that a cargo, or rather drove of negroes, was

made up from this city and Philadelphia, about the time that the emancipation of all the negroes in this State took place, under our present constitution, and were taken through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, and disposed of in the state of Mississippi. Some of those who were taken from Philadelphia, were persons of intelligence, and after they had been driven through the country in chains, and disposed of by sale on the Mississippi, wrote back to their friends and were rescued from bondage. The persons who were guilty of this abominable transaction are known, and now reside in the state of North Carolina, and very probably may be engaged in similar enterprises at the present time; at least, there is reason to believe, that the system of kidnapping free persons of colour, from the Northern cities, has been carried on more extensively than the public are generally aware of.'

"Whilst the concurrence is unanimous as to the propriety of the separation of the free coloured race, and their removal to some other country, if it be practicable, opinions are divided as to the most proper place of their destination. Some prefer Hayti, others to set apart a district beyond the Rocky Mountains, within the limits of the territory of the United States, whilst much the larger number concur in the superior advantage of the plan of the American Colonization Society. The society opposes no other scheme. All other projects, if they are executed, are perfectly compatible with its own, and it wishes them full success. The more drains the better for this portion of our population. It would only deprecate the result of a distraction of the public attention amidst a variety of proposals, and a consequent failure to concentrate the energies of the community on any one of them.

"Hayti is objectionable as the sole place of their removal, on various accounts. It is too limited in its extent. Although a large island, containing considerable quantities of unsettled land, it is incompetent as an asylum, during any great length of time, for the free persons of colour of the United States. It possesses no advantage, either in the salubrity of its climate, or the fertility of its soil over the western coast of Africa. The productions of both countries are nearly the same. The expense of transportation to the one or to the other, is nearly the same. The emigrants would be in a state of dependence on the present inhabitants of the island, who have more intelligence and

have made greater advances in civilization, and moreover possess all the power of the government. They speak a different language. It should not be the policy of the United States, when they consider the predominant power of the island, and its vicinity to the southern States, to add strength to it. And finally Hayti is destitute of some of those high moral considerations which belong to the foundation of a colony in Africa.

"The country west of the Rocky Mountains, is also objectionable on several grounds. The expense of transportation of emigrants to it, whether by sea or inland, would be incomparably greater than to Africa. They would be thrown in the midst of Indian tribes, to whom they are as incongruous as with the whites. Bloody and exterminating wars would be the certain consequence; and the United States would be bound to incur great expense in defending them and preserving peace. Finally, that wave of the European race which rose on the borders of the Atlantic, swept over the Alleghany Mountains reached the Mississippi, and ascended the two great rivers which unite near St. Louis, will at no distant day pass the Rocky Mountains, and strike the Pacific, where it would again produce that very contact between discordant races which it is so desirable to avoid.

"The society has demonstrated the practicability of planting a colony on the shores of Africa. Its exertions have been confined exclusively to the free coloured people of the United States, and to those of them who are willing to go. It has neither purpose nor power to extend them to the larger portion of that race held in bondage. Throughout the whole period of its existence this disclaimer has been made, and incontestable facts establish its truth and sincerity. It is now repeated, in its behalf, that the spirit of misrepresentation may have no pretext for abusing the public ear. But, although its scheme is so restricted, the society is aware, and rejoices that the principle of African colonization, which it has developed, admits of wider scope and more extensive application, by those states and private individuals, who may have the power and the inclination to apply it.

"The slave population of the United States, according to the last returns of their census, as was shown more in detail, on another occasion, increased in a ratio of about forty-six thousand per annum. It may, perhaps, now be estimated at not

less than fifty thousand. It was said on that occasion: 'Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find, at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the population would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.' To transport to Africa fifty thousand persons, would cost one million of dollars upon the estimate before stated. One million of dollars applied annually, during a period of sixty or seventy years, would, at the end of it, so completely drain the United States of all that portion of their inhabitants, as not to leave many more than those few who are objects of curiosity in the countries of Europe. And is that sum, one-tenth part of what the United States now annually appropriate, as a sinking fund, without feeling it, and which will soon not be requisite to the extinction of the national debt, capable of producing any suffering or creating any impediment in the execution of other great social objects of the American communities? What a vast moral debt to Africa, to the world, and to our common God, should we not discharge by the creation of a new sinking fund of such a paltry sum?

"This estimate does not comprehend any indemnity to the owners of slaves for their value, if they are to be purchased for the purpose of colonization. It is presumable that states or individuals, no longer restrained from the execution of their benevolent wish to contribute their endeavours to blot out this great stain upon the American name, by the consideration of the difficulty of a suitable provision for liberated slaves, when they perceive the plan of colonization in successful operation, will voluntarily manumit many for the pur-

pose of their emigration. One of the latest numbers of the *National Intelligencer*, states the fact, that a recent offer has been made of two thousand slaves to the society, to be sent to Liberia, which the want of funds alone prevents its accepting. If the reasoning before employed, founded upon the decline in value of that description of property, be correct, many will be disposed, to emancipate from less disinterested motives. From some, or all of these sources, and from the free coloured population, an amount may be annually obtained for the purposes of colonization, equal to the number of fifty-six thousand which has been supposed. As the work of colonization advances, the ability of the European race to promote it will increase, both from the augmentation of its numbers and of its wealth, and the relative diminution of the negro race. And, in the course of the progress of its execution, it will not be found a burthensome appropriation of some of the revenue of the people of the United States, to purchase slaves, if colonists can not otherwise be obtained. Meanwhile it affords cause of the sincerest gratification, that in whatever extent the scheme of African colonization is executed, good is attained, without a solitary attendant evil.

“I could not discuss the question of the extent of the respective powers of the various governments of this Union, without enlarging this address, already too much prolonged, in a most unreasonable degree. That the aggregate of their total powers is fully adequate to the execution of the plan of colonization, in its greatest extent, is incontestable. How those powers have, in fact, been divided and distributed between the General and State governments, is a question for themselves to decide after careful investigation and full deliberation. We may safely assume that there are some things which each system is competent to perform, towards the accomplishment of the great work. The General Government can treat with foreign powers for the security of the colony, and with the Emperor of Morocco, or other African Princes or States, for the acquisition of territory. It may provide in the colony an asylum for natives of Africa introduced into the United States, in contravention to their laws, and for their support and protection, as it has done. And it may employ portions of our Navy, whilst engaged in practising to acquire the needful discipline and skill, or in proceeding to their appointed cruising stations, to trans-

port emigrants from the United States to the colony. Can a nobler service, in time of peace, be performed by the National flag than that of transporting under its stars and stripes to the land of their ancestors, the sons of injured Africa, there to enjoy the blessings of our pure religion and a real liberty? It can employ the colony as the best and most efficacious instrument of suppressing the infamous slave trade.

“Any of the States may apply, in their proper spheres, the powers which they possess and the means at their command. They may remove restraints upon emancipation, imposed from a painful conviction that slavery, with all its undisputed ills, was better than manumission without removal. Such of them as can, safely and justly, may abolish slavery and follow the example of Pennsylvania, New York, and other States. Any of them can contribute some pecuniary aid to the object. And if an enlargement of the constitutional powers of the General Government be necessary and expedient, they are competent to grant it.

“I have thus, gentlemen, presented a faint and imperfect sketch of what was contemplated by the American Colonization Society, to which you form an auxiliary, of what it has done, and of what the principle of African Colonization, which it has successfully illustrated, is susceptible, with due encouragement, and adequate means, in the hands of competent authority. We ought not to be disheartened by the little which has been accomplished, in the brief space of thirteen years during which it has existed, or the magnitude and difficulties of the splendid undertaking which lies before us. In the execution of those vast schemes which affect the condition and happiness of large portions of the habitable globe, time is necessary, which may appear to us mortals of long duration, but which in the eyes of Providence, or in comparison with the periods of national existence, is short and fleeting. How long was it after Romulus and Remus laid the scanty foundations of their little state in the contracted limits of the peninsula of Italy, before Imperial Rome burst forth, in all her astonishing splendour, the acknowledged mistress of the world! Ages passed away before Carthage and other colonies, in ancient times, shone out in all their commercial and military glory. Several centuries have now elapsed since our forefathers first began, in the morasses of James river and on the Rock of Plymouth, the

work of founding this Republic, yet in its infancy. Eighteen hundred years have rolled over since the Son of God, our blessed Redeemer, offered himself, on Mount Calvary, a voluntary sacrifice for the salvation of our species; and more than half of mankind continue to deny his divine mission and the truth of his sacred word.

“We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature for the record of any human plan, for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence, than that of African colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race, but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants, with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty here and every where. The colonists, reared in the bosom of this republic, with a perfect knowledge of all the blessings which freedom imparts, although they have not always been able themselves to share them, will carry a recollection of it to Africa, plant it there, and spread it over her boundless territory. And may we not indulge the hope, that in a period of time not surpassing in duration that of our own colonial and national existence, we shall behold a confederation of republican States, on the western shores of Africa, like our own, with their Congress and annual Legislatures thundering forth in behalf of the rights of man, and making tyrants tremble on their thrones? It appeals for aid and support to the friends of civilization throughout the world. Africa, although a portion of it was among the first to emerge from barbarism, is now greatly in the rear of all the continents, in knowledge, and in the arts and sciences. America owes to the old world a debt of gratitude for the possession of them. Can she discharge it in any more suitable manner, than that of transplanting them on a part of its own soil, by means of its own sons, whose ancestors were torn by fraud and violence from their native home, and thrown here into bondage? It powerfully appeals for support to patriotism and humanity. If we were to invoke the greatest blessing on earth, which Heaven, in its mercy, could now bestow on this nation, it would be the separation of the two most

numerous races of its population, and their comfortable establishment in distinct and distant countries. To say nothing of the greatest difficulty in the formation of our present happy Constitution, which arose out of this mixed condition of our people, nothing of the distracting Missouri question, which was so threatening; nothing of others, springing from the same fruitful source, which yet agitate us, who can contemplate the future without the most awful apprehensions? Who, if this promiscuous residence of whites and blacks, of freemen and slaves, is for ever to continue, can imagine the servile wars, the carnage and the crimes, which will be its probable consequences, without shuddering with horror? It finally appeals emphatically for aid and support to the reverend clergy, and sincere professors of our holy religion. If the project did not look beyond the happiness of the two races now in America, it would be entitled to their warmest encouragement. If it were confined to the removal only of the free coloured population, it would deserve all their patronage. Within those restrictions, how greatly would it not contribute to promote the cause of virtue and morality, and consequently religion! But it presents a much more extensive field—a field only limited by the confines of one of the largest quarters of the habitable globe—for religious and benevolent exertion. Throughout the entire existence of Christianity, it has been a favourite object of its ardent disciples and pious professors, to diffuse its blessings by converting the heathen. This duty is enjoined by its own sacred precepts, and prompted by considerations of humanity. All Christendom is more or less employed on this object, at this moment, in some part or other of the earth. But it must, in candour, be owned, that hitherto, missionary efforts have not had a success corresponding, in extent, with the piety and benevolence of their aim, or with the amount of the means which have been applied. Some new and more efficacious mode of accomplishing the beneficent purpose must be devised, which by concentrating energies and endeavours, and avoiding loss in their diffuse and uncombined application, shall ensure the attainment of more cheering results. The American Colonization Society presents itself to the religious world, as uniting those great advantages. Almost all Africa is in a state of the deepest ignorance and barbarism, and addicted to idolatry and superstition. It is destitute of the blessings both of Christianity and

civilization. The society is an instrument, which, under the guidance of Providence, with public assistance, is competent to spread the lights of both, throughout its vast dominions. And the means are as simple as the end is grand and magnificent. They are to deviate from the practice of previous missionary institutions, and employ as agents some of the very brethren of the heathen sought to be converted, and brought within the pale of civilization. The society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, among a different, and perhaps a suspicious race, of another complexion, but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, six thousand, in another, fifty-six thousand missionaries, of the descendants of Africa itself, with the same interests, sympathies, and constitutions of the natives, to communicate the benefits of our religion and of the arts. And this colony of missionaries is to operate, not alone by preaching the doctrines of truth and of revelation, which, however delightful to the ears of the faithful and intelligent, are not always comprehended by untutored savages, but also by works of ocular demonstration. It will open forests, build towns, erect temples of public worship, and practically exhibit to the native sons of Africa, the beautiful moral spectacle, and the superior advantages, of our religious and social systems. In this unexaggerated view of the subject, the colony, compared with other missionary plans, presents the force and grandeur of a noble steamer majestically ascending, and with ease subduing, the current of the Mississippi, in comparison with the feeble and tottering canoe, moving slowly among the reeds that fringe its shores. It holds up the image of the resistless power of the Mississippi itself, rushing from the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and marking its deep and broad and rapid course through the heart of this continent, thousands of miles, to the Gulf of Mexico, in comparison with that of an obscure rivulet, winding its undiscernible way through dark and dense forests or luxuriant prairies, in which it is quickly and for ever lost.

“Gentlemen of the Colonization Society of Kentucky! not one word need be added, in conclusion, to animate your perseverance, or to stimulate your labours, in the humane cause which you have deliberately espoused. We have reason to believe that we have been hitherto favoured, and shall continue

to be blessed, with the smiles of Providence. Confiding in his approving judgment, and conscious of the benevolence and purity of our intentions, we may fearlessly advance in our great work. And, when we shall, as soon we must, be translated from this into another form of existence, is the hope presumptuous that we shall there behold the common Father of whites and of blacks, the great Ruler of the Universe, cast his all-seeing eye upon civilized and regenerated Africa, its cultivated fields, its coast studded with numerous cities, adorned with towering temples, dedicated to the pure religion of his redeeming Son, its far-famed Niger, and other great rivers, lined with flourishing villages, and navigated with that wonderful power, which American genius first successfully applied; and that after dwelling with satisfaction upon the glorious spectacle, he will deign to look with approbation upon us, his humble instruments, who have contributed to produce it?"

The friends of colonization in the city of Philadelphia, had already manifested their zeal and liberality, by chartering the brig *Liberia*, at their own expense; and at a meeting held at the Franklin Institute, a subscription was taken up, to the amount of two thousand two hundred and ninety-six dollars, of which sum a single individual gave one thousand dollars.

The Board, at Washington, being very desirous to send out those enfranchised slaves, who had come on from Georgia, with some others; but not having the funds necessary, applied to the Pennsylvania Society to assume the charge of sending them out, as they had done the former emigrants. To this proposal they readily agreed, relying on the liberality of their fellow citizens, to enable them to accomplish the undertaking.

The opposition to the American Colonization Society, now became, every day, more inveterate; and the prejudices infused into the minds of most of the free people of colour, were deep and extensive. The same opposition, however, did not manifest itself towards colonization in Canada, or at Hayti. The laws of Ohio having rendered the situation of a large part of the coloured population of that State uneasy, by greatly curtailing their privileges, after inquiry, a number of them resolved to emigrate to Upper Canada. This region was too far north for the comfort of the African race. They went, however, by the permission of the government of the upper colony, and settled a town, which they named Wilberforce, in honour of that dis-

tinguished and eloquent friend of the African race. But political difficulties met these unhappy people here as well as in Ohio: for when the Assembly of Upper Canada met, they passed a string of resolutions, disapproving of the whole plan of introducing such settlers into the colony; and it was agreed to send an humble address to his Majesty's government at home, complaining of this thing.

About this time, the zeal of the abolitionists had become exceedingly warm, and great excitement was produced, both at the north and the south, by the publication of inflammatory pamphlets, containing highly coloured descriptions of the cruelty exercised towards the slaves in the southern States; and caricatures, in the form of prints were prepared, calculated to make a strong impression on the imagination of the people. A pamphlet was printed in Boston, written by one Mr. Walker, which actually aimed to excite the slaves to insurrection, and did not hesitate to exhort them to take vengeance on their owners, by imbruing their hands in their blood. Copies of these pamphlets were sent by mail and otherwise, into the southern country, where they produced both alarm and indignation. Severe laws were soon passed against the circulation of such books and prints; and persons found in possession of these incendiary publications were treated very harshly, and without much regard to the regular forms of law.

The Hon. C. F. Mercer brought in a report, on the memorial addressed to Congress by the Managers of the Colonization Society, in which a survey is taken of the commencement and progress of this cause, and weighty considerations brought to view, to induce Congress, in every suitable way, to aid the cause of African colonization. But this report was made so late in the session, that it was feared that Congress would not act on the subject.

About this time an institution was formed in the city of Washington, which seemed to promise much benefit to the colonization scheme. It was an "African Education Society." A school for the improvement in learning of the youth of the coloured population, had existed for some years at Parsippany, New Jersey, under the special patronage of the Synods of New York and New Jersey. The Episcopal church had also formed "The African Mission School Society," under the direction of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of that church, which

was considered as very auspicious to the hopes of African improvement. But, as neither of these societies and schools had attracted much of the public attention, it was deemed expedient to set on foot another institution to prepare young men of colour for usefulness in Africa. This had never been made the distinct object of the other societies. Educated young men of colour were also greatly needed in the colony; this, therefore, seemed to be an enterprise of much promise, and to which no serious obstacle was anticipated. It was declared to be the exclusive object of the society now formed, "to afford to persons of colour, destined to Africa, such an education in letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, as may best qualify them for usefulness and influence in Africa." The Board of this society published a very able address to the public, which may be seen in the sixth volume of the *African Repository*.

The Board received the agreeable intelligence, by the return of the *Liberia*, of the safe arrival of the emigrants, together with Dr. Anderson and the Swiss missionaries, in good health. These emigrants Dr. Mechlin located at Caldwell, and wrote to the Board that they appeared to be perfectly well satisfied with their situation and prospects. He mentioned, also, the arrival of the British brig *Heroine*, from Barbadoes, having on board ninety-one recaptured Africans, under the charge of A. H. Mechlin, agent for their transportation, and Dr. Smith, of the United States Navy. It was nearly five months from the time of their sailing from the United States, before they arrived at Monrovia. After being at sea eighty-nine days, through the ignorance of the captain, they were at last obliged to put into Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, where, after a survey of the vessel, named *Washington's Barge*, she was found unfit to prosecute the voyage, and they were obliged to charter another. The number of recaptured Africans, when they left Florida, was one hundred, but nine died on the passage, leaving but ninety-one when she arrived.

The growing influence of the colony on the natives in the vicinity, was remarkably manifested in the following case reported to the Board by Dr. Mechlin: "King Peter, of Bushrod Island, who died about the eighth of September last, had a head-man, who established himself at the St. Paul's, assuming the title of King Long Peter. He has recently removed to the town of the deceased, and placed himself under the laws and

protection of the colony. A deputation was sent down to inform me of the fact, and receive my orders respecting their future disposal. They were informed, that hereafter, they would be subject to our laws, and that King Long Peter should lay aside the title of king, and receive that of head-man from me; that they must now consider themselves as Americans, and entirely independent of the neighbouring tribes, who should not molest them; and all their grievances must be stated through their head-man to me, for my decision. When this determination was known to them, it was received with shouts of joy, and they could scarcely be restrained from coming down in a body, and visiting us, although it was then late in the afternoon. The advantages to be derived from this arrangement, they are well aware of. They are at once freed from all the oppressive laws and customs of the surrounding native tribes, and know that they cannot be sold into slavery, as they were before at any moment liable to, on account of some frivolous dispute or palaver, got up for the purpose by the head-men, whenever they want a supply of money. They will also be secured from the hostile incursions of other tribes; for such is the terror we have inspired, that they will not molest any belonging to the colony. Most of the petty kings in our vicinity would gladly come into the same arrangement, were it advisable at present to receive them; but we could not afford them the same protection, on account of their remote situation."

The account of a visit to Caldwell, by the agent, at this time, will furnish the reader with some idea of that delightful village. "A short time since, I paid a visit to Caldwell, for the purpose of inspecting the state of the settlement, and must confess the result was highly gratifying. The greatest neatness and regularity prevail throughout, as you are already aware. It is beautifully situated, at the junction of the St. Paul's and Stockton rivers, and consists of one street, about a mile and a half long, kept very clean, and planted on either side with rows of plantains and bananas. Between this and the water, there is an open space, not only very ornamental, but contributing much to the health of the place."

Considerable labour was laid out by the colonists, very judiciously, in making roads to particular points in the interior. By this means, trade with the natives at a distance would be greatly promoted. Dr. Mechlin, in speaking of this intercourse,

remarks: "I find that our colony is becoming more known in the interior, from the increased number of the Mandingoes who resort to us. These people form the connecting link, or medium of communication, between the interior tribes and those inhabiting the sea coast. They are almost exclusively devoted to trade, and evince great shrewdness in all their mercantile transactions; and it is almost impossible to get the advantage of them in making a bargain. When they arrive in town, they call on a merchant, inquire the price of his goods, perhaps display some gold, to make him eager to trade, and so manage it, as to induce him to believe they intend to do business solely with him; but before they come to any conclusion, will visit every dealer in town, and then, perhaps, return to the first, and before they have done, get his goods at least ten per cent. cheaper than they could be obtained elsewhere; and probably an equal amount on credit; so that, when he comes to reflect a little, he finds himself a loser instead of a gainer by the transaction."—"They are all Mahomedans, and are very zealous in gaining proselytes, and have succeeded to a great extent, in propagating their faith among the natives on the windward coast, from Cape Mount to the rivers Pongas and Nunez. Go where they will, their persons are respected and their influence very great. This arises from their being almost the only people that make amulets or fetiches for the more ignorant, which is of itself of considerable profit, as those fetiches are held in great estimation, from the fact of the maker's being able to write Arabic, or, as the natives say, 'make book.' They excel most of the natives in various manufactures, particularly in the preparation of leather, some of which would do credit to any country. They are also excellent workers in iron and other metals."

It was during this year, (1830), that a printing press was set up in Monrovia. Mr. Russwurm, who had received a liberal education, as we before stated, and had been concerned in editing a paper in New York city, having arrived in Liberia, was immediately engaged to undertake to publish "The Liberia Herald," which has been continued ever since, and is a truly respectable paper, both as it relates to its contents, and the typographical execution.

The Montgomery, chartered by the liberality of the friends of African colonization in Philadelphia, sailed from Hampton

Roads, in April, 1830. She took out the thirty slaves manumitted by Joel Early, of Georgia; six by F. S. Anderson, of Hagerstown, Maryland; six by Dr. Tilden, of Newtown, Virginia; three by Mr. Prettow, of Southampton, Virginia; five by G. W. Holcomb, of Lynchburg, Virginia, and several others; in all making sixty-four emancipated persons: the rest were free before. Twelve of the emigrants were from near Lynchburg, and three from Norfolk, Virginia. This company was represented as being generally sober and industrious farmers and labourers, many of them pious, and among them two respectable preachers, one of the Methodist and the other of the Baptist church.

The good people of Philadelphia not only assumed the whole expense of transporting these people to Africa, but raised a considerable fund to be applied to the removal of any coloured emigrants, whom it might be judged expedient to send to Liberia.

Dr. Mechlin, the colonial agent, returned in the month of May, and found his health nearly restored by the voyage. His account of the condition and prospects of the colony were truly interesting and animating.

The interests of the Colonization Society were essentially benefitted by the agency of the Rev. H. B. Bascom, of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the western States. In his report to the Board, he says, "I have formed nineteen auxiliary societies, and have probably addressed above seventy thousand persons." Mr. Bascom's efficiency, as an agent, was also evinced by his success in collecting funds for the society.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, this year, passed a resolution, with only four dissenting voices, recommending to all the ministers to take up collections for the Colonization Society on or about the fourth of July.

The colonization cause met with a serious loss, this year, in the premature death of William Henry Fitzhugh, of Ravensworth, Virginia. This young gentleman, born in 1792, and educated at Nassau Hall, New Jersey, became one of the most zealous, as he was one of the most enlightened advocates of African colonization. His character is thus drawn by a writer in the *African Repository*. "Mr. Fitzhugh was no ordinary man. His highly gifted, and well balanced mind, improved and polished by the best education, by self-discipline, and by

constant intercourse with cultivated and refined society, controlled by sentiments, just, honourable, magnanimous, rendered him a model of the virtues most admired in public and private life.

“The talents, the fortune, and the character of Mr. Fitzhugh eminently prepared him for public usefulness, and as a member of the House of Delegates, of the Senate, and recently of the convention of his native State, he fulfilled the highest expectations of his friends, and stood acknowledged by all, an able, honourable, and eloquent statesman.

“He was a philanthropist, and felt that human beings, whatever might be their country, circumstances, or complexion, were related to him by the ties of a common nature, and must not be excluded from his regards. In the decease of Mr. Fitzhugh the Colonization Society mourns the loss of one who has left behind him enduring evidence of his early, steadfast, and efficient efforts in furthering its great design. . . . The mind of Mr. Fitzhugh was too candid, comprehensive, and benevolent, to remain insensible of those considerations, political, moral, and religious, which invest the objects of our institution with such immediate interest, and importance. From its very origin his countenance and support were given to the society, and in 1820 he was elected a vice-president. He was not to be discouraged by the calamitous events of its early history; nor yet by the violent and opposing currents of public opinion.”

About the end of May, this year, there was an opportunity of examining Mr. Francis Devany, the high-sheriff of the colony of Liberia, who was on a visit to this country. The committee of Congress, to whom the memorial of the American Colonization Society had been referred, of which Mr. Mercer was chairman, met in the capitol, on the 20th of May. Several senators, and members of the House of Representatives attended, to hear the replies of Mr. Devany, to the questions which might be asked. The examination was also continued in the evening, when a much larger number of members attended; and the questions and answers were carefully taken down by Mr. Stansbury, the reporter to the House.

Before giving a summary of the information received from this person, it may be well to mention, that he was born in South Carolina, a slave, the property of Langdon Cheves, Esq., formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives: that after

obtaining his freedom, he practised the trade of a sailmaker, in the employment of Mr. Forten, a respectable and wealthy man of colour in the city of Philadelphia: that more than seven years before this time, he emigrated to Liberia, where having acquired a little money, he engaged in trade, in which he was so successful, that in six years he amassed property valued at fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. The brig *Liberia*, in which he came to the United States, brought in a cargo worth twenty thousand dollars.

Mr. Devany, in answer to the questions put to him by Messrs. Mercer, Spencer, and others, made the following statements. "That the colony experienced great inconvenience for the want of a national flag: several vessels are owned by the colonists—he himself owns one which cost one thousand dollars; and another person paid six thousand dollars for a vessel; but these and many other vessels are laid up and going to decay, for want of a flag. The persons of whom they are afraid, are the pirates. The English and French vessels have treated them kindly. The pirates consist mostly of Spaniards, some of whom sail in American vessels. The colony has six volunteer companies, in uniform, besides militia, amounting in all to above five hundred men. The colony has not been attacked since Mr. Devany lived there; owing to the strength of their defences. They have a stone fort called Stockton, which was repaired by the late Dr. Randall, and is about two-thirds finished. It is of stone and ten feet high, but the platforms of the guns are not yet finished. The stone used in this fort, and which is commonly used in building houses, is a blue granite, very hard and solid. They have another species of stone, much softer, and impregnated with iron. The latter is employed in Sierra Leone, almost exclusively; but in Monrovia it is used for window-sills and chimney-pieces. Lime in abundance, they get from the shells on the Junk river. It is of the best quality, and makes good, hard, finished walls. Wood being plenty, they have all the building materials they can desire, with the exception of iron. The harbour is counted the best on the coast, and is seldom without vessels. There are nine feet water on the bar, and from twelve to sixteen inside of it.

"The prevailing morals of the colony are good. Witnessed but one fight since his residence in Liberia, and that was a political quarrel between one of the colonists and a citizen of

Sierra Leone, who spoke disparagingly of the American colony. No instance of a capital crime had yet occurred. Where the laws of the colony are silent, they resort to those of the United States. The courts, when sitting, are well attended. Witnesses are brought up by a process of subpœna, as in the United States. Two persons only are addicted to intemperance, but it is not habitual. There are three churches, frame buildings, one of which has a steeple. One belongs to the Methodists, one to the Baptists, and one, not yet finished, to the Presbyterians. Divine service is attended three times on the Sabbath, and also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. The Sunday schools are attended by many of the native children. All who can be decently clad are in the habit of attending. The natives in the colony are adopting our modes of dress. Formerly their females were very partially covered, but now, when in their native costume, they will not come publicly into the town. No dancing is practised; the religious part of the community have prevailed in discouraging it. Several of the neighbouring tribes have voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the colony.

“A very active trade is carried on at Monrovia. A colonist by the name of Waring, will have sold goods this year to the amount of seventy thousand dollars. Mr. Devany’s own sales are from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars. Coffee is very abundant in the higher and more rocky grounds; on sandy soil, it is not so plenty. The produce of the plants is very various; from some trees, enough may be gathered to fill a pocket handkerchief of the largest size, while others will not yield more than half a pound. It resembles the coffee of Java, being white, and of large grain. The colony, as yet, had not made coffee an article of export; they gather, however, enough for their own consumption. They export dye-woods, hides, ivory, palm-oil, and rice. Provisions are plenty, and in order to keep the native trade, they are sometimes taken in greater quantity than they are needed. The traders refuse none that are brought to them. The colonists in general, are well satisfied with their situation. The exceptions are very few, and consist of some old women, and persons of weak capacity, such as the colonists would be glad to get rid of. One or two, however, have been so dissatisfied as to remove: one in particular, came over in the same vessel with himself.

"The health of the colony is, in general, good. From ten days to six weeks after arrival, strangers are liable to attacks of ague and fever, but after that time they are generally healthy.

Mr. Devany said "that he had travelled up the St. Paul's river till he came to a series of falls, extending ten or twelve miles, in which space the water often falls, perpendicularly, twenty, thirty, or even fifty feet. About sixty or eighty miles up this river, is the country of King Boatswain. The intermediate country is finely wooded, abounding with valuable ship-timber. They have a species of oak which is evergreen, and grows to the size of five or six feet in diameter at the stump, rising from sixty to a hundred feet, and even to a hundred and ten feet, without a limb. They have, besides, a species of poplar, of a reddish colour, which works well, and is employed by joiners for the inside work of houses.

"The disease known at Cape Coast, as the *worm*, is not known at Monrovia. They have some timber, which after lying on the ground ten years, never has a worm. They have a species of teak similar to that in Brazil: also a brimstone wood, much resembling mahogany, but of a lighter colour. They have the great ant of Africa; which, however, instead of an annoyance, proves serviceable in clearing their houses from vermin of every description. A band of these insects will attack and master a rat, and having put him to death, will divide his body into small pieces, and marshalling themselves in array, will carry every particle of the spoil out of the house, to their nests.

"They paid one of their teachers a salary of four hundred and fifty dollars; but he did not consider this sufficient, and engaged in the business of a surveyor. The newspaper published in Monrovia, has between two and three hundred subscribers.

"Mr. Devany had visited Sierra Leone, but found it by no means in so prosperous a condition, as their own colony. He attributed the difference to the residence of European traders among them, who had engrossed the commerce to themselves, and who treated the coloured population with as little respect as they would receive in Carolina or Georgia.

"The Liberia agents treat the coloured people well; making no difference whatever on account of colour. The people have great respect for the agents, but feel themselves to be at the

head of their own society. Much activity and emulation prevail: each settler endeavours to push his own fortune by all lawful and honourable means. If one builds himself a good house this season, his neighbour will try to have as good a one the next. But this competition is attended with no ill will.

“To every colonist who arrives, a lot is assigned of a quarter of an acre, and fifteen acres in the neighbourhood; but to such as wish to become farmers, fifty acres of land are granted. The soil is cultivated with ease.

“The climate is mild and uniform; the thermometer never sinking below 68°, nor rising above 88°; perhaps once it has risen above 90°. There is a constant sea-breeze, and sometimes the weather is quite cool; never so cold, however, as to produce frost. There are no chimneys except to the kitchens; but in cold weather, it is customary to use small furnaces with charcoal. Many of the houses are built of stone, others of logs, weather-boarded. Some of them are painted white, with green venetian blinds.

“They have gardens abounding with vegetables, and various native fruits. The pine-apple is common, and they have a species of cherry growing in large clusters like grapes. The tamarind is common, and the palm-tree abounds, and is of great value; palm-oil is worth five or six cents a pound. They buy it from the natives for eight or ten cents a gallon.

“The slave trade is not suffered to exist within the colony; nor is it to be found within a space of forty-five or fifty miles, on each side of Cape Mesurado. Any person found engaged in this traffic, within the colony, is imprisoned. The crime is piracy by their law, and none of the colonists have been engaged in it.”

This account of the state of the colony, from a man who had resided there, for many years, is every way worthy of credit; and, indeed, carries internal evidence of its truth, to every candid mind.

We have also, a very satisfactory letter on the subject of Liberia, from Captain W. E. Sherman, a judicious and pious man, who took out the emigrants, who sailed in the *Liberia*. This letter is addressed to Mr. Edward Hallowell, dated May 10, 1830. Some extracts will be gratifying to those who wish to contemplate the progress of the colony, from year to year.

“Monrovia, at present, consists of about ninety dwelling

houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a council-house. Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and all of them comfortable. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and it contains seven hundred inhabitants. The streets are generally one hundred feet wide, and like those of our good city, (Philadelphia,) intersect each other at right angles.

"The Agent of the Colonization Society is the chief magistrate, and the physician of the colony, his assistant.

"No white people are allowed to reside in the colony for the purposes of trade, or of pursuing any mechanical business; such being intended for the exclusive benefit of the coloured people. The colonial secretary, collector of customs, surveyor, and constables, are appointed by the agent—the vice-agent, sheriff, treasurers, and all other civil offices, are filled by the coloured people.

"The court holds its sessions on the first Monday in every month; juries are empannelled as with us, and its jurisdiction extends over the whole colony.

"The township of Caldwell is about seven miles from Monrovia, on St. Paul's river, and contains a population of five hundred and sixty agriculturists. The soil is exceedingly fertile, the situation pleasant, and the people satisfied and happy.

"Millsburg is situated twenty-five miles from Monrovia, on the St. Paul's at the head of tide-water, where there are never failing streams, sufficient for one hundred mills; and there is timber enough, in their immediate neighbourhood, for their employment, if used for the purpose of sawing, for half a century. The town contains two hundred inhabitants.

"Bushrod Island separates Mesurado from St. Paul's river, and is seven miles in length, three at its extreme breadth, about five miles from Monrovia, and is very fertile. On this island are settled thirty families, from the Carolinas. All the above settlers, amounting to at least fifteen hundred, are emigrants from the United States.

"On the left bank of Stockton creek, and near Bushrod Island, the recaptured Africans are located; two hundred and fifty of whom were sent out by the Government of the United States, and one hundred and fifty, taken by the colonists, from

the Spanish factories; the agents of which having bought some of our kidnapped Africans, and refusing to give them up, the colonists, not only took their own people, but the slaves they had collected. These four hundred, who are useful agriculturists, are happily situated, and very contented. The settlements, of which I have spoken, contain an aggregate of two thousand souls, and are in a flourishing condition. * * *

"The means the colony has for defence, at present, consists of twenty pieces of ordnance, and muskets for one thousand men, which may be increased from private stores if wanted.

"There is much hospitality in Monrovia, and among the inhabitants a greater proportion of moral and religious characters, than in your city.

"It has been objected, that the climate is very unhealthy—this is true, as it respects the whites, but erroneous as respects the coloured people. Those from the middle and northern States, have to undergo what is called a seasoning—that is, they generally take the fever the first month of their residence, but it has rarely proved fatal since accommodations have been prepared for their reception: those from Georgia and the Carolinas and the southern parts of Virginia, either escape the fever altogether, or have it very slightly. Deaths occur there, indeed as in other places, but Doctor Mechlin, the agent, assured me that the bills of mortality would show a less proportion of deaths, than those of Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.

"I have no hesitation in saying, that I believe Liberia will, in time, become a great nation, and be the means, eventually, of civilizing a great part of Africa, and I should hope the whole of that benighted country."

The Rev. George M. Erskine, a Presbyterian preacher, of uncommon good sense, brought up in Tennessee, went out with his family, whose freedom he had obtained through the liberality of the Christian public. This man took up his residence at Caldwell, and after a month's residence, wrote back a letter which is remarkable for its sober, discriminating remarks. His mind was not of a sanguine temperament; and after surveying the state of the colony, he entertained serious apprehensions, that the colony would be injured by sending out too great a proportion of ignorant, uneducated persons. Of the forty-eight emigrants, who went out with him, he observes, that only seventeen could read, and he expresses strong fears, that instead of

civilizing the natives, the colonists would gradually approximate to their manners. He laments the low state of education in the colony; he therefore most earnestly requests, that enlightened teachers might be sent to Africa.

But he rejoiced, that he had arrived at the field of his missionary labours. "I am," says he, "thankful to the great Parent of heaven, that he has continued to me the same feelings that I had in your country; that is, that I may preach the gospel extensively in Africa. He has brought me into the harvest field, which is indeed white for labour. And as he has brought me here, I hope he will spare my life, and engage my heart and hands in that glorious work: but I submit myself into his hands, to do as to Him seemeth good."

Mr. Erskine's fond anticipations of usefulness in Africa, were, however, disappointed. His wife and daughter first, and then he himself sickened and died, with the fever of the climate. This was a severe shock to the colony, and especially to the Presbyterians.



CHAPTER XX.

AFRICAN EDUCATION—EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

WHATEVER may be said in favour of African colonization, it cannot be denied, that the colony has been carried on to its present state of advancement, with a great sacrifice of valuable men;—men as much distinguished for disinterested benevolence and heroic courage, as any men of their age. Some of them, also, were endowed with genius of a high order, and had minds cultivated by various learning. Pure and fervent piety, also, has been a striking characteristic of most of those self-sacrificing men, who have fallen a prey to the African fever.

In the preceding chapter it was mentioned that Dr. Anderson had gone out to fill the office of colonial physician, left vacant by the advancement of Dr. Mechlin to be colonial agent. Dr. Mechlin, on account of his health, having returned in the same vessel which carried Dr. Anderson out,

the duties of the agency, in addition to those of physician, devolved upon him. But he did not survive long enough to realize the difficulties of his situation. By a letter from Mr. Anthony D. Williams, vice-agent of the colony, information was received of the death of Dr. J. W. Anderson, of the African fever, after an illness of ten days. "We mingle," says the writer, "our tears with yours, in anticipation, when we reflect what a great loss the colony has sustained. Dr. Anderson had been but a few weeks among us, when summoned to take his departure for a better world; but his gentle and unassuming conduct, his Christian walk and conversation, and his medical skill, endeared him to all who had the happiness of being perfectly acquainted with him." Another letter says, "Well might I have said when Dr. Anderson breathed his last, 'Come and see how a Christian can die.' He commenced praying on Thursday evening, and continued in fervent prayer to his Redeemer, to the very last. He offered up a most fervent supplication in behalf of the colony, for the civil and military officers of the same, for the Colonization Society and its friends, and in behalf of his own relatives and friends. Shortly before he expired, he said, 'for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain,' and repeated the stanza,

'Jesus can make a dying bed
Feel soft as downy pillows are,
While on his breast I lean my head,
And breathe my life out sweetly there.'

He desired the following sentence to be inscribed on his tomb: 'Jesus, for thee I live, for thee I die.' "

The following obituary notice was published in the African Repository, for August, 1830.

"John Wallace Anderson, the youngest son of Col. Richard Anderson, was born in Montgomery county, Maryland, November 5, 1802. He commenced his academical studies at Rockville, and continued them at Hagerstown, until he was prepared to enter the Sophomore class of Nassau Hall, Princeton, New Jersey, whither he repaired to obtain a collegiate education. The state of his health compelled him to relinquish his studies in this institution; and after it was restored, he entered on the medical course at Philadelphia, where he was graduated in the spring of 1828. In the fall of the same year, he settled, as a practising physician, in Hagerstown, and twelve

months afterwards disclosed his determination to devote himself to African colonization, by serving in a medical capacity, among the colonists of Liberia. In fulfilling this resolution, Dr. Anderson had to leave a home rendered delightful by the presence of a most interesting family circle, and the ordinances of God's house administered in that church of which he was a member. He embarked on board the *Liberia*, on the 17th of January, 1830, arrived at the colony on the 17th of February, and on the 12th of April closed his earthly pilgrimage, after an illness of twelve days."

The editor of the *Repository* says, concerning this young man: "It was our privilege to enjoy his acquaintance but for two or three days, just before his departure for Liberia. But we saw in him, during this short season, evidences of remarkable devotion to the cause of God and man, and a spirit so mild, retiring, disinterested, and unwavering, as at once to win our affections and deeply impress our hearts."

On the 20th of October, 1830, the ship *Carolinian*, chartered by the American Colonization Society, sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, with one hundred and seven coloured emigrants for Liberia; forty-five of whom were emancipated slaves. The colonial agent, Dr. Mechlin, and Dr. Humphreys, colonial physician, took passage in this vessel. So also did Mr. and Mrs. Warner, missionaries to Liberia, sent out by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. Among the liberated slaves, were eight of the descendants of Abduhl Rahaman; and nine liberated by C. Bolton, Esq., of Savannah; twelve by Miss Blackburn, near Charlestown, Virginia; seven, by Miss Van Meter, Hardy county, Virginia; and seven others left free, by a gentleman in Essex county, Virginia; and a few others. The children and grand children of Abduhl Rahaman, were redeemed and provided for by a fund raised in Philadelphia, before mentioned. The emigrants were generally well supplied with articles most necessary for the voyage. One of the females liberated by Miss Blackburn had possession of a pretty good library, and many school-books. Two of the women sent by this benevolent lady, were accompanied by their husbands, whom she had redeemed at the price of eight hundred dollars.

It may be mentioned here as a fact worthy of notice, that Mr. Robert S. Finley, a son of the Rev. Dr. Finley, the founder

of the Colonization Society had entered the field as an agent, and the success of his first efforts furnish a favourable prognostication of his future usefulness in this cause. Rev. Mr. Bascom, continued his agency through the year with most encouraging success.

The Board of Managers, at Washington, were not inattentive to the importance of promoting education in the colony. Indeed, they were sensible that the success of their important enterprise depended more on this single point, than any other: and "that all the hopes of humanity and religion, connected with Liberia, must perish, unless the youth of the colony shall be brought under the influence of a well conducted system of education." The subject was, therefore, committed and re-committed, in order that some plan might be devised which would at the same time be efficient, and adapted to the circumstances of the people. And to aid the colonists in carrying the system which they sent them into effect, a resolution was passed, that one tenth part of all the proceeds of public lots and other lands, should be appropriated to the support of schools in the colony; and for the present, the whole. Their plan provided, that there should be built, at each populous settlement in Liberia, a good substantial school-house, and that one hundred dollars to this object will be contributed by the Board; and that five discreet persons among the colonists, at each town, should have the supervision of the school; these visitors to be appointed annually by the colonial agent and council. It was also resolved to recommend to the colonial agent and council, to require from the guardians or parents of children, such reasonable price of tuition as their respective circumstances may justify.

In the year 1828, a Mission School Society for Africans, was instituted at Hartford, Connecticut. The report of the directors of this society, in 1830, represents, "that the great difficulty with which the school has to contend, has been, that very few persons have presented themselves, as candidates for admission. After giving the most extensive information of the existence of this institution, and that it was prepared to receive pupils, no more than six had applied. Since that time, two more have been added, the first of whom, however, it became soon necessary to dismiss. Some good, however, has been effected. Two persons, Mr. Jones and Mr. Cæsar, had

been recommended to the Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church, to be sent out, under their care, as missionaries to Africa.

It has been the lot of this benevolent institution, above most others, to encounter hostility from opposite quarters. In Georgia, and South Carolina, at the commencement of the enterprise, there seemed to be a friendly feeling; as was evident from the reception given to Dr. Meade, when in 1820 he visited that state, to rescue from slavery certain recaptured Africans. And the same distinguished agent found in Charleston not only a friendly but a liberal spirit, in relation to this object. The first remittance from that city, was a sum not less than five hundred dollars. But in a little time, a different spirit began to manifest itself. One of the most liberal contributors, and one of the most distinguished men of the State, has since declared, that "the scheme of African colonization is both cruel and absurd." In 1827, the Colonization Society was denounced in the Charleston press, in a series of illiberal and angry essays, over the signature of Brutus. It was represented as making "an insidious attack on the tranquillity of the south;" as the "nest egg, placed in Congress by northern abolitionists, that therefrom might be raised and hatched for the south, anxiety, inquietude, and troubles to which there could be no end." The Charleston Mercury asks, "Will Congress aid a society reprobated at the south, and justly regarded as murderous in its principles, and as tending inevitably to the destruction of the public peace? Will it become an instrument in the hands of fanaticism, and act as the abettor of the incendiary and assassin?"

It is not easy to understand the reasons of the change which occurred in these southern States, unfavourable to the colonization of the free people of colour on the coast of Africa. Certainly, the society had not departed from its original principles; and there was nothing in the operations of the society, either in Africa, or this country, which could have given origin to such virulent hostility. The character of the numerous eminent men, connected with the institution of slavery, ought to have been considered a sufficient pledge that the scheme was not fraught with mischief. Such men as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, C. F. Mercer, and a host of others, are surety

enough to give the stamp of innocence and usefulness to any enterprise to which they have given their approbation.

It would seem, that the true reason why this rancorous hostility has arisen in South Carolina, is the operation of the society in opening the way for such persons as wished it, to emancipate their slaves; and the expectation, often expressed by the friends of the society, that efforts of this kind would go on increasing, until, it was hoped, slavery would disappear from our soil, and our country be relieved from the odium of this black spot in her escutcheon, in the eyes of foreign nations. Now, these violent opposers of colonization have adopted the opinion, that slavery is no evil to our country, political or moral; but a good and useful institution, and very favourable to the true spirit of republicanism! These sentiments were not known to exist in any part of the country, until they were boldly and eloquently expressed in both houses of Congress, by two of the most talented and distinguished politicians of South Carolina. It is no matter of wonder, that with such opinions as these, the scheme of colonization should be opposed; for although it proposes nothing but the removal of the free people of colour, with their own consent, yet it was not and could not be concealed, that the friends of this enterprise had ulterior views, far more important than the object immediately aimed at. It was believed by the founders and advocates of this society, that it would exercise a gradual and powerful influence on slavery, simply by furnishing benevolent and conscientious persons with an opportunity of emancipating their slaves, to their own advantage; and without injury to the country, as they would be removed as soon as liberated. The direct and immediate object of the Colonization Society is good, and if it accomplished no more than this, it would be achieving an important end: but the idea that it would rapidly promote voluntary emancipation by a moral and indirect influence, is that which has especially recommended it to its most enlightened friends. There can be no doubt, that the great men whose names have been mentioned, patronized the Colonization Society especially in the hope, that gradually, but rapidly, it would tend to deliver the country from the incubus of slavery, in a way to which no one would have any right or reason to object. But such as cling to slavery as a national blessing, cannot but dread the operation of a cause which will be multiplying, before the eyes

of all, instances of voluntary emancipation: and it cannot be denied that the occurrence of these effects, in every part of the country, where slavery exists, will have a tendency to bring before the minds both of masters and slaves, the true nature of this relation.

The opposition which has arisen to the north and the south, and which has gone on increasing in virulence and extent, has no doubt, had the effect of preventing any efficient action of Congress on this subject. At one time, it seemed as if the expression of opinion in the legislatures of the States, in the ecclesiastical bodies of all denominations, and in the meetings of the people, would have so pressed this subject on the attention of Congress, that, in obedience to the voice of the people, the national government would have not only patronized the society, but have extended over Liberia the broad shield of its protection. That pleasing vision, however, has passed away. Our chief hope now is, that the States, which are interested, will, as in the case of Maryland, appropriate an annual sum sufficient to transport all the free people of colour, who may wish to go to Africa. Virginia made some attempt to follow the example of her sister Maryland, but has not proceeded *pari passu* with her: the appropriation made by her legislature has from some unwise provisions of the law, been entirely ineffectual. But perhaps, we shall see, in the end, that it was best, that in the early stages of the colony, it should depend only on private enterprise and liberality.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Colonization Society was held in Washington City, Wednesday evening, January 19, 1831. Mr. C. F. Mercer, one of the vice-presidents, presided. The annual report of the Board of Managers to the society was read by Mr. Gurley, the corresponding secretary, and exhibited many interesting and encouraging facts, in regard to the state and prospects of the colony, and of the progress made by the society in the United States. It appeared that two vessels, the Carolinian and the Volador had recently sailed with emigrants for Africa. The receipts of the society, during the past year, were above twenty-seven thousand dollars, of which sum nearly eleven thousand dollars arose from collections on the fourth of July. And the receipts of 1830, exceeded those of 1829 by eight thousand dollars.

Various resolutions were proposed and adopted, but none of

them were of very great importance. Addresses were made by Elliott Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia; by the Hon. Mr. Wilson, of Maryland; by Mr. Custis, of Arlington; by Gerrit Smith, of New York; by Mr. Doddridge, of Virginia; by the Rev. Calvin Colton, of Massachusetts; by the Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey; by the Hon. Mr. Bates, of Massachusetts; and by J. S. Benham, Esq.

By the successive arrivals of the Carolinian of Philadelphia, the Volador of Baltimore, the Zembuca of Baltimore, and the Reaper of Salem, intelligence was received from the colony, and a letter from Dr. Mechlin, the colonial agent. These despatches mention the death of the wife and child of the Rev. Benjamin Rush Skinner, the Baptist missionary, who, under the direction of the Baptist Board, had gone out, last year, to Liberia.

Dr. Mechlin remarks, "I was much gratified, on my arrival, to find affairs in a more prosperous condition than my most sanguine anticipations had led me to expect. Indeed, the spirit of improvement appears to have pervaded all classes. Upwards of twenty-five substantial stone and frame buildings have been erected in Monrovia, and several walls are now in progress; and I am credibly informed (for I have not had time to examine for myself) that our agricultural interests have advanced more during the present, than any preceding year—in fact the people seem to be sensible that much may be effected by a little exertion, and appear determined to use their utmost efforts to develop the resources of the country."

"Our relations with the natives continue to be of the most amicable kind, and our influence over them is rapidly extending. Applications have been recently made to receive under our protection, several in our vicinity. A head-man, named Far Gay, has placed himself with his people under our protection, surrendering all authority over them to the colonial government. Prince Will and King Tom, of Junk, wish to make a similar arrangement, but not exactly on the same terms. The sea-coast already belongs to us; they now wish us to purchase the interior from them, (which can be effected at a moderate price,) and assume the internal government of the country. This they are anxious to effect, to secure themselves from being molested by King Boatswain; who has been for some time at war with the tribes at Little Bassa. I think it advisable, that

their request should be acceded to; otherwise we might lose the influence we now possess, and want of power to protect them would no doubt be assigned as a reason for our refusal. At present, the natives in our vicinity deem it no small privilege to be permitted to call themselves Americans.

“Our public schools continue much in the same state as when I departed for the United States, but the colonists seem to be more alive to the importance of education, and I have no doubt will cheerfully afford every assistance in their power towards rendering the regulation lately adopted by the Board as efficient as possible. I cannot close this despatch without expressing my warmest approbation of the able manner in which the colonial affairs have been conducted by the present vice-agent, Mr. A. D. Williams. During my absence, every thing appears to have gone on with the greatest regularity; and the most rigid economy, consistent with the public welfare, has been observed. Indeed, under all circumstances, and in every situation, I think him entitled to your unlimited confidence.”

In a letter written some weeks afterwards, Dr. Mechlin says: “It is with pleasure I announce to you, the safe arrival of the brig *Volador*, after a voyage of thirty-nine days, with all her passengers, eighty-three in number, in good health. I think, from the appearance of these people, they will prove an acquisition to our colony. They have all been landed with their effects, and with few exceptions, sent to Caldwell, where they will be placed under the medical superintendence of Dr. Toddson, until they have in a measure become acclimated, when a portion of them will be located at Millsburg. I think it probable, that most of them will have the fever slightly, as they came from the lower parts of Virginia and North Carolina. The experience of former emigrations having proved that the disease of the country affects such in a slighter degree than those from the northern, or from the mountainous parts of the southern States.

“On the 5th inst. I exposed at public sale, on a credit of three, six, and nine months, some of the lots in Monrovia, on the margin of the river—the result exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and will place at my disposal for the purposes of education, a much greater sum than I anticipated, and will enable me, at once, to carry into operation the school-system, author-

ized by the Board. Enclosed, you will receive a copy of an act for the support of schools, passed by the agent and council.

"The request of the Board that I should discourage the sale of ardent spirits in the colony, shall receive my earliest and most serious consideration.

"The school-houses will be commenced immediately, and I hope completed by the middle of April. Directors of schools have been appointed agreeably to the resolutions of the Board, as well as teachers for Monrovia and Caldwell.

"The deaths among the Carolinian's emigrants have been more numerous than I anticipated, and have occurred chiefly in those families from the mountainous parts of Virginia. Out of the one hundred and seven emigrants by this vessel, twenty have died."

By information still more recent than the above despatches, it was learned that the Rev. Benjamin Rush Skinner died on board the Liberia, on his return to the United States, on the first of March, 1831; and that Dr. Humphries, the colonial physician, died at Monrovia, of a pulmonary affection, on the 22d of February. Some more deaths of the emigrants by the Carolinian, had occurred; but none of those who came out in the Volador. The health of Dr. Mechlin was improving, and Dr. Todsén was well.

In a letter from Dr. Mechlin to Elliott Cresson, Esq., there is some information not so fully contained in his former communications. This letter bears date February 21, 1832.

"The prospects of the colony were never brighter than at present. The improvements in agriculture, commerce, and buildings, during my short visit to the United States, have been astonishingly great, and far exceeded my most sanguine expectations; and should nothing intervene to interrupt our present advancement, our little town will ere long, be one of the most desirable places of resort on the western coast of Africa. I have been informed, by a captain, from the leeward, that there is, at present, much more business done at this place than at any of the old European settlements on the Gold Coast.

"We have, at present, among our recaptured Africans, many who, on their arrival here, were scarcely a remove, in point of civilization, from the native tribes around us, but who, at present, are as pious and devoted servants of Christ, as you will meet in any community: and by their walk and conversation,

afford an example worthy of imitation. They have a house for public worship, and Sunday-schools established, which are well attended; and their church is regularly supplied every Sunday from among our own clergy. These people I consider as forming an admirable medium of communication, or link, between the savage natives and civilized colonists from the United States, and will, I have no doubt, prove a powerful means of spreading the light of Christianity and civilization over this benighted country.

“As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the United States: that is, you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers, Sabbath-breakers, &c., than in Liberia. Indeed, I know no country where things are conducted more quietly and orderly than in this colony. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots or breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, since I assumed the government of the colony. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States. Our Sunday-schools are well attended, not only by the children of the colonists, but also by the native children who reside among us.”

The legislature of Maryland had already, with most of her sister States, expressed her approbation of the objects of the Colonization Society; but, this year, Mr. Brawner brought into the House of Representatives a set of resolutions, which contemplated something further than the mere expression of opinion. They were as follows,

“*Resolved*, That the increased proportion of the free people of colour in this State, to the white population, the evils growing out of their connexion and unrestrained association with the slaves, their manner of obtaining a subsistence, and their withdrawing a large portion of employment from the labouring class of the white population, are subjects of momentous and grave consideration to the good people of this State.

“*Resolved*, That as philanthropists and lovers of freedom, we deplore the existence of slavery among us, and would use our utmost exertions to ameliorate its condition; yet we consider the unrestricted power of manumission as fraught with ultimate evils of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstances of slavery alone; and that any act, having for its object the mitiga-

tion of these joint evils, not inconsistent with other paramount considerations, would be worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded, and enlightened people; therefore,

“*Resolved*, That we consider the colonization of the free people of colour in Africa, as the commencement of a system, by which, if judicious encouragement be afforded, these evils may be measurably diminished, so that, in process of time, the relative proportion of the black to the white population, will hardly be matter for serious or unpleasant consideration.

“*Ordered*, therefore, that a committee of five members be appointed by the chair, with instructions to report a bill, based, as nearly as may be, upon the principles contained in the foregoing resolutions.”

These resolutions were adopted, and the committee appointed.

In order that we may form a correct opinion of the state of the colony, it is desirable to have the testimony not only of friends, and residents, but also of impartial travellers and visitors. The favourable report of Captain Sherman has already been laid before the reader; we will now add that of Captain Woodside. In a letter, dated the 2d of April, 1831, he says, “I returned from Mesurado, via Philadelphia, in November last, and I must say this visit afforded me more real satisfaction, than any I had hitherto made to Africa. Being in a great measure untrammelled with business, I had leisure to visit Caldwell and King Bromley’s town, and was much pleased, I assure you, with my excursion. The beauty of the situation of Caldwell, the fertility of the soil, and the air of comfort and happiness, which reigns throughout, will, I hope, remain an everlasting evidence of the unceasing exertions of our friend Ashmun. I dined with King Bromley, and had a long conversation with him on the affairs of the colony—he frankly admitted to me that he believed no white man but Ashmun, could have reconciled him to the loss of the beach trade—that Ashmun had been a father to him and to his people, and that he had convinced him satisfactorily, that trading in his fellow men was criminal and wrong.”

During this year, (1831,) a considerable movement took place in Kentucky, respecting the gradual emancipation of slaves. A number of slaveholders, convinced that immediate emanci-

pation was not practicable nor desirable, formed a society, the object of which was, to promote the gradual abolition of slavery; and any person by becoming a member of this society, pledged himself to provide for the freedom of all the posterity of his slaves, which should be born after a certain day; in this, setting an example of the course which they supposed the legislature of the State might safely pursue.

The colonization scheme was generally approved in this State; its most distinguished cities having patronized it from the beginning; and the ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, being found amongst its zealous advocates. The Rev. Mr. Bascom had already traversed the State; but now Mr. Robert S. Finley, being appointed permanent agent for the west, held many meetings, and by his powerful addresses gave a new impetus to the cause.

Mr. Finley, in his report to the Board, observes, "that there is no law in Kentucky prohibiting the instruction of slaves to read and write, and that great efforts are making to encourage and assist them in doing so. After delivering an address to a large and respectable audience in this place, (Lexington,) a venerable clergyman, who had lived here ever since the early settlement of the country, arose, and in a solemn and impressive manner, urged the necessity and duty of having a Sunday-school established in every kitchen where there were slaves, to instruct them to read the Bible; having especially in view, the object of preparing them to be useful and respectable citizens of Liberia. This gentleman has a Sunday-school taught in his kitchen, by a very respectable and intelligent man, his slave, where from fifty to a hundred, mostly slaves, are weekly instructed. I visited his school last Sunday, and found it remarkably well ordered, and was informed by the teacher, that about thirty of his scholars could read in the New Testament."

The cause of colonization found also a zealous and able advocate in Illinois, in the person of Cyrus Edwards, Esq. An address of this gentleman, delivered in Vandalia, may be read in the number of the African Repository for the month of June, 1831. It is lucid and convincing, and will well repay the perusal.

We have another very satisfactory testimony in favour of the colony of Liberia, from Captain Kennedy, a distinguished naval officer, the late commander of the Java. This testimony

is the more unsuspected, because Captain Kennedy acknowledges, that he had imbibed prejudices against the colonization enterprise. On this account, "I sought out," says he, "the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long and wary conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them, any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their native country—neither of these did I observe: on the contrary, I thought I could perceive, that they thought they had started into a new existence—that disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud in their attitude, and seemed conscious, that while they were the founders of a new empire, they were prosecuting the noble purpose of regenerating the land of their fathers.

"I was pleased to observe, that they were impressed with the vast importance of a proper education, not only of their own children, but the children of the natives, and that to this they looked, confidently, as the means of their high object, namely the civilization of their benighted brethren of Africa.

"I observed, with great satisfaction, that their children in many instances could converse in the languages of the tribes by which the colony is surrounded. Most of the articles of commerce which can be profitably used in barter with the natives are familiar to your readers; but there are yet some which have not employed the enterprise of our citizens.

"In the article of salt, more especially, a most advantageous traffic is conducted, and yet susceptible of great increase. In bartering with that article, the colonists readily receive gold dust, ivory, dye-wood, &c., at the rate of two dollars per quart. It is matter of astonishment that our enterprising citizens have not sought, in that particular article, a channel for the most profitable speculation. An extent of eight or ten leagues south of the cape is well adapted for the making of salt by evaporation, with comparatively little labour. Indeed the isle of Mayo, (one of the Cape de Verde islands,) only eight or nine days sail from Mesurado, would furnish abundance of salt for the purposes of the colony at a low price. I would recommend for the better prosecution of this traffic that the salt be imported in iron pots and kettles of various sizes, as they could be disposed of at a very great price.

“It gives me pleasure to state, that the colonists are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. That this article of produce is to prove a vast source of wealth to the colonists, there can be no doubt. The labour and expense of its cultivation will be comparatively small: indeed, they have but to clear away the forest trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. There are two descriptions of the plant indigenous; one a shrub, evidently the same as the Mocha, but yielding a berry of superior flavour; the other, a tree, frequently attaining the height of forty feet. A specimen of the latter I brought with me to Cuba, in the Java, and left it with Mr. Shaler, our consul.

The August number of the Repository for 1831, is nearly filled with the learned, profound, and comprehensive speech of Mr. (now Rev.) R. J. Breckinridge, delivered before the Colonization Society of Kentucky, at Frankfort. This speech, while it embraces, and clearly exhibits the great leading principles by which hereditary slavery is condemned, and should as soon as possible be removed from society; yet is too indiscriminate in denouncing the present holders of slaves, as though they had it in their power at once to relieve themselves from this curse, which they have inherited from their forefathers. Whatever may be said of slavery in the abstract, no man is morally bound to liberate his slaves, unless in his conscience, he is convinced, that he can place them in a better situation. Again, liberty is a blessing which requires certain qualifications in the subject, without which it is no blessing, but may be the very reverse. Liberty, therefore, should not be granted to those who are incapable of making a good use of it. On this principle, children, minors, idiots, and the insane, are better without liberty than with it; and adults may be in such a state of ignorance and moral degradation, that their condition, as domestic slaves, is far better for them than unrestrained liberty. They are incapable of self government, and of providing for their own safety and subsistence. Until such persons are prepared for liberty by a suitable education, there is no moral obligation on any one to bestow liberty upon them. But if they are in our power, we are under obligations to do all we can to improve their condition. And when freedom is granted to such as have been long in bondage, it should be granted not suddenly, but gradually. The attention and exer-

tions of the philanthropist should first be directed to the improvement of men, before it aims to give them unrestrained liberty.

The public mind, especially in the southern States, was greatly agitated and alarmed, by a sudden insurrection of the negroes in Southampton county, Virginia, which occurred in August, 1831. This insurrection was most unexpected, and upon careful inquiry, was found to be confined to a very few persons. It originated and was carried into effect by a fanatical preacher, called Nat Turner; who, having enlisted a few miserable, deluded slaves in his preposterous schemes, fell upon a number of defenceless families, massacring men, women, and children indiscriminately. They rushed from house to house, increasing their number by the sudden terror which they inspired, and were not suppressed until they had murdered more than sixty persons, most of whom belonged to respectable and peaceable families, against whom, these infuriated miscreants could have had no cause of offence.

It is not surprising that such an event should produce much excitement, and give a view of danger not commonly apprehended. When the legislature of the State of Virginia met at the close of the year, a public and most interesting debate was held on the subject of slavery, and emancipation, for several weeks; and although it resulted in no decisive measures, yet it was the means of diffusing much light through the community; and some measures were taken, though not judiciously planned, for aiding the Colonization Society to remove the free people of colour from the State.

The brig *Criterion*, sailed from Norfolk for Liberia on the 2d of August, with supplies, and forty-six emigrants. Of these, thirty-nine were manumitted by the following persons, respectively: eighteen by Mrs. Elizabeth Greenfield, near Natchez, Mississippi; eight by Mr. Williams, of Elizabeth City, North Carolina; seven by General Jacocks, of Perquimans county, North Carolina; four by Thomas Davis, Montgomery county, Maryland; one by J. W. Green, Esq., Kentucky; one by H. Robinson, Esq., Hampton, Virginia; the remainder, except Mr. Cæsar and wife, of Philadelphia, and a recaptured African from Georgia, had been under the care of the Society of Friends, in North Carolina. Of these liberated slaves, two only were above forty years of age, and thirty-one were under thirty-five; and twenty-two were under twenty years of age.

Towards the close of the year 1831, several vessels sailed from the United States, carrying out emigrants, and supplies for the colonists. One of these was the schooner Margaret, which the Board had been enabled to purchase, by means of a loan granted by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society. This beautiful new vessel sailed from Philadelphia on the 18th, and from Newcastle on the 21st of October. Captain Abels, of Philadelphia, was employed as master, and Mr. Frazier, of Baltimore, as mate, and her crew consisted of good looking coloured men, one of whom had been several times at the colony.

The only emigrants which she carried out, were two families; the one, that of the Rev. William Johnson, of Hartford, Connecticut; the other, a family liberated by the Rev. Dr. Matthews, then of Shepherdstown, Virginia. This venerable man incurred an expense of four hundred dollars, to secure the freedom of one of these slaves, that he might remove with his wife to Liberia. (*African Repository*, November, 1831, p. 284.)

The schooner Orion sailed from Baltimore for Liberia, on Monday the 26th of October, with between thirty and forty emigrants, all from Maryland. The funds for this expedition were raised entirely by the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Maryland. The people of this State seemed more generally to enter into the scheme of colonizing their free people of colour, than any other.

Information was also received from Mr. R. S. Finley, the agent for the Western States, that at least a hundred emigrants, within his knowledge, were willing and ready to depart to Liberia. Also, that a fine ship had been chartered to carry out a number of emigrants, by Mr. McPhail, of Norfolk. Her name was The James Perkins.

This fine ship sailed from Norfolk on the 9th of December, with three hundred and thirty-nine emigrants; all of whom had been highly recommended for intelligence, good morals, and industrious habits. In this vessel, though the number was so large, they had the most ample accommodations, with liberal supplies, judiciously laid in. Most of these emigrants were from the lower parts of Virginia; and a great proportion from Southampton county, the scene of the late horrid massacre.

It was also understood, that if the funds requisite were in hand, another expedition of as great a number might be easily fitted out. Mr. McPhail, who attended to the whole business

of fitting out this vessel, and providing for the emigrants, has, by his zeal, energy, and diligence, laid the society under lasting obligations for his services.

Captain A. H. Weaver, ex-commander of the brig Henry Eckford, having spent a few weeks in the colony, and having, on his return, met with Captain Waters, from Salem, mentioned the unusual mortality which had occurred among the emigrants, who had sailed in the Carolinian. This report was noised abroad to the injury of the colony; he, therefore, published a letter, in which he gives his opinion, not only of the climate of Liberia, but of the general condition of the colony. And as it is our object to exhibit the views of intelligent and impartial men on this subject, a few extracts from this letter will here be given. "Nature seems to have ordained, that on a removal from a temperate clime to the torrid zone of Africa, in order to be acclimated, it is necessary, in most cases, to pass through the ordeal of fever." "It is, I believe, a true assertion, that the natives of that part of the coast are uncommonly healthy—*so are the acclimated emigrants*. In future, when emigrants are sent there, from the interior of the country, I would earnestly recommend, that the detention on the sea-board, and at the mouth of the St. Paul's and Mesurado rivers, should be as short as possible. By transferring them measurably beyond the atmosphere of the mangrove swamps at the mouth of these rivers, I have no doubt their health will be protected in the ratio that the change of situation is diminished.

"The charge of unhealthiness against Liberia, for the coloured races, cannot be supported—it is the birth-place of the black man, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted; and though estranged for a time from his native clime, nature will undoubtedly triumphantly resume her sway, whenever he returns to the land of his fathers. Africa is the black man's home, physically. Morally he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries.

"If our government will deign to foster that colony, a very short time will suffice to render it of great importance in a commercial point of view, independent of home considerations. Large quantities of our domestic cotton goods are already consumed on the coast, and England may, in a few years, be driven from the competition, as she has been from the Cape de Verde Islands, solely from our fabrics being cheaper and more service-

able. There are millions to be clothed in Africa, and they have already learned to discriminate between the intrinsic value of the coarse productions of the British and American looms. In the tobacco trade we can have no rivals. The north and the south are deeply interested in the success of our sable colony. The north will find a mart for her surplus manufactures, and the south a home and refuge for a portion of its population, which every good citizen must wish to see speedily transferred thither—I mean the free people of colour of the United States. The cost of transportation is by many persons of intelligence deemed an insurmountable barrier. Avarice—the avarice of England, brought them here. Shall we make the painful admission, that that vice so far exceeds the combined virtues of a Christian community, as to render its deeds irrevocable? No sir; it is in the power of the American people, with a due understanding of the case, and of the magnitude of the object, to effect much by a simultaneous movement. The abolition of slavery is not supposed. I am fully aware of its present impracticability. But allow me to make a single calculation as to the feasibility of removing the free coloured population of the twenty-four States, from this country to Liberia. That population I will assume at three hundred thousand souls, requiring six hundred ships to transport them, men, women, and children. Six thousand dollars is the sum for which a ship competent to the voyage can be chartered. Thus we have a sum of three million six hundred thousand dollars; an amount of money requisite to disburden ourselves, and found an empire in Africa. After the payment of the national debt, to what more hallowed purpose, and more to the glory of the United States could a surplus revenue be applied? Could that object be effected, gradual emancipation would probably follow, in the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, upon condition of transplantation in Africa. Each state, I have shown, is interested in the successful colonization of Liberia.”

CHAPTER XXI.

EVENTS OF 1832.

THE fifteenth anniversary meeting of the American Colonization Society was held on Monday, the 16th of January, 1832, in the hall of the House of Representatives of the United States. At the hour of meeting the hall was filled to overflowing with an assembly composed of many of the officers of government, members of both Houses of Congress, distinguished strangers and citizens, and a large number of the ladies of the metropolis.

The Hon. Charles F. Mercer, one of the vice-presidents, took the chair.

Among the earliest communications made to this meeting, were letters from Lafayette, from James Madison, and from John Marshall. It cannot but be gratifying to be able to communicate some of the sentiments of Mr. Madison, and that near the close of life, on this interesting subject. After mentioning the difficulty which he now found to use the pen, he says, "I may observe, in brief, that the society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others, found to be better judges; and that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties, afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances, at the present moment, seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the society, and cherishing the hope that the time will come, when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense in removing it to its new home.

“The spirit of private manumission as the laws may permit, and the exiles may consent, is increasing, and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities, in slave-holding States, are looking forward to interpositions in different forms, that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for the emigrants, all agree that the choice made by the Society is rendered peculiarly appropriate, by considerations which need not be repeated; and if other situations should be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.”

But we would call the attention of our readers especially to the following expression of opinion of this clear-sighted and upright politician, contained in the same letter.

“In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character; and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slave-holding States, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it. Should it be remarked, that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefitted, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

“I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself, but if the general government be reconciled to the application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the constitution.

“Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labours of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutations. JAMES MADISON.”

The Hon. Judge Marshall, in his letter, read at the same time, goes into the same subject, treated by Mr. Madison, respecting the western lands, as a resource from which the necessary funds for the purpose of transporting the people of colour might be derived. He says, speaking of the right of the government

to aid in defending the coast from pirates, and putting down the slave-trade, "I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised. The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it; and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South, than the application of money drawn from the treasury, and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of, by the government, under the idea of absolute ownership. The cessions of the several States conveyed them to the general government, for the common benefit, without prescribing any limits to the judgment of congress, or any rule, by which that judgment shall be exercised. The removal of our coloured population, is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated."

Among the distinguished men who attended this meeting and took part in its proceedings, were the Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, Hon. Mr. Archer, of Virginia, Hon. Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, Rev. Leonard Bacon, and Rev. D. Fitch, of New Haven, the Hon. Mr. Bates, of Massachusetts, and the Hon. Mr. Vance, of Ohio.

The thanks of the society were voted to J. H. McClure, Esq., for his munificent donation of ten thousand dollars.

The most encouraging intelligence was received from Liberia up to the date of December, 1831, by the brig *Criterion*. The emigrants who went out in that vessel, after a tedious passage, arrived in safety, having experienced no mortality from the effects of the climate. The *Liberia Herald*, received by this arrival, gave a very flattering account of the increasing trade and enterprise of the settlers. After mentioning the valuable products of Grand Bassa, the *Herald* observes:

"The beach is lined with Liberians of all ages, from twelve to fifty years, eager in the pursuit of traffic, and in the acquisition of cam-wood; and it is astonishing what little time is

necessary to qualify, even the youngest, to drive as hard a bargain as any roving merchant from the land of steady habits, with his assortment of tin-ware, nutmegs, books, or dry goods."

Captain Abels, a pious and sensible man, who went out in charge of the colonial brig Margaret Mercer, having returned to Washington, gave his views of the colony in the following interesting letter:

"WASHINGTON, *February* 10, 1832.

"*Dear Sir:* Having just arrived in the United States from the colony of Liberia, to which place I went as master of the schooner Margaret Mercer, and where I remained thirteen days, during which time I was daily on shore, and carefully observed the state of affairs, and inquired into the condition of the people, I venture to state some facts in regard to the circumstances and prospects of the colony. On the 14th December I arrived, and on the 15th went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by the governor, Dr. Mechlin, who introduced me to the ministers and principal inhabitants. All the colonists appeared to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Mesurado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores, (the first story of many of them being of stone,) and some of them handsome, spacious, painted, and with Venitian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than the great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person*, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the gospel, on Christmas day I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist church, to full and attentive congregations of from three to four hundred persons in each. I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to be more respected than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the colonial agent or governor is a

constant attendant on divine service, and appears desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of colour in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided and deliberate judgment. Very respectfully, sir, your friend and servant,

WILLIAM ABELS."

The animated and protracted debate in the legislature of Virginia, this winter, was, on many accounts, a very remarkable event. The principal speeches delivered, on this occasion, have been published; and it does not comport with the plan of our work to go into any details respecting this interesting transaction. After the close of the debate, Mr. Broadnax, from the select committee on slaves and free negroes, reported a bill, "devising the ways and means for deporting free negroes, and such as may become free, to Liberia." The bill, as modified and amended, proposed an appropriation of \$35,000 for the present year, and \$90,000 for the next, to be expended in colonizing the free people of colour; and it passed the House of Delegates, but failed in the Senate.

On the 30th of January, the following resolution was reported from the select committee on coloured population, in the House of Delegates, and was concurred in:

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient to apply to the General Government to procure a territory or territories, beyond the limits of the United States, to which the several States may remove their free coloured population."

At the same time the legislature of Maryland had this subject under consideration, and adopted measures, of which a full account will be given in its proper place.

Even in congress there was a movement beyond that to which the caution of the national legislature had permitted them to go before. The following resolution offered by Mr. Jenifer, of Maryland, with some other colonization papers, was referred to a select committee.

"*Resolved*, That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the purpose

of removing from the United States the free people of colour, and colonizing them on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere."

About this time, occurred one of the most horrid instances of merciless barbarity, which can be found, even in the blood stained annals of the slave trade. It appeared sufficiently attested, that a slaver when pursued by the Fair Rosamond and Black Joke, tenders to the frigate Dryade, actually threw overboard one hundred and eighty slaves, manacled together: four of whom only were picked up!!

Information of a pleasing kind was received early in the year, from that intrepid and devoted friend of colonization, Elliott Cresson, Esq., who had paid a visit to England, to promote those just views in regard to the scheme of colonization which were entertained in America. It appeared that he had been very successful in awaking the attention and sympathies of the English nation to the importance of the great scheme of philanthropy, in which the society is engaged. This visit of Mr. Cresson originated in the impulse of his own benevolent feelings, and was entirely at his own expense.

The return of the James Perkins, brought favourable accounts from Liberia. Captain Crowell arrived there after a quick passage of thirty-five days, and landed three hundred and forty-five emigrants, all in good health. The captain states, that he had far less trouble with them on the passage than he expected, and that they were during the voyage, almost perfectly exempt from disease. They were immediately transferred to Caldwell, and appeared well satisfied with their own accommodations, and with all that they saw in the colony. The favourable impressions, relative to the colony, made on the minds of the natives, appeared to be increasing daily. Applications were continually received requesting settlements to be made on different points on the coast.

At the close of the last year, a small expedition for Liberia, was set on foot, in the western States, under the auspices and direction of Mr. R. S. Finley, the society's indefatigable agent. The vessel chartered was the schooner Crawford, Captain Taylor, which sailed from New Orleans, and arrived at Monrovia, after a long passage of sixty days, carrying out twenty-three emigrants, under the care of Dr. Shane of Cincinnati.

Dr. Todsén, the colonial physician, gave a very favourable account of his success in the treatment of the fever, and concluded by saying, "that it was as much under the control of

medicine, as a bilious fever, in the United States." He also said, "I think Millsburg an excellent site for those who may be disposed to cultivate the soil. At this time, where many spots at Caldwell, and all at the cape are withered for want of rain, all is verdant and fresh about Millsburg."

In the month of May, of the current year, (1832,) the ship *Jupiter* took her departure from Norfolk for Liberia, with one hundred and seventy emigrants; ninety-one of whom were manumitted slaves. Of these, forty-six were liberated by the will of D. Bradley, of Georgia; fourteen by Joseph A. Gray, Esq., of Halifax county, North Carolina; fourteen by Mr. Stewart, of Marlborough District, South Carolina; three by Dr. Wilson, of Smithfield, Virginia; seven by George Reynolds, Esq., of Jefferson county, Virginia; and nine by Thomas O. Taylor, of Powhatan county, Virginia. Of the whole number, fourteen were between thirty and forty years of age; thirty-one between twenty and thirty; and ninety-nine, under twenty years. As a company, they were represented to be very intelligent and respectable; and promised by their industry, sobriety, and good sense, to add strength to the colony.

Dr. Shane, who went out in the schooner *Crawford*, to take care of the emigrants from the West, gave a very favourable account of the state of the colony, and the contentedness of the people.

Dr. Mechlin, the colonial agent, paid a visit, in the early part of the year, with a view to negotiate with the chiefs of Grand Bassa for the purchase of a territory at the mouth of the St. John's river. After a fatiguing journey he arrived at the place, and made the purchase on very favourable terms. The purchase-money was paid in hand, and a deed for the land obtained. This was an acquisition of great value, as will appear more clearly in the sequel.

Hostilities had been threatened by King Brumley, but the prospect of war appeared to have passed away by the death of this old man. Soon, however, it was found that the Dey tribe, and some others, were combining their forces; and it was not long before acts of violence were committed on some of the colonists and some of the recaptured Africans, one of whom made his escape from them, and came to the colony, very badly wounded. A messenger was sent to King Willey, to demand the release of those colonists and recaptured Africans, then con-

fined in his town; but they treated him with contempt, and tore up the letter, of which he was the bearer, and told him to inform the agent, that they would seize and imprison every colonist they could fall in with. On the day following, they appeared on the banks of the St. Paul's, opposite Caldwell, blowing their war-horns, firing their muskets, and challenging the colonists to the combat. After a consultation, it was resolved to send a company of the recaptured Africans, well armed, to seize on the chiefs, then assembled at Willey's Town, holding a palaver on the best method of attacking the colony. Accordingly, about one hundred recaptured Africans crossed the river, and took up the line of march for King Willey's Town, but on approaching the place, they found a large force already assembled, and after a little skirmishing were driven back, and retreated with the loss of one man. The enemy were highly elated by this partial success; and after barricading their town, they sent word to the colonists, that if they did not speedily meet them in the field, they would attack Caldwell, and Millsburg, which they deemed themselves strong enough to destroy. The Dey and Gurra tribes were acting in combination, and it was evident, that unless effectual resistance was speedily made, the whole of these tribes would be in arms against the colony. The agent, therefore, determined to march against them at once, and destroy their fortified town, and give them such chastisement as would deter them from ever molesting the colony again.

Accordingly, he left Monrovia, on the 20th of June, with part of the volunteer companies, under the command of Captains Stewart and Weaver, and part of the militia under the command of Captain Brander. The whole force amounted to eighty men. They took with them also, a light field piece. At Caldwell, where they encamped the first night, they were joined by Captain Nixon's volunteer company, and a part of the Caldwell militia, under command of Captain Thompson, amounting in all, to seventy men—also the recaptured Africans, to the number of one hundred and twenty. These were placed under the command of Captain E. Johnson. The whole force amounted to two hundred and seventy men. They proceeded, the first day, to Brumley's Town, which they took possession of without opposition, and encamped for the night, intending, next day, to make an attack on their barricaded town. Next morning the little army took up the line of march to King Willey's

Town, where it was understood the enemy had assembled in great force. The route from Brumley to King Willey's, was very fatiguing, and in many places completely obstructed by large trees which had fallen across the path, and which it was necessary to cut through and remove, before they could bring forward the field piece. In some places, they had to cut a way around obstructions which could not be removed. On account of these difficulties, the army was seven hours in marching ten miles. After the middle of the day, a heavy discharge of musketry gave notice that the recaptured Africans, who had proceeded in advance, were engaged with the enemy. The field piece was immediately pushed forward, and soon they found themselves in front of the barricade, distant only twenty-five or thirty yards. They immediately opened fire, and after a few discharges, forced the enemy to abandon their position in front. The pioneers now rushed forward under the cover of the field piece, and cut through the barricade; so that the field piece was pushed into the enclosure, and the town was gained: the enemy having escaped through the opening in the rear. The position was well chosen, and had it been well defended, must have cost great loss, before it could have been carried. The barricade was constructed of logs, fifteen feet in length, with the interstices filled with smaller logs, so as to be completely proof against musketry. Numerous loopholes were left, through which they pointed their guns; and a small three-pounder was so placed, as to rake the approach to the town; which, on the other side, was fortified by a kind of *chevaux de frize*, formed by the branches and trunks of trees cut down and placed on the original dense undergrowth, so as to render it absolutely impervious. Behind this, they had placed a strong force to take the assailants in flank, should they attempt to force the barricade. Captain Johnson, observing this, ordered his men immediately to fire into the ambuscades, which they did with such effect as to dislodge the enemy, with the loss of several killed and wounded; while those within the barricade, were thrown into such confusion that they fired very much at random, and most of the shot passed over the heads of the assailants.

The loss of the colonists on this occasion was one killed, Lieut. James Thompson, who was shot while attempting to storm the barricade, and three wounded, two slightly, and one severely. On the part of the enemy there were fifteen killed,

and a great number wounded. The instigator of the war was shot through the shoulder, while in the very act of applying the match to the three-pounder. This was a most fortunate occurrence, for had this field-piece been fired, it must have carried destruction into the front ranks of the colonists; for it was found to be loaded nearly to the muzzle, with bits of iron bolts, pot metal, &c., and was so placed as to rake their position as they approached; and they were within twenty-five yards of its mouth, crowded together in a narrow space, so that the fire must have been very destructive. The battle commenced at half-past one o'clock, and at two o'clock the colonists were in possession of the town; which the recaptured Africans could not be restrained from firing, as they did also Brumley's Town, the same evening. The troops marched back to Caldwell, and passed the night, and then proceeded to Monrovia, where Lieut. Thompson was interred with the honours of war.

It was not long before messengers arrived from King Willie and King Brister, to sue for peace. They acknowledged themselves unable to contend with the colonists, and were willing to make every concession and reparation, for the insults and injuries which they had inflicted on the colony. They were told by Dr. Mechlin that if the Dey Kings wanted peace, they must come to the Cape themselves, when the terms on which it could be obtained would be made known to them. Accordingly, in a short time the Kings, Brister, Sitma, Ba Bey or King Long Peter, and Kai, or King Jemmy, presented themselves. King Willie sent his representative Baugh, or New Peter. They readily agreed to the terms proposed, and a treaty of peace was signed the following day.

The effects of this victory on all the native tribes was most salutary. They had deemed it impossible for the colonists to transport artillery through the dense forests of Africa. The determination to attack at once their fortified town, which was considered by them impregnable, struck them with consternation, and fully convinced them that they could not cope with the trained companies of the colony. And the distant settlements, established at Cape Mount and Grand Bassa, would be much safer from molestation than if these events had not occurred.

The condition of the colony in May 1832, may be satisfactorily learned from the following letter of Dr. Mechlin, the

colonial agent, which, although it repeats some events already mentioned, is inserted entire.

“*LIBERIA, May 1st, 1832.*”

“GENTLEMEN:—In reviewing the events of the past year, we have every reason to be grateful for the many signal and providential favours which our colony has experienced. No period since its first establishment, presents us with more abundant proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity; and at no period have we had more cause to offer up our sincere and grateful acknowledgments to that Divine Being, whose goodness has been so bounteously extended to this rising community.

“Health—that greatest of blessings—has never been more universally enjoyed. The disease of the climate, so much dreaded by strangers, and to the ravages of which so many have fallen victims, has, by the unremitted and undivided attention of the colonial physicians, been, in a great measure, deprived of its terrors, and made to yield to the well-directed efforts of professional skill. The average number of deaths that have occurred among the emigrants who have arrived since the first of January, 1831, will not exceed four per cent.—a result not only gratifying, but unprecedented in the annals of the colony, and which cannot but reflect the highest credit on the professional attainments of those entrusted with their medical superintendence.

“Our agriculture, the vigorous and successful prosecution of which is of such vital importance, and on which the prosperity of this colony must ultimately depend, has received a new impulse, and is no longer considered of secondary importance; the people seem now to be duly sensible of the necessity of devoting their energies to the advancement of this branch of industry, and our settlements present every where the cheering evidence of laudable enterprise and durable improvement. Most of the emigrants who arrived in the few last expeditions, have already the promise of their labours being rewarded by abundant crops. You will also be gratified to learn, that several of our most respectable citizens have turned their attention to the cultivation of coffee, a plant indigenous to the country, and which is every where to be met with near the sea coast, growing in the richest luxuriance. The Rev. C. M. Waring expects to have a plantation of twenty thousand trees shortly completed; and there is every reason to believe, that the influence of

so laudable an example will be widely diffused. Cotton and indigo are also the spontaneous productions of our soil, and will, when the efforts of those possessed of a little capital shall have been directed to their cultivation, prove valuable articles for exportation, and yield to the agriculturist the highest reward for his labours. But unless our people entertain more enlarged and liberal views, I fear they will not, at least for some time, avail themselves of these advantages; at present, few of those possessed of capital are willing to embark in any enterprise from which they do not expect to reap great and immediate profits; nor can they be made to understand that by thus investing a portion of their funds (now wholly devoted to the purposes of trade), they cannot fail of being amply recompensed, and eventually open to themselves great and never failing sources of gain. I have, however, great hopes the experiments now making will convince the people that they have within themselves the means of acquiring wealth, and will induce them, by a judicious employment of their time and money, more fully to develop the resources of the country, and render themselves independent of foreign aid. Articles, important in a commercial point of view, are produced in abundance, at no great distance from this settlement; but for want of sufficient enterprise and capital to facilitate their transportation to the sea coast, they must, at least for some time, remain without our being able to avail ourselves of the advantages afforded by their proximity.

“The commerce of the colony has also partaken of the general improvement, and surpassed that of the preceding year. Within this period, fifty-nine vessels have visited our port for the purposes of traffic; of these, thirty-two were American, twenty-five English, and two French. Our exports amounted to one hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and forty-nine dollars and sixteen cents, and the amount of produce and merchandize on hand, on the 1st of January, 1832, was forty-seven thousand four hundred dollars. The articles of export consisted chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm-oil, tortoise shell, and some gold, procured of the natives of the interior, and at various places along the coast. The trade with the interior has also been proportionably increased, and our town is now becoming a place of resort for natives from the Condo country, and countries beyond, bordering on Foota Jallou. The Mandingoes

also visit us in considerable numbers, and are the means of making us known to the nations of the interior.

“By the provisions of a treaty lately concluded with the kings and chiefs of the Dey tribe, still greater facilities will be afforded to this branch of commerce; it being expressly stipulated in that treaty, that the natives of the interior, resorting to the colony for the purposes of trade, should be allowed a free passage through their territory. From this privilege they were, in a great measure, heretofore debarred, as the natives of the Dey country, with a view wholly to monopolize the trade, either refused them a passage through their country, or charged them such enormous duties, that few could venture to visit us.

“It is a source of great gratification to be enabled to state, that the condition of our public schools is highly promising; the report for the third and fourth quarters of the past year will afford satisfactory evidence of the efficiency of our present school regulations; and there only remains towards their completion, that some provision should be made for the education of our recaptured Africans. These have been urgent in their request for the establishment of a free school at their settlement, and a want of funds has alone prevented me from acceding to their demand. Such an institution would, I am convinced, be productive of the most beneficial results; the manners and habits of those, at present in a semi-barbarous state, would be more assimilated to our own; sources of jealousy and prejudice would be removed, and the civilization of the neighbouring tribes, connected as they are by similarity of language and habits, with many of these people, would be rendered of comparatively easy attainment. I would therefore beg leave to invite your early attention to this subject, and trust you will be enabled to obtain funds sufficient to accomplish so desirable an object.

“Our relations with the surrounding native tribes have, with one exception, continued to be of the most amicable kind. The great and increasing intercourse between the colony and the different nations bordering on our territory, the earnest desire manifested on our part to render such intercourse mutually beneficial, by preserving a uniform course of justice towards them, and aiding in all the improvements calculated to exalt their condition, and impart to them the blessings of civilization, has done much towards the removal of all unfriendly prejudice,

and bound them more closely to us by the ties of interest, and will, doubtless, by preventing the recurrence of causes of irritation, ensure their perfect and permanent tranquillity.

“In the latter part of January last, availing myself of a season of comparative leisure, I visited Grand Bassa, convened the chiefs, and made such arrangements with them as will secure to us the peaceable possession of a considerable portion of that fertile district. Negotiations were also entered into with the Kings at Grand Cape Mount, resulting in the cession to us of a part of that country, the possession of which has been deemed by my predecessors in office, of such vital importance.

“The advantages to be derived from the settlement of these two points, have been stated in a former communication, and need not be repeated; but I will merely remark, that in point of salubrity, commercial and agricultural advantages, they are not surpassed by any on the whole western coast, being of easy access from the sea, abounding in articles of trade and subsistence, and possessing a soil, the fertility of which promises the richest rewards to the labour of the husbandman. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves on so valuable an acquisition to our territorial limits.

“In the management of the fiscal concerns of the agency, the most rigid economy, consistent with the welfare of the colony, has been observed; yet owing to the unusual number of emigrants who have arrived, the necessity of providing for their comfortable accommodation, the expenses consequent on the negotiations with the windward and leeward tribes, as well as those incident to the completion of such preliminary measures as were necessary to our occupying our newly acquired territory, the expenditures of the past will exceed those of any preceding year; nor can we indulge any reasonable hope that they will, in future, undergo any diminution: on the contrary, the great influx of emigrants, which the late energetic measures of the states of Virginia and Maryland will, in all probability, occasion, the expense necessarily incident to our keeping up separate establishments at Cape Mount and Grand Bassa, as well as the expenses consequent upon the enlargement of our territorial limits, and increase of population, will swell the disbursements of the present, and proportionally increase those of each succeeding year.

“The negotiations with the windward and leeward tribes for

the enlargement of our territory, the late war with the Dey people, and the increasing current business of the agency, occasioned by the large accessions of emigrants we have received within these few months past, have so multiplied my duties, that I could not, possibly, without neglecting business of pressing importance, make the surveys of the neighbouring country, or institute the inquiries and examinations necessary to enable me to comply with the wishes of the Board, as expressed in the resolution of the 14th March, 1831. During my journey to Grand Bassa, I managed to ascertain the course and size of the principal branches of the Junk and St. John's rivers, and at the same time noted the quality of the soil, elevation, &c., of the different sections of country through which I travelled, and trust, at some future period, to be able to furnish you with a map of the colony more accurate than the one you now possess, and likewise give such information respecting its topography as will be useful and interesting.

"I have the honour to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. MECHLIN, JR."

In a more recent communication, from the same person, dated July 13, 1832, information is given of the arrival of the Jupiter, with the emigrants, most of whom were sent immediately to Caldwell, where they would undergo their seasoning, and where their lands would be allotted to them. In this letter he says: "The agriculture of the colony is more promising than ever. Many of the emigrants, who have arrived within these five months past, have made great improvements, and have the prospect of abundant crops. The mechanics have generally preferred residing in town, and, accordingly, have had their building lots assigned them." With respect to the farmers, he had so far changed the plan of treating them, as to assign them their farms as soon as they arrived, even before they were acclimated; which he supposed would, in several respects, answer a good purpose, especially in preventing habits of idleness. He mentions a visit paid to the recaptured Africans, and was much pleased with their settlement. The occasion of this visit was, that both the Eboes and Congoes had several times attempted to choose a chief without success: the minority refusing to submit to the choice of the majority. Dr. Mechlin presided at the election, and explained to their people the reason-

ableness and necessity of acquiescing in the will of the majority, after which they appeared to be perfectly satisfied.

"These people," says he, "occupy two very neat and well built villages, near the east bank of Stockton creek, and distant from Caldwell about three miles. A small rivulet separates the Ebo from the Congo village. Each tribe have built, by voluntary subscription, and joint labour, a house of worship, and a town or palaver-house. Their gardens are well inclosed; in which are successfully cultivated, beans, cabbages, melons, yams, &c. These they dispose of at the Cape, in exchange for such articles as their necessities require. Adjacent to the village, but separated from it by a strong fence, are their farms, at present in a high state of cultivation. I saw one tract of a hundred and fifty acres planted in cassada, interspersed with patches of Indian corn and sweet potatoes. Their vegetables appeared to be very thriving, and will, without doubt, yield abundant crops. These people are decidedly the most contented and independent of any in the colony, and are rapidly improving in intelligence and respectability. They not only raise sufficient for their own consumption, but have considerable surplus produce, for which they find a ready market. When not employed in the cultivation of their farms, they turn their attention to the sawing of timber and making shingles. Many of the Congo tribe can read, and have established a Sunday-school, which is regularly attended by both children and adults; those who have received any education officiating as teachers to the others not possessed of that advantage. These, as well as the Eboes, are very desirous that a school shall be established among them."

Two men, Messrs. Simpson and Moore, were sent out to visit the colony, by the free people of colour of Natchez, and to bring them a faithful report of the country. This was a truly judicious course to obtain satisfaction, and if pursued by others, we have no doubt it would tend to dissipate many unfounded prejudices. These men remained but a short time, yet they made a good use of their time, and visited with care the upper settlements, and collected such information as would be satisfactory to their friends at home. They appeared to be much pleased with the colony; and returned home in the ship *Jupiter*. In a card published in New York, after their return, they use the following language: "During a residence of nearly three weeks

in the colony, we visited the four principal settlements, in all which we found the colonists healthy, well pleased with their situation, and improving their circumstances very rapidly. A uniform expression of gratification, that they had found a place of freedom and comfort in Africa, was made without exception. Such was the impression on our minds of the advantages of emigration to this colony, that we have determined to report favourably of the object to the society which sent us out; and as the best testimony of our full persuasion of its great advantages, have determined to settle our business and remove to Liberia the first opportunity. We see our brethren there, freemen, and advanced to the full privilege of unrestrained enterprise and Christian liberty.

GLOSTER SIMPSON,

ARCHY MOORE.

New York, September 11, 1832."

The history of the colony may be said to be truly eventful: it is made up of disasters and propitious events. The number of valuable lives which have been sacrificed in this enterprise of benevolence is indeed great; and this alone has indeed caused us sometimes to pause, and inquire, is the object worth such an expense? This question can be better answered one hundred or two hundred years hence. The same question might have been asked with as much force, when our shores were first colonized. If the project is successful, of which there is every reason to hope, there will be no hesitation in answering, that the laying the foundation of a great, a Christian, and a civilized republic in Africa, will abundantly repay all losses and sacrifices of every kind. When persons of exalted philanthropy die in the prosecution of a noble and benevolent object, they leave behind an example which blesses future generations; and they themselves cannot be losers by exchanging this world for a better.

These remarks have been elicited by the death of Hannah Kilham, a member of the Society of Friends, in England, who several times visited Liberia, at her own expense, with the view of promoting Christian education among the people. Her death took place at sea, on her passage to Sierra Leone, off the Plantain Islands, a short distance from the colony. There is in the African Repository for September, 1832, an excellent letter, which this benevolent woman wrote to her friends, after she had spent some time in the colony; but as it contains no new facts, our limits do not admit of its insertion.

Among the interesting transactions which attended the visit of Elliott Cresson, Esq., to Great Britain, was a long letter addressed to him on the subject of African colonization by that venerable philanthropist, Mr. Clarkson, who has devoted his life to the benefit of the African race. This letter contains a full expression of Mr. Clarkson's favourable opinion of the objects contemplated by the American Colonization Society. Indeed, he seems to have had a distinct view of the benefits which would accrue from the establishment of a colony on any part of the coast of Africa; first, as it relates to the effect produced upon the natives, in the vicinity; and, secondly, in discouraging the slave-trade. And he proposes, what is now going rapidly into effect, the establishment of other colonies, all along the coast, from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. After expressing strongly his approbation of the plan, he admonishes the friends of colonization, that these good effects can only be expected in case the colonists are of good character; and expresses a fear, that when emigrants should become numerous, they would not be such as would make industrious, and orderly citizens, in such a community. He also enters into a calculation to show, that no scheme of colonization can be expected to be so large as to give a hope that all the coloured people of the United States can be transported to Africa.

It was during this year of general prosperity in the affairs of the Colonization Society, that a spirit of unrelenting opposition to the cause, arose from the friends of immediate emancipation; many of whom had once been favourers of colonization. They favoured it in the hope that it would sooner or later come out boldly in opposition to slavery; but finding that the society continued to adhere to its original and declared principles, and that slaveholders were found among their most efficient patrons, they began to denounce the Colonization Society in language the most severe and vituperative.

The leader in this hostile attack, was Mr. Garrison, who published a large book against African colonization, entitled, *Garrison's Thoughts on African Colonization*. Of this work, the editor of a paper in the city of New York, says, "the boldness, the magnitude, and the severity of his charges against the society are truly astonishing." This work seemed at once to arouse the feelings of many persons, who with zeal embraced Mr. Garrison's views; among these were found min-

isters of the gospel, and men and women of irreproachable character. This was the origin of what is now called, Abolitionism. Abolitionists had existed in great numbers before, and had formed abolition societies; but these were a peaceable and reflecting people, who looked at consequences, and attempted to produce no agitation, and employed no denunciation, but waited for and embraced any opportunities which offered, to defend the liberty of such as might be illegally held in bondage. But the party which now arose, and which has become so powerful as to cause their influence to be felt in political questions, and which makes adherence to their principles a test, by which they require candidates for office to be tried before they will give them their votes, are of recent origin. They have also, in some cases, made abolition principles a religious test, requiring as a term of communion, a profession of opinions in accordance with their own. Their principles are perfectly simple, and if sound, will go far to authorize their action in regard to this matter. They lay it down as their first principle, that *slave-holding* is a sin against God, in all conceivable circumstances; and, therefore, that immediate emancipation is, in all cases, a duty, without regard to consequences. Their maxim is, "*ruat cælum, justitia fiat.*" And the fiercest wrath of this party was directed against the Colonization Society, as the abettors of slavery; and as holding out to the slave-holder a soothing plaster to his conscience, by which he was kept in peace, while living in the practice of this crying sin; and as satisfying the moderate friends of emancipation, by presenting to them a delusive prospect of indirectly promoting the abolition of slavery, whilst, in fact, they were doing more to rivet the chains of the slaves than all other persons.

Mr. Garrison's zeal was not satisfied by his written publications in this country, but as Mr. Cresson was in England, and successfully winning favour to the cause there, Mr. Garrison determined to follow him, and counteract his influence, by presenting his own views. And the British nation, being at this time agitated to the centre, with their own plan of universal emancipation in their colonies, it is not wonderful, that many of the ardent anti-slavery men, were ready to fall in with Garrison's sentiments; which seemed to be more in accordance with the strong tide of feeling which pervaded a large portion of the empire, than the plan of colonization, which must of

necessity be very slow in its operation, and against which, the opposition of the free people of colour in the United States began to be strongly excited. These two ardent spirits, Cresson and Garrison, had several opportunities to exhibit their respective schemes and views before large assemblies of British people, with various success.

It was not long before a large anti-slavery society was formed in the United States, the centre of which was New York, and agents were appointed to deliver lectures, and collect funds for the society, and several presses were engaged to make the advocacy of their peculiar sentiments, their main object. Pamphlets also were written, and exaggerated narratives of cruelty to slaves, accompanied with pictorial representations, were not only circulated in the free States, but sent by mail, and in other ways, in great numbers, to the Southern States.

Some of the pamphlets written were of an atrocious character, calculated to stir up the slaves to insurrection. It is not known, however, that the Anti-slavery Society, or its authorized agents were accessory to the publishing and circulation of these incendiary productions. However violent their spirit, they always professed an abhorrence of bloodshed and violence. Their own publications, however, were looked upon in the South as incendiary in their character, and as a blow aimed, not only at their domestic institutions, but at the existence of their safety and peace.

Alarm and indignation spread through the southern country like an electric shock. In some instances lawless acts of violence were resorted to, against persons suspected of abolitionism, or found in possession of any of the books or pamphlets of the Anti-slavery Society. Such publications, in Charleston, were seized by the citizens, from the post-office, and committed to the flames; and as soon as the legislatures of the slave-holding States met, they enacted severe laws against the publication or circulation of any prints of the aforesaid description. The effect on the people of the South, in regard to slavery, was the very opposite of that aimed at; sentiments more favourable to the continuance and even perpetuity of slavery, began now to be very commonly entertained; whereas, before, such sentiments were scarcely ever heard.

The society had hitherto been remarkably happy in the good character and industrious habits of the emigrants, sent out to

Liberia; but towards the close of this year, 1832, we meet with a lamentable exception. In the brig *America*, one hundred and twenty-eight emigrants arrived at Monrovia, under the care of Captain Abels. Of these the colonial agent speaks in the following terms: "With respect to the character of the people composing the expedition, I regret to be compelled to state, that with the exception of those from Washington city, the family of Pages from Virginia, and a few others, they are the lowest and most abandoned of their class. From such materials it is vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent, and enterprising community can possibly be formed. The thing is utterly impracticable, and they cannot but retard, instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. Captain Abels who brought them out, can and will give you a more detailed and accurate account of their moral character, than I can possibly do, as they have been but a short time under my immediate notice."

In the same despatch, the agent gives the following account of the colony, "I am happy to have it in my power to state, that the condition of our public schools is highly prosperous. The settlement of Grand Bassa is in progress, and should nothing untoward intervene, will be in full operation as soon as the rains have ceased. From the last advices from Mr. Weaver, who is there superintending the erection of buildings, I learned, that every thing will be ready for the reception of settlers in five or six weeks. He, moreover, stated that the principal men of the country were very friendly, and the few who manifested a disposition to prevent our occupying the country, from their being specially interested in the slave trade, finding they could not intimidate us by threats, have ceased all opposition. The health of the colony is good, and most of those who arrived in the ship *Jupiter* have gone through their seasoning, but with very few deaths."

About this time, a letter was published in the *Liberator*, a paper edited by William Lloyd Garrison, giving a very unfavourable account of the colony, and particularly contradicting some of the statements made to a committee of Congress by Mr. Devany, of which an account was given in its proper place. The agent seemed to think that the letter was a sheer fabrication; as there were no persons in the colony whom he could suspect of penning a statement so utterly unfounded in fact as this letter contained. Mr. Devany, however, judged it proper

to answer these false statements, so far as they affected the answers which he had given to questions put to him at Washington. He says: "If such a letter was written, it must have been by one of the most lawless of our citizens—and a friend only to lies and disturbance. But a citizen he was not, nor a person acquainted with the colony; for in his own letter he stated, that he had not fulfilled those obligations which constitute one a citizen of Liberia. And it is only from such abandoned wretches, that Mr. Garrison appears to obtain his information to prejudice the good and orderly coloured people in the United States, against our colony. And I am sure they ought to be aware of it. I am not a prophet, but I feel no doubt in saying, that Mr. Garrison is the greatest enemy that the coloured people have, for he is only preparing a net for their destruction," &c.

In presenting to our readers the true condition of the colony, dependence has not been implicitly placed on the accounts of the agents, or colonists; but the opinion of intelligent, impartial visitors has been resorted to. Accounts of this kind have already been given from a number of commanders of vessels, to which will now be added an extract from a letter of Captain Crowell addressed to Mr. Gurley, the corresponding secretary of the society.

"During my stay, I was daily on shore; and although I did not visit the interior towns, yet I was assured by Dr. Hall and others, that they were even more flourishing than Monrovia; which, to say the least, far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. And I would here remark, that the natural situation of the colony, has a very striking contrast, in my opinion, with that of our forefathers, who landed on Plymouth Rock, inasmuch as the latter had the rigours of the long and tedious New England winters to combat, together with numerous hordes of hostile savages; and far beyond the reach of any friendly power to alleviate their sufferings. Yet what blessings are the many millions of us now enjoying, as the fruit of their patient perseverance! The Liberian colonist, on the contrary, has a climate uniformly warm, but by no means so hot or uncomfortable as I was led to suppose, from the geographical situation of the country; the thermometer rising no higher than 83° during my stay; and with a very few exceptions, I am inclined to believe that the natives are very well pleased with the increasing growth

and importance of the colony; and that no fears need be entertained of any serious encroachment from them. To these advantages may be added that of a most rich and promising soil, well adapted to the culture of all the tropical productions.

“On the Sabbath, I attended public worship at the Baptist church, and heard a very impressive and useful sermon from Mr. Waring, one of the colonists, whose hearers were numerous, and the whole service performed with that devout and serious attention and good order so conspicuous in the churches of our own country.

“I would further remark, that during my stay, I did not hear a single discontented expression from any one: all with whom I conversed, appearing happy in their situation, and pleased both with the country and government.”

Numerous applications were made to the society by slaveholders, in several of the southern States, to know whether they would receive and transport their slaves, if emancipated, to Liberia.

CHAPTER XXII.

AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY IN 1833.

As the philanthropists of Great Britain had set us the example of colonization on the coasts of Africa, it might have been expected, that they would have hailed with delight a similar enterprise, commenced by the friends of the African race, in America. And, at first, and to a certain extent, this was realized; but the reason why the English people took less interest in the scheme, and why Mr. Cresson met with less success in raising funds than might have been expected, is so candidly and sensibly explained in the letter of Dr. Hodgkin, that it is inserted entire.

“NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, 7th mo. 4th, 1832.

“*Respected Friend*:—In acknowledging the receipt of your diploma, making me a life member of your African Coloniza-

tion Society, I wish not merely to thank you for the honour you have done me, and congratulate you on the highly encouraging and increasingly satisfactory reports received from various witnesses, respecting the progress of the colony of Liberia; but also, to offer a few remarks which seem called for, from me as a foreigner, and more especially as a British member of the association.

“The cause of the oppressed African race, has long been espoused by advocates, at least as numerous and as warmly interested on this, as on your side of the Atlantic. It might, therefore, be very reasonably anticipated, that a measure calculated at once to render some compensation to those who have been forcibly expatriated and unjustly held in bondage, or to their descendants, and likewise striking at the root of the African slave trade, would have been hailed with general applause, and met with liberal support among us. My present object is to explain some of the reasons which have unhappily rendered this feeling so limited amongst us.

“Those who, at a distance, form a judgment of individuals with whom they are personally unacquainted, labour under the great disadvantage of being led to form their opinions from general and sweeping observations, which though they may be true, as such, may be very unjust and erroneous when applied to particular cases. I know from very extensive observation, as well as from personal experience, that the national character, attributed to you, of entertaining a degrading contempt for the African race, founded, not on the reports of prejudiced travellers, but on American evidence, has been the powerful and at first the not altogether unreasonable cause that the friends of the Africans in this country have looked with some degree of jealousy and suspicion at the measures which you have adopted—They could not help regarding it as a part of that same system which blots your land of liberty. It is not, I repeat, unreasonable that the scheme of African Colonization should at first suffer from the prejudice which this system is calculated to excite. The illusion is giving way; the process is now slow and partial, but it will soon be rapid and general. I am well satisfied that the unfortunate prejudice which you did not excite, and which you cannot at once remove, is one of the many reasons in favour of your colonization in Africa. Though it may seem like giving way to and fostering that

prejudice, on which account it has been objected to by many individuals in this country, yet it must ultimately tend to remove it, whilst it will have the certain and important effect of rendering emancipation popular amongst you. Another reason which may be assigned for the fact, that your laudable exertions have met with so little support from British funds, is to be found in the circumstance that although the cause of the oppressed African is one which obtains almost universal interest in this country, yet very large demands having been made on the liberality of the public, connected with it, which seem to have a more direct and legitimate claim on the inhabitants of this realm; many who highly approve of your operations feel themselves excused from contributing to that which they consider as peculiarly yours, and for which they conceive that your flourishing country possesses abundant and unincumbered resources. I have trespassed on your time with this long explanation, lest some of us in this country should, like yourselves, be labouring under the disadvantage of having our views and actions misunderstood. It may also in some measure account for the visible results of the operations of my valued friend Elliott Cresson being so greatly disproportioned to the activity and zeal with which he is perseveringly engaged for the promotion of your undertaking. He has, I believe, performed more than can at once become apparent, and I trust that many like myself are prepared to admit the change which has taken place in their sentiments with respect to Liberia.

“Before I conclude, I would offer a suggestion which I hope will not be attributed to impertinent interference. Though I am far from wishing you to compromise the success of your exertions by a direct attack upon the prejudices of your countrymen, yet it is very desirable that you should not only carefully watch against the adoption of any act or expression which may be construed into a symptom that such a feeling has any hold amongst you, and also that you should take advantage of the important proofs which you are constantly producing to counteract it.

“I am, with cordial good wishes for the continued prosperity and success of your benevolent undertaking, and unfeigned esteem for its supporters, thy respectful friend.

THOMAS HODGKIN, M. D.”

Still, Mr. Cresson's visit to England had an important effect. It led many persons to correct views on the subject of American colonization; and although the benefactions there, were not numerous, they were liberal, and very important to the society in the embarrassed state of their finances.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, was held in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the 20th of January, 1833. A very large and crowded assembly of the citizens of Washington, and of distinguished strangers from every part of the United States convened, at an early hour, when the Hon. C. F. Mercer, one of the vice-presidents, was called to the chair. In the beginning of their report, read at this meeting, the Board of Managers record with suitable expressions of sorrow, the loss of the second president of the society, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving subscriber to the Declaration of American Independence. They also noticed with suitable regret, the sudden decease of B. L. Lear, one of their own number, "In whose character," they remark, "the strictest principles of honour and integrity were united with the gentlest and kindest feelings of the human heart. The powers of his vigorous and well disciplined mind were ever usefully employed, and his duties, social and public, discharged with ardent zeal and rare fidelity. Frank and fearless in the avowal of his own opinions, he considered with candour the opinions of others, granting to them every right which he claimed for himself. Firmly convinced of the importance of this society, he attended regularly at the meetings of the managers; cheerfully subtracting large portions of time from the duties of an arduous profession, and employing them to aid a cause that promised in his judgment, magnificent contributions to the freedom, virtue, and happiness of mankind."

The report mentions the acquisition of valuable territory at Grand Bassa, and also at Cape Mount. Of the former, some account has already been given; of the latter, they say: "The territory here ceded to the society, is situated at a short distance from the sea, on the shore of a lake about twenty miles in length, navigable for small vessels, and into which flow several rivers, affording important facilities for commerce with the interior. The chiefs of the country, who are thought to be more advanced in civilization than any other south of Sierra Leone,

have granted an unquestionable title to this land, on the sole condition that settlers shall be placed upon it, and that schools shall be established for the benefit of native children. Some of these chiefs having obtained the rudiments of an English education in Liberia, expressed earnest desires that the benefit of instruction should be afforded to their countrymen, and the young men declared their purpose of submitting to the laws of the colony, and their willingness to make further grants of land, to any extent desired, whenever the terms of the present contract shall be fulfilled. The spot selected for a settlement is said to be healthy, and the soil capable of producing almost every thing of value that grows within the tropics."

The account of the health of the colony, as given in this report, is exceedingly favourable. "The health of the colony," say the managers, "has never been better or more general, than during the last year. The skilful and unremitted efforts of the colonial physicians have been remarkably successful, and greatly diminished the danger to which newly arrived emigrants are exposed; and there are the best grounds for hope, that more experience, the clearing of the lands, and the early removal of such emigrants to stations at some distance from the coast, will still further reduce the danger resulting from the influence of the climate." The remark of Dr. Todsén, colonial physician, inserted in the report, is, "that the mortality little exceeds that experienced in the most healthy parts of the world. Had these people been transported to England, or any other European soil, the probability is, that the number lost would have been equal." Again: "I have no doubt, that even emigrants from the north, if they be placed and provided for in a proper manner, may, with few exceptions, be carried safely through the fever, and enjoy the same health as in the United States."

The Board had been already desirous of turning the attention of the people more to agriculture; and in order to promote this object, offered premiums to such as would raise the best crops. These efforts were not altogether without effect, for it is here reported, "that the colonists had become generally and deeply sensible of the primary importance of agriculture. The attention of several of the most respectable colonists has been turned to the cultivation of coffee, and twenty thousand trees had been planted by a single individual. Commerce also," they go on to say, "has advanced during the year, and new

avenues for communication and trade have been opened with the tribes of the interior. Caravans from a considerable distance have visited the colony, and the people of the Dey country have agreed to permit traders to pass without delay or molestation, through their territories to the colonial settlements. By the treaty they have signed, the whole channel of trade with the remote tribes is left clear, which must increase greatly both its measure and value. During the year, fifty-nine vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, of which thirty-two were American, twenty-five English, and two French. The exports during the same period, consisting chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm oil, tortoise shell, and gold, amounted to more than one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; their imports to eighty thousand. The colony is becoming known to tribes far remote from the coast, and Mandingo traders and others have visited it from the borders of Foota Jallo."

Concerning the progress of education also, this report is very satisfactory. There is a general desire in the colonists for the acquisition of knowledge. "There are," says the report, "six day schools for children, and one evening school for adults, comprising altogether two hundred and twenty-six pupils. The two female schools—one at Monrovia, the other at Caldwell—are attended by ninety-nine girls, and the salaries of their respectable teachers defrayed by a society of benevolent ladies in Philadelphia. Inadequacy of funds alone has prevented the establishment of schools among the recaptured Africans, who are importunate for the means of education; but the Board rejoice to learn, that the charity of the ladies just mentioned will satisfy the wishes of these Africans; and that, under their patronage, a teacher for them, of competent abilities and excellent character, has already sailed for Liberia. Many of these people can now read, and a Sunday school has been established among them; some of their own number acting as teachers."

This interesting report next notices the subject of a high school, to prepare teachers; and also to educate men for the various offices in the colony. Towards such an institution, several valuable donations had been made; two thousand dollars by a single person, Henry Sheldon, Esq., of New York, and four hundred dollars by the Hon. Charles F. Mercer. The managers invited the attention of the liberal to this object, in particular. They, moreover, expressed the opinion, that Libe-

ria was now prepared to receive many more colonists in a year, than had heretofore been sent. "They believe," says the report, "that there is no reason to apprehend that the resources of the society will ever exceed the demands for aid from those anxious to emigrate, or the capabilities of the colony to afford accommodation and subsistence to those who may choose it as their residence. Thus far the slowness of its growth may have been an advantage. But with a free government, well established upon the popular will; an extensive territory, easy of cultivation, and abundantly productive; a population, mostly sober, industrious, and enterprising, with schools and churches, courts of justice, and a periodical press; and in fine, with the ardour and resolution of a people alive to their privileges, and determined to improve and perpetuate them, this colony now invites all worthy, free persons of colour to seek an asylum within its limits. Thousands might be safely introduced in a single year, provided temporary buildings should be constructed, and some provision made for their accommodation and support, during a few months after their arrival; and for this object, an allowance of fifteen or twenty dollars to each emigrant would probably be sufficient. Were one, or even two hundred thousand dollars entrusted to the society, it might be well expended, before the close of the year, in removing emigrants, and in preparing for larger numbers to succeed them. The experiment of African colonization has been successfully tried, but it remains to be shown, whether this work, the practicableness and utility of which have been demonstrated, will be sustained by a liberality, and conducted forward by a boldness and energy corresponding to its magnitude and importance. So great a work, it is true, is not to be done in a day. But if ever to be completed, it is time to engage in it with a comprehensiveness and vigour of measures, that shall throw into shade all the past aids and efforts of the society. Expediency dictates that this work should be progressive. The number of emigrants, doubtless, should increase, each succeeding year: and as much must depend upon the habits of the early settlers, some selection should be made among those who first offer; yet the Board cannot express too strongly, that no funds can be supplied either by individual charity, the States, or the nation, exceeding the amount required to execute this work, on a scale proportionable to its greatness and merits, whether viewed relatively to the inte-

rests of the country, or the still higher interests of humanity, which it is designed to promote.”

After giving an account of the several expeditions which had been fitted out for Liberia, during the year, of which notice has already been given in this chapter, the managers go on to mention a second voyage of the ship *Jupiter*, which before carried out one hundred and seventy-two emigrants. This vessel received on board at Norfolk, thirty-eight emigrants, and sailed for the colony on the 9th of November. In this vessel embarked, the Rev. M. B. Cox, as missionary, under the authority of the Society for Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Although the number of emigrants sent out, within a year, was so large, yet such was the urgency of the application of others to be sent, that the Board, in reliance upon the public liberality, ventured to charter the brig *Roanoke*, which left Norfolk for Liberia, with one hundred and twenty-seven passengers; one hundred of whom were slaves manumitted in Virginia, for the express purpose of African colonization. These last were liberally supplied with the most useful articles by their late owners; and, in some cases, the entire expense of removal was defrayed by them. These emigrants were represented as possessing, generally, unexceptionable characters, and some had received their freedom in consideration of their high moral and religious worth. In this vessel sailed the Rev. Mr. Pinney, a missionary under the patronage of the Western Presbyterian Board of Missions. This young man went away under circumstances well adapted to depress his spirits. While in the theological seminary, at Princeton, he and another pious, talented, and enterprising young man, whose name was Jos. W. Barr, formed the purpose of devoting themselves to the benefit of Africa. They were accordingly adopted by the above mentioned Board, and were both ordained the same evening, by the laying on the hands of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. All things being nearly ready, these two devoted brethren made use of the time allowed, before sailing, to visit several of our cities, and endeavour to stir up the dormant energies and liberality of the friends of African missions. They had no connexion with the Colonization Society except that they intended to make the colony, in the commencement, the centre of their operations. But O! how uncertain are human hopes!

and how mysterious the Divine dispensations! Mr. Barr, who was a man of robust health, and had been accustomed to manual labour, while on a visit to the city of Richmond, Virginia, was suddenly seized with the spasmodic cholera, and though he received early medical aid of the best kind, and the assiduous attentions of pious friends, breathed his last before the morning light. This was the more remarkable as this dreadful scourge of God, was not then prevailing in that place, nor in any place where he had been. Thus, Mr. Pinney bereaved of his bosom friend and devoted companion in the mission, was obliged to go alone; with what feelings may be readily conceived.

During the year 1833, six vessels had sailed for Liberia, carrying out in all, seven hundred and ninety emigrants, two hundred and forty-seven of whom were manumitted slaves. This was by far, the largest number sent out in any one year: but the Board, in consequence of these expeditions, and numerous emigrants, incurred expenses, necessarily far beyond the income of the society. Though the end was laudable, and the liberality of the public ought to have furnished them quickly with the means of liquidating this debt, yet it may be doubted, whether it was prudent for the Board to run in debt for so large a sum, without knowing from what source it could with certainty be derived. They say, indeed, "that they cannot permit themselves to doubt, that their fellow citizens will meet the demands of this sacred cause, so as not only to enable the Board to discharge their present obligations, but also to add largely to the extent and energy of their operations." These were the sentiments of high-minded and liberal men, who were themselves deeply impressed with the importance of the enterprise in which they were engaged. But what the public *ought* to do is one thing, and what they *will* do is a different thing. In consequence of embarrassments arising afterwards from the debts now contracted, the very existence of the society was jeopardded.

Still, however, the progress of the society, during the year was great. Much strength was added to it, and its plans and proceedings were profoundly discussed and ably defended. Opposition had now become embodied and envenomed, and reproach and defiance were hurled against the whole enterprise in no gentle terms; but its multiplied friends stood forth calmly, but trium-

phantly, for its vindication, and bore the cause onward with resistless power. There can be little reason to doubt, that the virulent attacks of the abolitionists were upon the whole, of real service to the society. Before, colonization had many friends and well-wishers, but among them there was much apathy, and little energy. Public bodies, civil and ecclesiastical, very readily passed resolutions in favour of the objects of the society, but they did little more, and these recommendations had little effect to replenish their exhausted funds. The same was the case with individuals. They approved the object, and when an agent came round, would meet and form auxiliary societies, most of which became extinct almost as soon as formed, or rather retaining a nominal existence, remained inactive. Something was needed to arouse and stimulate the friends of the cause, and this was found in the fanatical violence of the abolitionists; for these being entirely shut out from the south, vented their rage against the unoffending Colonization Society, which occupied an entirely different field. This society, as has been repeatedly said, was founded on the principle of not meddling with slavery, but their object was the free people of colour, for whom they were desirous of providing an asylum on the coast of Africa, where they could enjoy their rights and privileges, without being degraded on account of their colour, and mortified by the invidious distinctions which nature or prejudice had produced; and which, whether right or wrong, had placed an insuperable bar to their rising in this country.

One of the most propitious events of the year, was, the action of the legislature of the State of Maryland on this subject, which resulted in the appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars towards the removal to Africa of such free people of colour, as might be found willing to emigrate. To manage and direct this liberal appropriation, three commissioners were appointed by the legislature: but no more than twenty thousand dollars of this sum were to be appropriated in any one year.

An appropriation was also made by the legislature of Virginia, but the resolution or bill, was so expressed, that it proved, in a great degree, inefficacious.

The testimony of Dr. Shane, of Cincinnati, who, as has been mentioned, accompanied the emigrants from the west, is as satisfactory, in relation to the colony, as it well could be. Writing

from Liberia, he says: "I see here many who left the United States in very straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them; enjoying a respectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty. I am certain, no friend to humanity can come here and see the state of things, without being impressed with the immense benefits the society is conferring on the long neglected sons of Africa.

"Nothing, rest assured, but the want of a proper knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious blacks, from rushing to this land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed."

Lieutenant Page, commander of the United States schooner *Boxer*, which was ordered to the African coast for the suppression of piracy, and who touched at Liberia, in April, 1833, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, says: "With all the advantages that have been enumerated, it would be natural to expect to hear, that the inhabitants are generally contented; which, as far as my observation has gone, I find to be the case. There have been some exceptions, but they are found amongst characters who would be dissatisfied in any situation."

The fourth of July collections were this year considerably increased above those of the past year; and some valuable legacies were left to the society. Of this kind, especially, was that of Judge Workman, of Louisiana, of ten thousand dollars. A thousand dollars were received from the late venerable Colonel Rutgers, of New York, one of the vice-presidents of the society.

The Report, from which we have made so large extracts, concludes with the following weighty considerations:

"The managers will offer in vindication of the society, on this occasion, only the following facts:

"1st. The society was founded by the patriotic, the benevolent, and pious; and from the great community of these, throughout this Union, has it mainly derived support.

"2d. The free people of colour who have sought its aid, and emigrated under its direction to Liberia, have, according to their own testimony, and the testimony of others, greatly improved their condition and character.

"3d. Through its moral influence, numerous slaves have been

manumitted; and through its agency settled, in freedom and prosperity, in Liberia; while many others are now ready to be consigned to its care.

"4th. No one has shown, or can show, that the public have experienced detriment from the plans and proceedings of this society.

"5th. The native Africans in the vicinity of the colony, are, in their own judgment, greatly benefitted by its establishment; and disinterested strangers, who have visited them, concur in their opinion.

"6th. The practicability of the plan of African colonization, on a scale of vast utility, has been demonstrated, and means exist, all admit, for immensely enlarging its results.

"Facts like these can be set aside by no ingenuity of speculation or of argument; they place the character of this institution on grounds inaccessible to the boldest assailant, commanding a favourable verdict of the understanding, even where they fail to win the heart.

"Difference of opinion may and does exist, in regard to the extent in future, of African colonization. Its utility, so far as it may be prosecuted, is not dependent on the conclusions, however various, formed on this subject. Omitting argument to sustain, the managers would simply avow, their opinion, that the moral and economical elements at work to promote it, and the influence to be relied on for augmenting their power, afford solid grounds for hope, if not for confidence, that it will be so extended as to confer invaluable blessings on at least some millions of our race; so extended, as in an age not distant, to be contemplated as among the greatest schemes ever devised for the good of mankind. The opinion here expressed, however, must, by reflection on the reasons for its foundation, become the general opinion of our countrymen, before the practicableness of the scheme to the extent just mentioned, can be realized.

"If to provide for and educate his children, be the duty of a parent, is it less clearly the duty of a nation to provide, as it may be able, for the relief and improvement of any unfortunate portion of its inhabitants, and, should uncontrollable circumstances, or the public good, forbid their elevation on the soil of such nation, to assist them in removing to a land (if such can be found) where they may enjoy the means of improvement,

without restraint in their use, or limit to their advantage? And could the character of nations, civilized and Christian, be more ennobled than by the adoption of measures, separately or in concert, for the instruction and reformation of the uncivilized and unchristian? Glory, will all after ages award to that nation, which, on those virtues only, that exalt individual man, shall build its national character. And such nation, animated by those moral principles that adorn and enrich our nature, must feel itself to be but an individual in the great brotherhood of nations, must recognize and acknowledge in each member of this fraternity, a child of the same Almighty and beneficent Parent, who requires the strong to support the weak; the enlightened to inform the ignorant; the prosperous to relieve the distressed; and each to embrace the common interests of all, within the wide circuit of its sympathies and charities. The triumphs of such a nation will not be over justice and mercy; over withered hopes and broken hearts; but over the ignorance that darkens, and the vice that degrades our species; they will be sounded forth, not in the trumpet notes of war, but celebrated in processions and songs of peace. Such triumphs are the people of the United States now invited to achieve. To them, especially, are the interests of the African race by Providence entrusted, and a thousand voices plead, that the high and solemn duty resulting therefrom, be faithfully and fully discharged.

"In conclusion, the managers would remind the general meeting, that Liberia, unlike most other colonies, has been founded, not to extend the power or enrich the commerce of our country; not to bind in vassalage those who resort to it, or reduce to deeper than their present degradation the uncivilized of Africa, but to stand, within the precincts of barbarism, a citadel of freedom, knowledge and Christianity; to bring a rude, deeply injured, and miserable people under the dominion of equal laws and a pure religion, and thus enable them to appreciate the dignity and add to the honours of humanity."

The pecuniary wants of the society, in consequence of the large number of emigrants sent out during the last year, were exceedingly pressing, and no effectual measures were adopted to relieve them. They had, indeed, popular agents in the field; but while their influence was great in extending the society, their collections were, for the most part, small.

The Auxiliary State Colonization Society of Massachusetts, appropriated six hundred dollars for the support, during a year, of two coloured teachers in the colony; also four hundred dollars for the erection of a suitable house for the school, to which they gave the name of the Massachusetts Free School in Liberia.

The munificent bequest of Judge Workman, of Louisiana, of ten thousand dollars, has already been mentioned; to which may be added the bequest of W. H. Ireland, Esq., late of the same State, which, when the property shall be sold, it was supposed would amount to as large a sum as that of Judge Workman. This Mr. Ireland was a most respectable citizen of New Orleans, who, by industry and economy for several years, had acquired a large property. Most of his slaves he, by his last will, liberated on condition that they should emigrate to Liberia. The following testimony from the editor of the *Baltimore American*, who had no connexion with the Colonization Society, deserves to be recorded.

“The expedition which lately sailed from this port for Liberia, with emigrants, has attracted my attention, both on account of colonization in Africa, now in successful progress, and the character of the coloured people who composed the company that embarked in the ship *Lafayette*. Satisfied, as I am, of the great, the almost incalculable advantage that will be derived by those who avail themselves of the means of transportation now offered them, I was gratified to find men of merit and intelligence embarking to reap the fruition of a plan of benevolence, where worth, not colour, will determine their rank and standing in society. Among them was a coloured man, in spite of prejudice, I will say gentleman, returning from a visit of a few months to the United States—I mean Jacob W. Prout, formerly of Baltimore, but for the last eight or ten years a citizen of Liberia. He affords a happy instance of the effect of freedom on a sound mind. While he fully sustained the character belonging to him as a citizen of a free State, he was unassuming in his intercourse with the white, and attentive and courteous to the coloured people, with whom he freely associated; and thus, by a demeanour unpretending and modest, he conciliated the good will, and has carried with him the good wishes of both. I view him as affording a demonstration of the fact heretofore questioned, and said to exist only in the excited imaginations of enthu-

siasts—that freedom confers elevation of character without reference to colour.”

By the ship *Lafayette* and brig *Ruth*, despatches were received by the Board at Washington up to the 21st of February, 1833. The emigrants, by the *Hercules*, the *Roanoke*, and the *Lafayette*, had arrived in safety.

The colonial agent had been severely ill, in consequence of exposure in a canoe at sea, in returning from a visit to Grand Bassa, where he had gone to make a purchase of a valuable territory on the south side of St. John's river. This territory has already been mentioned, and it will only be necessary to add in this place, that it contains from one hundred and fifty to two hundred square miles, and includes the chief town of the principal chief, who wished to be included within the purchased territory. The value of this land is enhanced by the excellency of its timber, said to be the best in all the colony; and also by containing some valuable mill-seats. The settlement commenced here was, at this time, in a prosperous state, and opened a new and interesting field of enterprise to emigrants.

Complaints began to be heard from the newly arrived emigrants, of a want of cordiality and kindness towards them from the early colonists; the evidence of which was, the unwholesomeness of the provisions issued to them. The managers supposed that there might be some ground for these complaints, and resolved to send out ample supplies of provisions for the supply of the recent emigrants, and adopted measures which they hoped would be effectual to prevent a recurrence of similar complaints.

The *Liberia Herald* continued to be edited by Mr. Russwurm, and was in every view a respectable paper. As a specimen of editorial remarks, the following extract from an article on the new year is inserted: “But while we have been attending to those things which affect our outward comfort, the intellectual wants of our rising generation have not been passed by unnoticed. Schools have been established in our different settlements, and efforts are making to raise the means for another, among our recaptured Africans. Have we rich friends in America, who feel willing to aid the cause of God and man, by dispelling the moral darkness around us? Spare a little of your abundance toward the cause of education among our recaptured Africans, and the blessing of hundreds will descend

upon you. With the increased means of the society, more attention has been paid to the comfort of new-comers; and, during the past year, three extensive buildings have been put up solely for their accommodation. Within the year past, our colony has also extended her limits, and so securely do the emigrants to Grand Bassa consider themselves located, that most of them have sent for their families, who left this a few days ago in the Margaret Mercer, for that settlement.

"We should consider ourselves as a peculiarly favoured people, for even now, while the demon of disunion is about to enter among the confederate States of our native land, we have been spared from any thing of that kind. Our commerce has been extending, and our infant colony becoming more known to the civilized world. The very name of Africa, hitherto has been a terror to mankind, but we thank God, there is one spot in it, on which the eye of philanthropy can rest with pleasure, as the workmanship of its own hands; one spot to which the weary wanderers of the ocean can repair for refreshment and health."

The discovery in the preceding year of the course and embouchure of the Niger, by the Landers, is an event of much interest for central and western Africa. The solution of this long doubtful, and much contested problem, has afforded much gratification to the lovers of geographical science; and has opened a new world for commercial enterprise, and a new field for missionary and colonizing efforts. The event as discovered corresponds very exactly with the conjectures of Malte Brun, and other distinguished geographers. And as the mouth of the river is at no great distance from the eastern settlements of Liberia, the discovery may be considered as an event highly propitious to the colony.

The Colonization Society having now become the object of virulent abuse, this aroused in its defenders a zeal in its vindication, which, without such opposition, would probably have lain dormant. Among the able defences of the society, was a speech of Judge Test, of Indiana, and reviews in the *Biblical Repertory*, and the *Methodist Quarterly Magazine*. The Rev. Joshua N. Danforth, one of the general agents of the Board, published a letter, written with great force. It is doubtful whether, on the whole, the Anti-slavery Society did not do the Colonization Society more good than harm, by the bitterness of

its denunciation: for while it drew off some warm and efficient friends, it was the occasion of bringing others equally efficient into the field. Among those who abandoned the society, was Arthur Tappan, Esq., of the city of New York, who had been an active and munificent friend. His new views are given to the public, in a letter to a student in the Andover Seminary; but it is difficult, in what he says, to find any sufficient reason for totally abandoning the society. He seems to have caught Mr. Garrison's spirit, by reading the *Liberator*; and, therefore, he does not hesitate to say, that it is his belief, "that this splendid scheme of benevolence" was a device of Satan, to rivet still closer the fetters of the slaves, and to deepen the prejudice against the free coloured people. "I now believe," says he, "that it had its origin in the single motive, to get rid of the free coloured people, that the slaves may be held in greater safety. Good men have been drawn into it, under the delusive idea, that it would break the chains of slavery and evangelize Africa; but the day is not far distant, I believe, when the society will be regarded in its true character, and deserted by every one who wishes to see a speedy end put to slavery in the land of boasted freedom." Mr. Tappan's principal objection was, that ardent spirits, tobacco, powder, and lead, had been imported into the colony. The answer to these objections, by Mr. Gurley, was entirely satisfactory.

Canada having been found an uncongenial climate for Africans, Texas began to be talked of by the enemies of Liberia. Though the arguments of the anti-colonization men were often directed against colonization in general; yet when Hayti, or Canada, or Texas, could be set up in opposition to the colony in Africa, these places were advocated by them, as entirely preferable to Liberia.

The Rev. Mr. Pinney, already mentioned, as a missionary to Africa, arrived at Monrovia, and his first impressions of the country may be learned from the following extract from a letter from him, dated February 17, 1833.

*"Dear Sir,—*We have arrived safely and happily at the home of the oppressed, where freedom spreading her broad mantle, invites the injured sons of Africa to liberty and happiness. The verdure is beyond expression delightful. Cape Mount seemed a paradise, when first seen last Sabbath morning, as one peak after another was discovered to us by the ascending

mist; and Cape Mesurado distant only half-a-mile from our anchorage, though very rocky, presents nothing but the deepest luxuriance of vegetation: no rock appears except at the extreme point, where the retiring surf exposes enough to assure us that it is there. The white beach between the two capes, a distance of fifty miles, is a beautiful line separating the dark green waters from the still deeper vegetation; which resembles very much the appearance of the coast presented in entering Charleston harbour. Numerous palms lift their lofty heads all along the shore, high above the surrounding forests, resembling our pines trimmed almost to the top. Natives dressed in nature's garb, in light shelly canoes, as strange as themselves, are all around us. It is impossible to describe my sensations at beholding these human beings, representing I suppose, fairly, more than as many millions, when they came on board our vessel just before we anchored in view of Monrovia, on Sunday evening, without even a 'fig leaf' covering—seeming scarcely to have made a single step towards civilization, and probably still less towards godliness. They were *Kroomen*, said to be the noblest and most honest of all the seaboard tribes; their business is to row the boats in loading and unloading vessels. Captain Hatch has engaged fifteen, and I am now more accustomed to their appearance. When on board the ship, they wear a small piece of cloth around the loins. They are of a dark red colour, something like a ripe English cherry. The governor received me with much politeness to-day, and invited me to dinner, which from my circumstances, I declined acceding to. The town consists of houses thinly scattered here and there on lots as they have been drawn by colonists. From being but partly built, and there being no horses or carts to wear a road, the streets have little the appearance of a regular town, and from the luxuriance of vegetation, every spot not under cultivation or continual use, is covered with weeds and bushes. Yet it is much pleasanter than I had anticipated. The air is cool and pleasant, and I was quite surprised to observe *cloth coats* worn by all the most respectable inhabitants. Governor Mechlin informed me that when he travels he wears his *coat* and *overcoat*, and lies down any where in them. The buildings are well calculated for coolness, having no fire-places, and being quite open. Those of the colonists whom I saw, received me with great politeness,

and were dressed very genteely. I think I shall like Africa, and from all accounts, the fever is not commonly more severe than many *intermittents* in America. It is a complete *fever and ague*, and in most cases I am informed is light.”

Among the zealous defenders of the Colonization Society in the western States, we find J. G. Birney, Esq., a gentleman of liberal education, and considerable brilliance of talent, who had stood high in civil life; but who now was willing to devote his time and talents to the advancement of the cause of African colonization. He, therefore, accepted of an agency for the south-western States. Upon entering on this office, Mr. Birney published in the public prints of all these States, a number of short essays, on the subject of colonization, which were extensively circulated both in the north and the south, by being transferred to the columns of many papers. These letters are preserved in the African Repository for August, 1833. And although this gentleman soon afterwards changed his views, and has been, ever since, the determined opposer of the Colonization Society, and one of the ablest and most zealous and active advocates of the principles of the Anti-slavery Society; yet this does not hinder but that these letters may still be read with profit. And although he has long repudiated all that he has written in defence of African colonization, he would still find it difficult to give a refutation of his own former arguments.

The enemies of the Colonization Society were not contented to confine themselves to argument and declamation, against the principles of the society, but they industriously and insidiously attempted to bring the colony into disrepute, by having recourse to slander and misrepresentation. They availed themselves of an opportunity to catechise, at great length and minuteness, certain coloured persons who had been sent out from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to examine the country and state of the colony: and in giving an account of the information received from these men, great unfairness was employed. One of the persons thus catechised and misrepresented, Mr. James Price, of Washington city, upon seeing the account of the examination of himself and others, came out in the public papers, with a positive denial of the truth of the account which had been published in the *Emancipator*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FORMATION OF THE MARYLAND SOCIETY.

THE Maryland Colonization Society, after mature deliberation, determined to act independently of the national society, and to found a colony of their own, at Cape Palmas, on the African coast. The reasons for adopting this important measure, are given at large in the Second Annual Report of the Maryland Colonization Society. In this measure no hostility to the American Colonization Society was intended; nor did it arise from any dissatisfaction with the proceedings of that excellent institution; but it was believed, that in Maryland, much more could be accomplished by independent, separate action, than by remaining associated with the national society; especially, as the legislature of the State was disposed to act in cooperation with the State Society, and had already made a large appropriation of money for carrying the plan into effect. But this united action of the State with the society could not be expected, unless the latter acted independently of all societies out of the State. It was judged also, that the several States in which slavery existed, having the sole right of regulating or removing this system, could act in relation to this matter according to their own discretion: and if any particular State was convinced that slavery was a political evil, and ought, as soon as practicable, to be abolished, such State might prosecute this object in connexion with the colonization society of the State, without being restricted by the constitution of the American Colonization Society, which very wisely does not propose the abolition of slavery, as any part of the direct object of the society; but confines its views solely to the free people of colour.

The legislature of the state of Maryland, were so fully convinced that the gradual abolition of slavery would be a national blessing, provided the slaves, as fast as liberated, should be removed to Africa, that they did not hesitate to propose this as

the great object at which they aimed in patronizing the colonization of the people of colour. And the Colonization Society of Maryland, entertaining the same views with the legislature, resolved to form themselves into an independent society, that without restraint, and with the powerful cooperation of the State, they might prosecute this important object. They also were desirous to establish a colony more devoted to agriculture, than the one at Monrovia, the attention of which has been chiefly directed to commerce: and as the traffic in ardent spirits in the latter colony had furnished its opponents with one of their most plausible objections, it was determined to make this a *temperance* colony, by not only forbidding all trade in this article, but by requiring every emigrant to agree to abstain entirely from the use of ardent spirits.

While it cannot be doubted that the reasons for this independent action of the Maryland society are very strong, and we may say, convincing, yet it cannot be denied that the measure operated very injuriously to the interests of the American Colonization Society, by withdrawing from it many of its most efficient members, and lessening its resources at a time when it was exceedingly embarrassed with a debt, which had accumulated to such a degree, as to threaten the prosperity, if not the very existence of the society. And therefore it will not appear surprising, that the managers of the American Colonization Society, although they did not oppose the design of the Maryland Society, yet consented to it with evident reluctance. It was feared, that if the example should be imitated in other States, the national society would be left without a sufficient number of auxiliaries to sustain it. And, indeed, for some time, the prospects of the parent society were very discouraging, and her foreign operations almost ceased.

The Maryland Society, in their Third Annual Report, express a strong persuasion of the wisdom of the plan which they had adopted; and go so far as to say, "that upon its success, now depends, in a great degree, the present efficient operation of the grand scheme of American colonization. Maryland, through her State society, is about trying the important experiment, whether by means of colonies on the coast of Africa, slave States may become free States. "For this purpose," say they, "was the idea of colonization first promulgated; and for this purpose has there been that expenditure of life and money,

which has resulted in demonstrating the practicability of founding settlements of the coloured people of the United States in their fatherland. If Maryland, with so many circumstances operating in her favour,—with a coloured population that does not increase—with a prevailing sentiment among her people adverse to the perpetuation of slavery within her borders—with legislative action lending its powerful and efficient aid,—if Maryland, thus situated, cannot succeed in the experiment, other States may well despair, and the friends of the cause through the land may well be disheartened.”

While we cannot but approve of the Maryland enterprise, as one of great importance in the history of African colonization, we cannot approve of the sentiment here expressed, that the success of the whole scheme of colonization was involved in the success of this State society. Our belief is, that this plan has the marked approbation of heaven, from its commencement; and that, however many disasters and disappointments may be experienced, it will continue to prosper, and will ultimately so prevail, as to exhibit to posterity the successful issue of the grandest enterprise of the present age.

The Maryland Society having determined on forming a separate colony in Africa, on the 23d of November, 1833, despatched the brig *Ann*, Captain Langdon, from Baltimore, with a full cargo of goods and provisions, and eighteen emigrants for Cape Palmas. The expedition was under the charge of Dr. James Hall, a gentleman whose experience in Africa, admirably qualified him for his situation. The Rev. John Hersey accompanied him, as his assistant; and the Rev. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Wynkoop, agents for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, took passage in the *Ann*, with a view of ascertaining the fitness of Cape Palmas as a place for missionary labours.

On the 25th of January, the *Ann* reached Monrovia, and remained there ten days, taking on board thirty old settlers, nineteen of whom were adult males, well acclimated.

On the 5th of February, the brig reached Bassa, and receiving five more recruits, sailed for her ultimate destination. Dr. Hall having sent word to the kings in the vicinity of Cape Palmas, of his wish to establish a colony at that place, when he arrived, found them ready to treat with him.

On the 13th of February, a grand *palaver*, or council, was

held, at which the only difficulty arose out of Dr. Hall's refusing to make rum a part of the consideration of the proposed purchase. "His Master," he told them, "did not send him there to give rum for the land. Rum made the black man a fool, and then the white man cheated him. He came as a friend, to do them good—not as an enemy, to hurt them." After much discussion, and explanation, on the part of Dr. Hall, the purchase was completed for a quantity of trade goods fully satisfactory to the natives. The kings reserved to their people the use of their villages and fields, included within the boundaries of the territory contracted for; and stipulated that, within a year, a free public school should be established in each of the principal towns. This treaty was dated February 13, 1834, and was signed by Parmah, King of Palmas, Weah Boleo, King of Grahway, and Baphro, King of Grand Cavally.

Without delay, operations were commenced; and the brig, after landing her passengers and cargo, returned to Bassa and Monrovia for further recruits. The Board had sent out the frame and materials of an agency house, which was speedily erected, and in less than a month after landing, the settlement began to wear the appearance of a compact and comfortable village. Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, after remaining at the cape long enough to satisfy themselves of the eligibility of the site for a missionary station, returned to Monrovia, and thence to America. Mr. Hersey, after seeing a meeting-house erected for the worship of the Methodists in the company, also returned to this country.

Dr. Hall now found himself, with about eighty emigrants, in the midst of thousands of savages; he therefore set to work to erect a fort, which should fully command the native town of Cape Palmas and two small towns on the beach, as well as the landing place. In this short time, thirty-seven lots were occupied, and the gardens already supplied the emigrants with vegetables. At the end of four months, the people had all gone through the fever of the climate, without the loss of a single individual. The testimony of Messrs. Wilson, Wynkoop, and Hersey, respecting the healthiness of the climate, is very favourable.

Upon the return of the brig *Ann*, with so favourable an account of the situation of the colony, the Board immediately despatched another vessel from Baltimore, the *Sarah* and *Pris-*

cilla. On her arrival at the Cape, she found the colony in an excellent condition, and Dr. Hall well furnished with the means of subsistence, which he had husbanded from the stores brought out by the former vessel. Every body in the colony appeared to be in good health, and none more so than Dr. Hall himself, who had been long an invalid. The emigrants were generally well satisfied, and there was as little discontent as could be expected among persons who had to subdue the forest, and erect houses for their own accommodation.

The Board without waiting for the return of the *Sarah* and *Priscilla*, despatched, on the 14th of December, 1834, the brig *Bourne*, with fifty-eight emigrants, and supplies corresponding, for the Cape. This expedition was placed under the immediate charge of the Rev. Mr. Gould, of the Methodist church; a man who had long laboured for the good of the coloured population in Maryland. This agent did not go out with the design of making a permanent residence in Africa; but staid long enough to see the emigrants comfortably disposed of. A short time before the sailing of the *Bourne*, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, with his wife, and several teachers, had sailed for Cape Palmas. The frame of a house for a missionary establishment had been carried out in the brig *Ann*, which was found, upon his arrival, ready for his use. The presence of Mr. Wilson at the colony was considered very important, in case of any accident to Dr. Hall; for though entirely disconnected with the Board of Managers, yet all the new settlers at Cape Palmas had a common interest; and few men were better calculated to give prudent counsel than Mr. Wilson. "To profound piety he joined firmness of character, and sound judgment, and discretion, together with manners admirably calculated to win his way to the hearts of this rude people, to whom he had devoted his existence."*

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had assumed the responsibility of supplying the natives with such free schools as had been stipulated for, in the treaty by which the territory was conveyed to the society, which relieved the Board of a considerable expense, which otherwise must have been incurred by them.

Each of the three kings, who signed the treaty by which the land was ceded, agreed to send a son to the State Society, to

* Third Annual Report, p. 9.

be educated in the arts of civilized life. The son of the King of Palmas was taken sick on his way to the vessel and remained behind; so that only two embarked, viz., Charles, the son of the King of Grahway, and John, the son of the King of Cavally. These boys arrived safely in Baltimore, and every thing was done by the Board, which could be done, to promote their improvement. They were immediately sent to school, and made rapid progress in learning. But on the 16th of November, 1834, Charles took sick and died. During his illness he received every needed attention in the family of the local agent, where he boarded. And as this event might make an unfavourable impression on the minds of the natives, it was thought expedient to send back the other boy to his parents, who could give such an account of their treatment here, as it was hoped would be satisfactory to all, and especially to the father of the deceased boy.

The formation of the Maryland Society, having the gradual abolition of slavery in the State, as the direct primary object of its institution, it was believed that, if its principles were made known to the people of New England, it would have the effect of checking the abolition spirit, which had begun to pervade that country; or rather, would turn it into a safe and beneficial channel, and might secure considerable funds for the Maryland Colonization Society. Under these impressions, Messrs. John and Robert Breckinridge, both ardent friends of colonization, but, at the same time, friends to the gradual abolition of slavery, undertook a journey through the Eastern States, to make known the principles, and to plead the cause of the Maryland Society. Two more ardent, eloquent, and efficient agents could not have been found. They passed through the principal northern cities, accompanied by the local agent of the Board; and at New Haven, were joined by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, an eminent friend of the cause, who lent them his powerful and efficient aid. And although they did not remain long enough to make their northern visit profitable, in a pecuniary point of view, it is believed, that they made a deep and favourable impression, which will be useful to the society hereafter.

Although, as has been intimated, the withdrawal of the State Society of Maryland could not but be felt by the parent society as a severe blow to its interests; yet that noble institution, with a generosity becoming the benevolent cause in which it was

engaged, opposed no obstacle in the way of the new enterprise, and continued to cultivate a friendly feeling towards the Maryland Society; and this feeling was duly appreciated by the Board of Managers of the State Society. In the close of their third report, they observe, that "the relations of the Board with the American Colonization Society are, it is believed, of the most friendly character. Although the State Society acts independently, yet the community of purpose between the two institutions, must ever unite them in a bond which it would be difficult to break, and which the Maryland Society should be the last to see weakened. It is to the disinterested labours of the philanthropic members of the American Board, that the State Society is indebted for the confidence, which has led them to send forth a little band of emigrants, to gain another foothold on the Liberian coast; to erect there a beacon, glorious alike in the sight of the native, and the African emigrant; as it speaks to the one in the language of civilization and the gospel, and calls to the other to come to his father's home."*

The following extracts from a communication of Dr. Hall to the Board of Managers, will serve to give some idea of the territory purchased for the society, and named, New Maryland. Speaking of Sheppard Lake, he says, "This lake is a beautiful sheet of clear water, upon an average half a mile in breadth, extending from the site of the mission house, about eight miles parallel to the sea-beach; and, in some places, separated only by a wall of sand thrown up by the surf, of not more than fifty yards in breadth. At the narrowest place, the natives, once or twice in the year, dig a trench below the surface of the lake, and it soon discharges its waters into the sea, leaving an immense quantity of fish of all kinds, which are gathered up by all the tribes in the vicinity, and smoked in great numbers. The sea very soon fills up the breach thus made, and the lake is again replenished by the rains and small creeks.

"The King of Grahway has three towns, one of which is very large, where he resides. I left Grahway, accompanied by the king and several head men. On leaving Grahway, I entered one of the most beautiful meadows I ever beheld, from one to two miles in breadth, extending a distance of nearly five miles. It was literally covered with fine fat cattle, sheep and goats,

* Third Annual Report, p. 12.

belonging to the neighbouring towns. When within a mile or two of Half-Cavally, we were met by not less than a thousand men, women, and children, in whose countenances nothing but wonder and astonishment were visible.

"The town, or rather towns, of Half-Cavally, are very large, containing over fifteen hundred people, who are supported principally by trading with the Bush people. From this to Cavally river, a distance of eight miles, as near as I could judge, I took what is termed the Bush path, and it carried me through a delightful country, the greater part of which is included in our purchase. The surface is gently undulating and covered with a quick growth of small wood, the whole having been cleared for rice and cassada; and we passed many fields of these vegetables, which are the main articles of food in this country. To an enthusiastic admirer of nature, nothing could be more delightful than a stroll along the borders of these beautiful fields, winding occasionally among almost impervious clusters of young palm trees, whose spreading branches excluded every ray of the scorching sun; then opening suddenly upon an immense rice field of the most delicate pea-green, skirted by the beautiful broad-leaved plaintain and banana, literally groaning under the immense masses of their golden fruit—I say, to such a one, this jaunt would have been enchanting," &c. There seems to be something like romance in the above description, but no doubt there is some foundation for such high coloured description in the actual scenery.

Of the river Cavally, Dr. Hall speaks as follows: "This is a splendid river, nearly a mile in width, running with great velocity into the sea, perfectly fresh, even to its mouth. It could be entered by vessels of two hundred tons, or more; but it comes down with such force, that meeting the tide, it causes immense breakers, which prevent boats and canoes from passing, except in the dry season. * * * From the best information I can gain, I would say the Cavally river is navigable for schooners of twenty tons, to the distance of fifty miles.

"I arrived at Grand Cavally, the town of our liege subject, King Baphro, about two o'clock, P. M., and was received with all the attention I could expect. This town is situated at the river's mouth, and has a fine landing, inside the bar, but the beach land is bad, owing to the heavy surf, there being no rock

or curvature in the coast line, sufficient to break the swell. I should think the town contained a thousand inhabitants, but I may overrate them, as the bustle was so great. * * * The king speaks good English, has a perfect knowledge of trade, and manages all matters like a man of business. His person is worth noticing: he is about six feet four, well proportioned, and very muscular; and has a firm and determined expression of countenance, bordering too much on the savage. His word is law, and one look from his deep sunken eye, commands instant obedience from all. * * * The land on either side the river is sufficiently elevated, the soil rich and easily cultivated. The whole is well wooded and watered, with few or no fens or swamps, so common on the sea-coast; the surface generally slightly undulating, and covered in some places with a second growth of timber at intervals, however spreading into most luxuriant and extensive savannahs, equalling in richness and beauty the far famed plains of Leogane, in the island of Hayti. In fact, the whole extensive tract of country, now belonging to the Maryland State Colonization Society, so far as I have been able to examine it, very nearly resembles the low lands of that beautiful island.

“The land in our immediate neighbourhood is not so fertile as that more remote, but I think it advisable to lay out the first township bordering on the beach, and this we extend to the interior, as I consider it of great importance to have the whole colony connected, that we may have good roads from one end to the other. With very little trouble and expense we can have the best roads, surpassed by none in America, a thing very uncommon in African settlements.

“The present productions of our colony are rice, cassada, banana, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, the egg plant, bahia, some excellent varieties of the pea, Guinea and Malaga pepper, many varieties of the prune and fig. These are all produced and cultivated by the natives in great abundance; and to them may be added all the garden and field vegetables, such as, beans, peas, turnips, Indian corn, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, cabbage, onions, melons, lettuce, cucumbers, and tomatoes.

“As it regards animal food, we are equally well supplied. There is no part of the coast which furnishes such beef; and

I never saw so fine in any tropical country, nor any more fat, even in the Boston market.

“In this our purchase, we have every national advantage possible to favour the promotion of agriculture, and we only require industry, proper guidance and direction, to render this a wealthy and flourishing colony. The labour of one man in good health, six months in the year, will produce vegetables for six adults, and in greater abundance and variety, than the average farmers in New England enjoy.

“Of the articles, which our climate will enable us to raise for exportation, the most prominent are palm oil, sugar, molasses, coffee, cotton, and tobacco. Now the question is, which ought to be recommended to the colonists for cultivation? Doubtless the sugar cane is best adapted to our soil, and would yield the greatest profit, but its cultivation by the emigrants at present, I consider entirely out of the question. The coffee tree does not grow spontaneously here as at Bassa and Cape Mesurado, but would do well were it introduced. But taking all circumstances into consideration, I consider cotton and tobacco as decidedly the best articles for new emigrants to commence with. The palm tree grows spontaneously, in all the varieties of soil in our territory, and apparently with equal luxuriance on the sandy beach as in the fattest valleys. In fact the whole face of the country is covered with them, and it only requires a ready market, like the Bonny, to induce the natives to manufacture (the palm oil) in immense quantities for exportation.

“I judge that a few remarks upon the health of the place will not be considered premature. Upon this subject I have been tremblingly anxious and watchful, as I am satisfied that it will ultimately determine the destiny of the colony. The natural advantages in every other respect, are equal to those of any other part of the globe; and I think, we may indulge a well grounded hope that Providence has been no less propitious in regard to the salubrity of our location. I speak with caution, being fully sensible that years must elapse, before we can form a decided opinion on this very important subject. I can only speak of it comparatively, and so can safely say, it is a far more healthy place than Cape Mesurado. I am warranted in saying this, from the circumstance that a number

of our colonists were weak and sickly, when they embarked from that place, and every one will bear testimony, that their health was quite restored. As to myself, I have not enjoyed so good health for the space of one week, during four years, as for the last two months. I have been able to labour daily, to eat heartily, and to sleep at night."

There is a pleasing circumstance in the commencement of this colony, and one too which it may be confidently believed will ensure to it greater prosperity than any thing else. It was begun by a public acknowledgment of God, the Ruler of the Universe, and a day of public thanksgiving for the whole colony was appointed for the fourth of July. On this subject, Dr. Hall remarks: "I have appointed the fourth of July next, as a day of thanksgiving, after our old New England fashion; and I doubt not that you will consider it, under existing circumstances, well timed, and becoming a Christian community. Not a day nor an hour passes, but I feel an inward conviction, that we are, and have been especially favoured by Divine Providence, and I judge that a public expression of our gratitude for such favours, would not only be our duty to the Great Author of all good, but gratifying to our pious and philanthropic patrons."

In the enumeration of special providential blessings experienced, in the proclamation of the agent, the following are noticed: "From the moment of our embarkation from our native land, we have experienced one uninterrupted series of prosperous events. When, on the mighty deep, he caused the storm to cease, and the waves thereof to be still, and timely brought us to the haven where we would be. He so disposed the minds of the heathen that they kindly welcomed us to their delightful shores, and granted us their soil as our home, for ever. The season has been uncommonly propitious to our designs. The early rains have been deferred until we are well prepared for their approach. The earth has yielded a quick and needful reward to the husbandman. The pestilence which has ever begirt the coast as a wall of fire, has passed lightly over us, and claimed but a solitary victim. Cheerfulness and contentment reign throughout our little settlement; peace rests upon our borders."

The chief difficulty which the Board of Managers found in collecting emigrants, arose from the incredulity of the coloured

people of Maryland, in regard to the reports made to them of the advantages of Liberia. Even when their friends wrote to them favourably of the country, inviting them to emigrate, they believed that there was a restraint upon the writers, and that the agent prevented any letters from reaching America, which did not speak in terms of praise of Africa. The ingenuity of the people of colour in the State, however, devised a very simple test of the reliance which might be placed on the letters of their friends. Before they emigrated, they took a small slip of calico, and divided it into two parts; the one was taken by the emigrant, and the other remained with his friend. By sending back these little tokens, assurance was given that the statements in the letters were true, and that he wrote without restraint.

The opinion is expressed in the Fourth Report of the Managers to the Society, "that colonization is ultimately to be carried on, mainly, by voluntary emigration, at the cost of the emigrant himself, and that the scheme cannot otherwise be successful." This opinion seems to have been hastily adopted, and, therefore, does not merit that implicit regard which most of the opinions of this Board demand. No doubt there will hereafter be many emigrants of this description, sacrificing all their little property, to reach the desired asylum of the coloured race; but this can never be realized in relation to liberated slaves, who will probably form much the most numerous portion of future emigrants. And this opinion comes with a bad grace from the State Society of Maryland, who have the legislature of the State cooperating with them, and which has already appropriated two hundred thousand dollars to aid the enterprise.

Mr. and Mrs. Wilson having selected a delightful spot near the end of the lake for their missionary station, called it very appropriately, Fair Hope, and immediately commenced operations; Mr. Wilson by an attempt to reduce the language of the natives to writing, and Mrs. Wilson by opening a school for native children, and also for those of the colonists who might choose to attend. A school was also opened by a Miss McAlister, of the Methodist church; and one for the colony, by Mrs. Thompson, who joined the Cape Palmas emigrants from Monrovia, together with her husband.

The Rev. Mr. Gould, who, it was mentioned, went out to

superintend the emigrants, and see them comfortably settled in their houses, performed his duty with great fidelity and acceptance, and passed through the acclimating fever without apparent injury; but experiencing much rough weather in a tedious passage home, he departed this life about two months after his arrival in America. He was a good and pious man, devoted to the cause of religion and humanity, and his loss was truly lamented. His testimony was very favourable indeed, as it related to soil, climate, productions, health, &c.

The relations of the emigrants with the natives were placed on a proper, and it is hoped, a lasting footing, by the prompt energy and firmness of Dr. Hall. One of the kings, soon after the settlement was made, set an enormous price on his rice, and threatened to prevent the governor from sending elsewhere to get a supply. In vain Dr. Hall remonstrated. The king was inexorable, and said he would attack the governor's boat, whenever it set out for rice to a neighbouring town. Dr. Hall told him that they would prefer dying as brave men, to being starved to death; and that if the boat was interrupted, war should be the consequence. After this brief conference, the governor retired to the settlement, and prepared for defence. The people stood to arms, all night, and in the morning he despatched the boat. The king, instead of making an attack on it, came in person to the governor, and made an humble apology. Since then the influence of the colonists has been increasing—aided, most materially, by the presence and labours of the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. Both Dr. Hall and Mr. Wilson were also successful, in rescuing from a cruel death several persons condemned by the superstitions of the people, as having caused evil, by the practice of diabolical arts, or witchcraft.

The Board were informed by Dr. Hall, that the state of his health required a cessation from the active duties of the agency, and a return to the United States. Upon this they selected Mr. Holmes as his successor, who was sent out several months before the expected departure of Dr. Hall, that by being with this judicious and experienced agent, he might become acquainted with the business of the office; and be the better prepared to fill a station so highly responsible.

The managers conclude their fourth report, by expressing their unshaken confidence in the wisdom of the plan which

they had adopted; and in confirmation of their own opinion, they refer to the testimonies received in its favour, from some of the wisest men, belonging to other States; and particularly refer to a speech made in defence of the plan, before the American Colonization Society at Washington, by a gentleman who had been among the first and most efficient of the promoters of colonization, while yet there had been no foothold obtained in Africa—one whose intimate and long acquaintance with the old system made his sanction of tenfold authority. The person here referred to, was doubtless Francis S. Key, Esq., of Georgetown. Finally, the managers congratulate the society on having the honour of being the first to introduce this plan; and concerning the State, they say, “The policy of the State has been liberal and enlightened, and there can be little doubt that to it is to be attributed her total exemption from excitement during the recent period of agitation on the subject of slavery, when the efforts of a few misguided zealots caused the friends of union and order to tremble for the future.”

Dr. Hall, in a more recent despatch, dated October 15th, informed the Board, that perplexing difficulties had arisen in consequence of various thefts committed by the natives, in which the culprits were screened from detection and punishment, by their king, who acted very deceitfully on the occasion. The colonists were dependent on these people for the rice on which they subsisted; and yet the agent was convinced that a firm stand must be taken, and justice demanded for the depredations of the people; and by the aid of a shrewd fellow, by the name of Davis, things were so managed, that many of the stolen articles were privately restored. A palaver also was held, and the trade which had been interrupted was again renewed, and the colony obtained an adequate supply of rice.

The custom of the people in trying and punishing persons accused of witchcraft, shows the miserable state of society among these people; and as the account is curious, I will subjoin an extract from Dr. Hall's letter in a note.*

* “They have a custom like our pious and sapient forefathers of Salem, of attributing all the great calamities of life to witchcraft, particularly all sudden deaths of the middle aged and active. In such cases, the gregree man, doctor, or grand devil, synonymous terms, is consulted, and he points out the witch or necromancer so offending. In order then to prove whether the suspected is actually guilty, he is compelled to drink large quantities of the decoction of a poisonous tree, called

In the same despatch, Dr. Hall makes some remarks, which appear highly worthy of the attention of all concerned in the colonization of the free people of colour on the coast of Africa.

saucy wood. Should he survive, he is deemed innocent; but otherwise, should it prove fatal. Quite a number have been subjected to this ordeal, since our settlement here, and some have died in the most excruciating tortures. Should the culprit vomit freely, within half an hour or so after taking it, before it has time to affect the system or influence the stomach, he experiences but little inconvenience from it. But should it remain on the stomach an hour or two, that organ, and the whole alimentary canal, become highly inflamed; constant and violent vomiting, and purging succeed, and continue until the subject is completely exhausted. And to add greatly to his misery, he is placed, at the moment of taking the decoction, under a guard of soldiers, who keep him constantly in motion, racing about on the sand beach in the hot sun, hardly allowing him rest during his violent evacuations. When his strength begins to fail, they force him to continue his movements by sharp sticks, knives, and bayonets. The poor wretch now becomes frantic, and vainly attempts revenge upon his persecutors, until completely overcome by the potency of the poison and his excessive exertions, he sinks upon the sand, and expires in the most excruciating agonies. One of the natives, who has frequently officiated as soldier of the guard in such cases, informed me that the torments of the victims were so great, in the last stages, that the guard were frequently obliged to go to a distance, and turn their backs that they might not see their distortions, or hear their wailings and blasphemies. Since our residence here, nine months, four or five have been subjected to this ordeal, two cases of which have terminated fatally. But a few days since, one of the headmen, and one who has uniformly befriended the colony, was arraigned and found guilty of bewitching sundry members of the family of one of his rivals, and doomed to the trial of saucy wood. He had taken his first potion before I was informed of it, and they had commenced driving him about. It had a very severe effect upon the poor fellow, but he was quite comfortable at night. But the grand devil declared that, inasmuch as it wrought thus hard with him, he must turn to and take it again on the morrow. Being informed of this, I went down early in the morning, called a palaver, and endeavoured to have the man released. But all reasoning, entreaties, gifts, and threatenings were of no avail. They appeared to owe him a deep grudge, which nothing but his death could appease. On returning home, I was informed that they have an ancient rule something like this:—that in case a man is condemned to drink saucy wood, any friend of superior rank or standing, can clear him by taking him by the hand, when the potion is about to be administered; but the one so doing takes upon himself the responsibility, and is liable either to supply his place or pay heavy damages. In this case the king wished and had attempted to clear Posso, the prisoner, but he knew the consequence would be dangerous, so great was the excitement against him. Upon hearing this, I immediately set off for the sand beach, and arrived just as they were driving off his wives and children, who had been taking their last farewell. About five hundred people were collected, and formed into a hollow square, in the midst of which was his Satanic Majesty in full panoply, just raising a two gallon pot, filled to the brim, with the poisonous decoction, to the lips of the wretched Posso. Poor fellow! he was so altered from yesterday's drenching, and the dismal prospect before him, that I should not have

"Since my first acquaintance with the colony at Cape Mesurado, I have been decidedly of opinion, that unless the natives of this country can be enlightened and improved; unless they can be raised to a level with the colonists, and amalgamate with them, colonization will prove a heavy curse to both parties. And, inasmuch as it does not seem immediately advantageous to the colonists to enlighten the natives, we cannot expect them to use any great exertions to do it. They have concerns of their own to attend to, and can only influence the natives by examples. We must have the aid of missionaries and teachers, and of them not a few. Independent of the welfare of the colony, I do not believe there is a place on the globe where missionary labour would yield so great a reward. The population is dense, the inhabitants peaceable, intelligent, and extremely anxious for information; and there is no bar or hindrance whatever to the most full and ample operations of the

recognized him had he been mixed with the crowd: his countenance was despair itself. I briefly told them, that if any one had any palaver for Posso, I would satisfy him according to our laws, and would be responsible for all that they could prove against him: then taking him by the hand, marched him off, amid the mingled shouts and execrations of his friends and persecutors. This one circumstance would demonstrate to you the beneficial influence we even now begin to exert among the natives, and that our hopes of overthrowing their barbarous and long established customs, are not visionary. The number that annually fall victims to the accursed machinations and blind zeal of these greegree men, a compound of priests, doctors, and devils, is incalculable. During the nine months since our arrival, four have been killed in this way, in this one town; and within twenty miles of us, we can number ten or fifteen towns, equally large, where this business is practised to the same extent. The sacrifices of Juggernaut cannot compare with this, either with regard to the number of victims, or the horror of the sacrifice. In that case, it is a religious self-immolation; in many instances, stimulated by the noblest sentiments of our nature. The victim, in fact, dies a religious martyr, and glories in his exit. But here, the innocent falls a sacrifice to vile practice and jugglery, and suffers a shockingly painful and inglorious death as a criminal, which death is considered by these deluded people as an incontestable proof of his guilt as a 'witch man,' or necromancer. This evil calls loudly for a remedy, and from the above incident, you see that a remedy is practicable, and at hand too. We might forcibly put a stop to it by legal enactments, but this is not expedient. The more judicious way to put an end to this, and the many other diabolical and cruel practices of the greegree men, is to diffuse light and information among the majority of the people. This course is slow, but practicable and sure. Many, very many, of the more intelligent natives already declare that they will have nothing to do with such business; but still they are overruled by the rabble, and cry out earnestly for more light. And to diffuse this light seasonably, the colony, unaided, is inadequate. *We must have assistance."*

missionary and philanthropist. The advantages that the colony and the missionary cause will mutually derive from each other are incalculable. The missionary alone, surrounded by barbarians, totally dissimilar in every mode of action or thought, is viewed as a supernatural being, and although they may ever so much admire his precepts and desire improvement, still, so great is the distance between what they are and would be, that the task seems too great for them to undertake, their resolution is inadequate to it, and after a few ineffectual struggles, despondency and indifference succeed to hope. But here *we* are introducing amongst people, many of whom are already accustomed to Europeans, some of their own race, possessing the advantages of civilization, acquired even during a period of slavery and degradation. Of these advantages, I assure you, the natives are fully sensible, and they are sensible too, that the same advantages are within their reach; that the difference between them and the colonists is artificial, and that the barriers to their elevation are easily surmounted. Their ambition and perseverance are adequate to this task, and to effect it, and speedily too, they only require instruction—instruction in the most general sense of the word. To preach the Christian religion to them without doing any thing more, in their present state, is to do nothing, and worse than nothing; they are unable to appreciate its excellencies, and would place it and its preachers on a level with their own long established superstitions and their greegree men. They must, at the same time, possess the advantage of acquiring information from letters, and be permitted to pursue any branch of knowledge most agreeable to them; they must be made acquainted with the minor affairs appertaining to civilized life, ere they are called upon to change their religion, justly esteemed, both by the barbarous and civilized, the most important matter connected with their existence. They must, to a certain extent, be made acquainted with political and scientific facts, and be convinced of their errors in matters *that admit of demonstration*, before we demand their conviction in matters of faith. In a word, to conduct the affair of civilizing and reclaiming the savage and barbarian, it requires not only a Christian and philanthropist, but men of the most profound knowledge of the human character, *acquainted with the world*, men of experience and extensive observation. Nor do I deem it of great importance, that such a one should be a professional

man. If so, the profession of medicine would be the most desirable. Probably no man could so readily acquire the confidence, and exercise a general influence over the inhabitants of this coast, as an industrious and intelligent physician. The remarks of Dr. Philip, of the Cape of Good Hope settlement, upon this subject, I think entitled to great weight, and they ought to serve as a guide in all selections of men, for this interesting and important undertaking."

By a meteorological table kept at Cape Palmas, by Dr. Hall, it appears that the mercury in Farenheit's thermometer seldom rises above 80°, and seldom falls lower than 70°. But the air is refreshed by the daily sea breezes; and except in the rainy season, the weather is clear and serene. Acclimated persons are seldom ever heard to complain of the climate as too warm: a disagreeable feeling of chilliness, especially in damp weather, is much more common. Woollen clothes are very comfortable during a large portion of the year, and are very much in use by the colonists and residents.

Between Cape Palmas and Cape Mesurado, there is a much wider difference of climate than could be supposed from the small difference of latitude, and great similarity of the coast. At the latter place, double the quantity of rain falls to what does in the former; and in the dry season, at Cape Palmas, the air is frequently refreshed by showers of rain, whereas at Mesurado, there are several months during which no rain occurs. In the wet season also, Maryland (in Africa) has an interval of several days of dry weather, in which they can house the crop of rice. Tornadoes are frequent in February and March, but they are no more nor less than a thunder storm with a heavy dash of rain and a stiff flaw of wind, not amounting to what seamen would call a severe gale; and their continuance is seldom more than half an hour. Like other storms, they come on sometimes suddenly, and at others, give several hours' notice of their approach. Between the African tornado and West India hurricane, there is no comparison: the houses at Monrovia would have no chance to stand in the violence of the hurricane, but are seldom injured by the tornado. April, May, and June, are the rainy months, during which the wind blows steadily day and night, from the south; and this continues with little variation, through July, August, and September. July and August, however, are cool and pleasant

months. About the end of December, the Harmattan wind commences, which continues from three to fifteen days, during which the thermometer never varies more than two degrees, and is at its lowest degree on the scale, say from 70° to 72° . Dr. Hall thinks that there is very little difference between the wet and dry seasons, as it relates to health: every one ought to expect a *seasoning*; and he is not safe from the danger, under a complete year. The time most favourable for an arrival, as it relates to agricultural operations, is either in December or May.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CAPE PALMAS.

THE following descriptive letter is from the pen of Mrs. Wilson, to a friend in Philadelphia.

“There are but few situations, perhaps, where the beauty and majesty of nature are more harmoniously united. On the south, and very near our door, the sea rolls up its waves with majestic power. We are elevated fifty feet above the water, and between us and it, a distance of one of your Philadelphia squares, we have a very pretty but irregular descent. On the east we have a beautiful salt lake, extending as far as the eye can reach eastward, but not more than the eighth of a mile in width. On this lake, if our lives are spared, we hope to have many *canoe excursions*—for I have a fine canoe, presented to me, that is dry, and not liable to capsize. The north presents a rich and verdant plain, through which winds a beautiful fresh water stream, that we can trace with the eye a great distance, from the piazza. On the west, we see at one view, three native towns and the colonial settlement. Our house is small and crowded, but comfortable. I have had our yard enclosed with a substantial fence, which enables us to regulate the excessive visits of the natives, a point of no small importance, especially during our sickness. Many of the native

children manifest a wish to learn, but we have been able to do nothing yet in the way of instruction. The king makes us frequent visits, but observes no etiquette whatever, either as to the hour he comes, or the time he stays. The last time he was here, I affronted him much by giving him his dinner in the piazza. I sent him word that I did it because he was not very decently clad at that time."

Both Mr. and Mrs. Wilson took the fever of the climate, and the former was reduced very low, and for four months was hardly expected to recover; so that these devoted missionaries began to think seriously of a return to America. During his whole illness, Dr. Hall was indefatigable in his attentions. After his recovery, he returned to his labour of endeavouring to reduce the native language to writing, in which he found many difficulties. Mrs. Wilson had the more agreeable task of pouring the light of instruction into minds long shrouded in ignorance and vice. Concerning her pupils, she writes: "We have erected a small room just outside of our garden, in which fifteen native boys assemble every morning about nine o'clock. Most of these are boys of family and promise, and we hope in a year or two they will be able to assist us in enlightening the dark minds of their countrymen. You would not be a little surprised, I am sure, at their improvement, although I devote a small part of the day to them. My health is sufficiently established to remain in the school-room three or four hours each day. I wish you could hear the boys singing a simple hymn I have taught them, commencing, 'Jesus who lives above the sky,' &c., to the tune of Castle-street. I am partial to this tune, having heard the little Indians under the care of Mr. Case sing it. And you would like to see them too, as they seat themselves on the floor in their own peculiar way, to listen to what I have to tell them out of the Bible. Mr. Wilson has gained great ascendancy over the minds of these people. They call him the 'true man,' meaning he never changes his word. While Mr. Wilson was sick, they manifested much sympathy. One said, 'he could not bear to see Mr. Wilson so long ill.' They were sure the devil was in the house, and they had been up all night, drumming, and begging his majesty to retire from his present dwelling. And when Mr. Wilson began to grow better, they rejoiced, as they believed he had gone."

There is something indescribably charming in the style of

simplicity and uncomplaining contentedness, in which Mrs. Wilson describes her afflictions and privations, when we consider that no lady in America was brought up more tenderly than she was. Descended from a family as truly respectable and estimable as any in this country, and enjoying every prospect of worldly ease and comfort, she, under the constraining influence of the love of her Saviour, resolved to devote her life to the conversion of the heathen. At first, she and her sister, like minded with herself, offered themselves to the American Board of Foreign Missions to go out single; but the committee, doubting the expediency of sending young unmarried females into the midst of the heathen, declined receiving them under their care. But Providence had in view a better plan than that which they in their zeal had devised; for each of them a companion and protector, devoted to the same glorious object, was provided. But to return to Cape Palmas. Mrs. Wilson describes to her correspondent the articles on which she daily breakfasted: "Our breakfast consists of a plate of rice and some cold bread. With these I eat molasses. Mr. Wilson has learned to eat palm oil, the only butter in Africa. After this meal, I am escorted by a number of my scholars, who esteem it a great honour to carry the chair on which I am to sit, or a book, or a card. I am now where I have wished to be, and I think I never was so happy as within the last three months."

Mr. Wilson, after his recovery from his tedious illness, writes, August 4, 1835: "The date of my last was the 7th ultimo. Since then to the present time, our little family have enjoyed uninterrupted health, and our prospects of living and being useful in this country, are far more encouraging than they were a few months ago. Our health is so good at present, that we have felt it to be our duty to commence our missionary labours, but we shall not lose sight of the importance of preserving our health above all other considerations. My wife, and her coloured assistant, have commenced a small day-school, composed partly of natives and partly of the children of the colonists—twelve or fifteen in all. We could increase the number of native children to almost any extent, but we thought it best to make a small beginning, and increase as circumstances would seem to warrant. The native scholars are such as have attained nearly to manhood, and most of them can speak intelligible English. The school has been in operation two weeks, and thus far the

progress of the native scholars is quite satisfactory. At present they manifest much more eagerness, and equally as much capacity, as the American children. Besides her day-school, my wife superintends two Sabbath-schools—one for American children in the forenoon, and one in the afternoon for the natives, who understand English sufficiently to be benefitted by her instructions.” Speaking of the slave-trade, he says, “Slavers hover along this coast like so many birds of prey, and seize their victims under the eyes of Americans, but nobody is found for their relief. The inculcation of religion among these people, will rear bulwarks against this traffic far more formidable than all the force that civilized nations can employ; and until this is done, there is very little hope of its termination. But I must stop this subject. My heart sickens when I look upon the wide desolation around me, and remember the apathy of my dear brethren at home. To call and appeal is only to mingle my voice with the many that are constantly falling upon their and your ears from all parts of the pagan world. There is work here for twenty men instead of one.

“The colony, I think, is decidedly prosperous, and the disuse of rum will relieve it from many embarrassments. The fears I once entertained that the American colonists would injure and impose upon the natives, are entirely removed by the conviction, that the latter are making as rapid strides in the march of improvement and respectability as the former. The native boys in our school are very ambitious and aspiring. Several of them can read a little; and one or two are now learning to write; and we have constant applications to increase the number of scholars. If education is promoted among the natives, nothing need be apprehended about the Americans acquiring an overbearing ascendancy.”

The colony at Cape Palmas continued to flourish throughout the year 1835. The emigrants who went out in the *Bourne* and in the *Harmony*, passed through the fever without the loss of a single person. By a despatch from Dr. Hall shortly before he left the colony, it appeared that he had made treaties with two of the neighbouring kings, by which large tracts of territory were ceded to the State Society, the consideration being, besides the trifling presents made at the *palaver*, the advantages which the kings would derive from the establishment of schools for their people, and the introduction of the arts

of civilized life. A treaty was also made with the king of the Yeabreh people for the Balyemah country, which gives the State Society the possession of both banks of the Cavally for some miles above its mouth. Dr. Hall had also the address to obtain from the King of Half-Cavally, a tract of land lying like a wedge in the midst of the Society's possessions, and which at first he had positively refused to sell. This land was, until purchased, a source of constant uneasiness, lest it should come into the possession of those who would there establish a factory for the sale of ardent spirits, prohibited in Maryland in Liberia. In all these treaties, provision was made for continuing in the possession of the natives, their towns and cultivated fields, which lay within the ceded territory; for it was the policy of the society to attempt to civilize the natives, and to amalgamate them by degrees with the colonists from America, but to have them all under the control of the governor of Maryland in Liberia. In this despatch Dr. Hall gives further information respecting the river Cavally. He says, "It is a noble stream, navigable for vessels drawing twelve feet water, at all seasons, as high up as the cataract at Fayebank."

The extent of territory acquired before Dr. Hall resigned his agency, was about five hundred square miles. In the Balyemah cession is the *oracle* of the whole country. Dr. Hall visited the spot, and found it to be a large rock, from which, by means of a rude ventriloquism, possessed by the attending priest, a sound was made to proceed, which the priest interpreted as it pleased him. To the ignorant natives, this rock, situated in a wild country, seems invested with intelligence, and hence its sanctity. The oracle of Delphos is thus revived on the coast of Africa, in Balyemah.

The influence which the colony had already acquired over the superstitious minds of the natives, was manifest by a fact which took place while Dr. Hall was on his visit up the river Cavally. On the night on which he arrived at the chief town of the King of Haidee, the brother of the king died; and in consequence one of the natives was, next day, sentenced to undergo the ordeal by poison, on suspicion of being the cause of his death. Through the exertions of Dr. Hall this man was saved from the cruel and dangerous process, which consists in drinking vast draughts of a liquor, into which a red poisonous powder is infused. If he survives the operation he is considered

innocent. In most cases, however, it causes speedy death, and then the guilt of the accused person is considered as confirmed. Considering the high rank of the deceased, and the prejudices of the people, it evinced a great respect for the governor to let the suspected man go free at his request. Through all western Africa, the poor people are more oppressed by this dreadful superstition, which ascribes almost every death and calamity to witchcraft, than by all other causes, except the nefarious slave trade.

In a letter from William Floyd Burt, supercargo of the brig *Eliza*, of New York, to a friend in that city, we have the testimony of a disinterested witness to several facts worthy of being noticed in this history. "It is well known to you," says he, "that but few years have elapsed, since it was considered certain death for at least one-half of the crews of all African merchant ships, (to visit this coast,) and the cause I do sincerely believe was the use of rum. Now, crews for this trade are almost uniformly shipped with the prohibition of rum; and I know of many vessels returning to New York without the loss of a man, and in fact, no record on the log, of sickness on board the whole voyage. Temperance in eating and drinking, avoiding exposure to the sun, and violent exercise, and making it a general rule not to be on shore after night-fall, and I believe one may prosecute a voyage on the coast of Africa with as much safety as in any part of the world." . . . "It is really astonishing that our government should permit settlements of her own citizens to remain unprotected on this coast, when they might be protected and fostered at so little expense; and next to slavery, I consider it the greatest stigma on our national character. But to return to the colony. But eighteen months have elapsed since the present governor, Dr. Hall, landed on this coast with about thirty men and boys, and made a purchase of a large extent of territory, without inserting the article rum in the list of purchase money, and it (the colony) has been supported and prospered without that article being allowed in the colony in any way. Being but little acquainted with the new settlements, you may not place much confidence in my judgment; but I doubt much if any town in our western country, has made equal progress with this, in the same time, with the expenditure of twice the amount of capital. But to confine myself to facts:—This village, now eighteen months old,

contains twenty-three framed dwelling houses, of one and two stories; one two story stone dwelling house, and a commodious framed weather-boarded and thatched meeting house, independent of the agency buildings, which are a fine two story residence for the governor, suitable out-houses, and a large forty-feet two story stone warehouse, handsomely finished on the inside, which would do honour to any of our wharves. There are three well constructed receptacles for emigrants; two of seventy-five feet length each, and one of a hundred and twenty feet. The latter stands on a public farm, about half a mile from the village, on which are being erected a two story dwelling house for the farming agent, and a strong jail. On the farm lands, about a mile and a half from Harper, are nine dwelling houses, occupied by late emigrants; and I should judge that there are fifty acres of land under good cultivation; which in a short time will supply a sufficiency of vegetable food for the whole colony. When I have said this much, it will be unnecessary to add, that the people are enterprising and industrious, and the affairs of the colony well conducted.

"There are two schools in the colony, which are attended both by colonists and natives, and I am informed that they both make rapid progress. That the natives lack not zeal in any matter, I am well assured, from seeing men of twenty and thirty years of age with their slate and cards, conning their alphabet.

"There is a missionary establishment here under the care of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who, together with his lady, appear to be admirably well adapted by their conciliating manners, to win the affections of the natives, which is indispensable to effect any change in their character. They both apparently enjoy good health, having become quite naturalized, although not a year has elapsed since they landed. The natives, although reported to be the most dangerous this side of St. Andrew's Bay, are now perfectly friendly and peaceable, and look up to the governor of the colony as to a father. The king made us a visit on board, dressed in a shirt, pantaloons, and a New York cut black coat, surmounted by two tarnished epaulettes, a tri-cocked hat, and long red plume.

"The natural advantages of Cape Palmas are greater than those of any other point on the coast. The anchorage and landing are decidedly the best I have seen; and, although it has little trade now, except palm oil, yet from its situation,

being the connecting link between the leeward and windward coasts, it must one day command the main trade of both, and become a depot for immense quantities of merchandize to be distributed by small colonial crafts, from one to two hundred miles, each way.”*

By a still later communication from Dr. Hall, by Captain Pawlin, of the brig Susan Elizabeth, it appeared that the colony continued to flourish. The doctor says, “I am now able to assure you, that we continue to prosper; and, I believe I may truly say, that every month of our existence, witnesses an increase of energy, industry, and contentment, among the fine inhabitants of our little settlement.” And Captain Pawlin gave to the Board a very decided testimony in favour of the colony. “The Maryland plan,” says he, “is superior to all others. The colony is growing finely. All is health, activity, and prosperity.”

One of the greatest difficulties experienced in the colony, was the want of a convenient circulating medium. All traffic was necessarily by barter, which often led to injustice. “The person who wanted to buy a piece of cotton goods may have nothing but rice to give in exchange for it; and he who had the cotton goods to sell, might not want the rice at that time. One of them, therefore, must make a sacrifice of his property, to induce the other to receive it in exchange when he did not want the article.”

To obviate this difficulty, the Board of Managers made cotton, of the growth of the colony, a legal tender, at the rate of ten cents a pound. The country being admirably adapted to the growth of this article, it was thought that such an ordinance would have a happy effect in promoting its culture. The ordinance adopted by the Board, provided for the appointment of discreet persons to be *inspectors of cotton*, to any one of whom all differences in regard to the quality or weight of the cotton should be submitted.

During the year 1836 the Maryland Colonization Society sent two ships to Cape Palmas. The schooner Financier, with seventeen emigrants, sailed on the 9th of July, and the brig Niobe, with thirty-two emigrants, sailed in October following. In the Financier went out Simleh Ball, a head-man, whom King Freeman had sent to this country to see whether all those things were true which the Society’s Agent had reported in Africa

* Fourth Report, p. 74.

concerning the power of the white man; and to see whether there was a large number of Africans in slavery here. After remaining two months he sailed in the *Financier*, highly gratified with what he had seen and heard, deeply impressed with the power of the Americans, and furnished with a short and simple code of laws, adapted to the wants and within the comprehension of the unlettered and uncivilized people for whom they were compiled.

The *Niobe*, besides the emigrants, carried out the Rev. David White and lady, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Dr. Savage, missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. White also took with him an intelligent coloured man, educated as a printer, to manage the press sent to the colony by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Methodist Protestant Church appointed David James, a coloured man, one of the emigrants in this vessel, of exemplary character and excellent abilities, their agent, with a view of preparing the way for more extensive missionary operations.

During this year the society added a large tract to the territory, which now extended on both sides of the Cavally river from the ocean to Denhah, a town thirty miles up the river.

It now became necessary to appoint a permanent successor to Dr. Hall, as the Agent of the Society, and as Governor of Maryland in Liberia, Dr. Holmes's appointment being merely temporary. After mature deliberation John B. Russwurm of Monrovia, of whom we have before given an account, was appointed.

In the year 1837 there were two expeditions to Maryland in Liberia. The brig *Baltimore* sailed on the 17th of May with fifty-five emigrants, and on the 28th of November the *Niobe* made her second voyage, with eighty-six emigrants. The *Baltimore*, according to the report, carried out morally and physically one of the best and strongest, as well as the most thoroughly furnished expeditions that had yet left the United States for Africa. The *Baltimore* carried out the Rev. Mr. Payne and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Minor as missionaries.

About this time there arose among the coloured people of the State a feeling adverse to emigration to Africa. The report thus speaks of the opposition which the agents met with in traversing the State. "Upon arriving in a neighbourhood to be

visited, the agent would at once address himself to the free coloured people, and explain to them the design of colonization, and make statements in regard to Africa, its climate, soil, and productions, and the privileges granted by the society to those who emigrated to the colony. In most instances the persons thus addressed, would hear with kindness what was told them by the agent; many would express a willingness to emigrate, and some would at once put their names upon the list for the next expedition. In this situation would the agent leave them, and after completing his round, would return to assist those whom he had first visited, and who proposed to emigrate, in making their preparations. But in every instance he would find that an antagonist had been at work in his absence, and that the minds of the coloured people had in the interval been filled with ideas, which it was difficult if not impossible to eradicate in the time he could devote to the purpose; that calumnies and falsehoods, prepared with art, and suited to the prejudices of those for whom they were intended, had been uttered by persons whom it was impossible to identify, and who could only be traced in their course by the mischief they had done. It seemed at last to the agent, and was so reported by him to the Board of Managers, as though Abolition, instead of seeking openly to make converts in Maryland, had endeavoured to promote its views by watching, following, and counteracting the agents of the Colonization Society. This state of things, however, has been gradually changing, and the last expedition of eighty-four, all from Maryland, gives evidence of a spirit among the people of colour, that promises as large and constant an emigration as the means placed at the disposal of the managers of the State fund, with such as can be obtained from individual benevolence, will enable the State Society to meet."

The appointment of Mr. Russwurm as Governor of Maryland in Africa, proved a wise step on the part of the colony. Dr. Hall, in writing to the Board of Managers, says, "There is one point on which the gentlemen of the Board have felt much anxiety, which I doubt not ere this has abated, I mean the appointment of a coloured agent. In addition to the satisfaction of having my own prediction fulfilled in the so far able administration of Mr. Russwurm, I have been gratified to find the measure approved of, by the leading men in every settlement which I have visited on the coast, and by all masters of vessels with

whom I have had any intercourse; but more particularly by the merchants at Cape Coast, to whom Mr. Russwurm had been known as a man of business and a gentleman. To sum the whole matter up, I think that the colony was never in a more prosperous condition than at present, and I expect and confidently believe that ere the period of its existence shall be doubled, all the exciting anxiety to hear from it will be swallowed up in confidence, and its success established." Our limits will not allow us to carry on the history of this colony further, our main object being the history of the American Colonization Society.

CHAPTER XXV.

AFFAIRS AT HOME.

THE Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society took place in Washington, 20th of January, 1834, in the Hall of the House of Representatives; and on several accounts was exceedingly interesting. Several speeches of great length and earnest animation were delivered, particularly by the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, and Gerritt Smith, Esq. The address of the latter of these two gentlemen deserves particular attention, because, in a short time after it was delivered, he changed his views, attached himself to the Anti-Slavery Society of New York, and was soon placed at the head of that institution; and ever since has been a determined opposer of the Colonization Society, of which he had long been one of the most zealous and munificent patrons. It is somewhat remarkable, that Mr. Birney's closing Letters on Colonization, already referred to, were directed against the abolitionists; but they were scarcely given to the public, before the writer, suddenly changing his long cherished views and sentiments in favour of colonization, attaches himself to those against whom he had wielded his pen, and becomes an ardent opposer of the cause which he had so lately ably defended. And a similar instance of conversion we

have in Gerritt Smith, Esq. In his anniversary speech at Washington, he speaks of the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society in the following terms: "Among its publications are some admirable vindications of the rights of man, which cannot be scattered too widely and thickly; but no small proportion of them are *ill-judged, rash, uncharitable, and slanderous*; and some of them in truth cannot be called less than incendiary." He then proceeds as follows: "I said that the Anti-Slavery Society had greatly wronged us. I believe that the wise and good among its members, (and it comprises many such,) are sensible of it. They have, to an undue extent, held our society responsible for the speeches and acts of its individual members. They have, as it seems to me, created a strong prejudice against our society, by harping on the fact, that ardent spirit is sold in Liberia.

"Some of the charges brought against us by members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and by the Society itself, make so ludicrously large draughts on the public credulity, that one can hardly notice them seriously. Such is the charge, that two hundred and sixty-five thousand of those now in slavery, would have been free ere this time, were it not for the influence which the Colonization Society exerts in favour of slavery. I need not detain you with the reasoning employed to substantiate this charge; for the reasoning which results in such a conclusion cannot be very edifying.

"Another of these charges, which it requires the credulity of 'the Jew Apella' to swallow, is, (I will repeat the precise language of the charge,) that 'all colonies on the African coast, of whatsoever description, must tend to support the slave-trade.'"

But although Mr. Smith, at this time, seems to have been honestly opposed to the Anti-Slavery Society, yet it is very manifest from the accusations which he brings against the Colonization Society, that his attachment to it was already on the wane. It is evident, that although he disapproved of some of the publications, and of some of the measures of the abolitionists, he was already infected with their spirit; and that with such sentiments and feelings as now actuated him, he only needed some exciting occasion to transfer him from the ranks of colonization to those of abolition. Such an occasion soon occurred in the rude violence offered to the Anti-Slavery Convention at Utica. Mr. Smith's feelings of indignation against such injustice and outrage, induced him to invite the conven-

tion to meet at Peterborough, his own place of residence. Henceforward, he became identified with them, and in a short time was placed at the head of the Anti-Slavery Society. It surely could not be the violence of a mob, who had no connexion with the Colonization Society, which so suddenly and completely alienated him from a society to which he was once so much attached, and to which he had been recently so liberal a benefactor. But it cannot be denied, that Mr. Smith is an honourable man: all his pecuniary engagements to the Colonization Society were amply and speedily fulfilled; and now the Anti-Slavery Society shares his munificence as largely as once did the Colonization Society.

At the meeting of the society in 1834, a committee, appointed to prepare a new constitution, reported the draught of a constitution, which was discussed, article by article, and adopted. The provisions of the new constitution were extremely simple, and free from such regulations as only serve to trammel societies in their operations.

The articles were only nine in number. The first merely relates to the name; the second defines the design and object of the institution; the third specifies the sum which should be sufficient to constitute any citizen of the United States a life-member; the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, designate the officers of the society, and prescribe their duties; the eighth relates to the Board of Managers, their powers and duties; and the ninth provides for the formation of auxiliary societies.

Mr. Gerritt Smith introduced a number of resolutions intended to elicit information on various points not included in the annual report—as, 1. The number of persons who have emigrated to Liberia. 2. The number who have died on the passage. 3. The whole population of the colony, and how it is made up. 4. The number of lawful marriages in the colony. 5. The number of persons convicted of crimes of a high grade. 6. The value of exports and imports. 7. The amount of agricultural productions, during the last five years. 8. The number of colonists now worth five thousand dollars; and also the number worth ten thousand. 9. The proportion of agriculturists and mechanics. It was resolved, that, hereafter, the Reports of the Board shall contain statistical information on all the points specified.

The Seventeenth Annual Report mentions, with due respect

to his memory, the decease of the Rev. Stephen Balch, D. D., of Georgetown. The following is the testimony of the Board of Managers to the worth of this venerable man, who had been a member from the first institution of the society.

“The name of the Rev. Stephen Balch, D. D., is deeply engraven on the hearts of the members of this society, and of this community; and with it are associated recollections of a character in which were happily combined vigorous powers of intellect, with all the Christian virtues. In him, strict integrity and unbending firmness were softened and made attractive by candour, meekness, charity, and a simplicity that knew no guile. His consistency of conduct was remarkable; the feelings of childhood softened the rigours of age; and amidst the trials to which he was occasionally exposed, his soul dwelt in serenity, and the light of an uninterrupted cheerfulness shed a charm over his protracted life.

“In contributing to found this institution, and from its origin to conduct its operations, Dr. Balch exhibited that enlarged benevolence towards men, and that confidence in God, by which alone individuals are prepared to engage successfully in enterprises difficult of accomplishment, and promising their largest benefits to future generations of mankind. He hath entered into rest, walking in his uprightness.”

During the preceding year, the managers reported to the society, that several expeditions had been despatched to Liberia. The brig Ajax, Captain W. H. Taylor, with a hundred and fifty emigrants had sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, in April. Of these, one hundred and two were from Kentucky; forty-four from Tennessee; and the remainder from New Orleans, St. Louis, and Ohio. More than ninety of those from Kentucky were manumitted slaves, and several of those from Tennessee. Of the whole number, only six were above fifty years of age, and but five between forty and fifty; and the whole company of the most respectable character. During their passage, they enjoyed the best accommodations and were accompanied by Mr. H. D. King, an agent from Tennessee, who went out to ascertain for himself the condition and prospects of the colony; and also by Mr. A. H. Savage, of Ohio, who had most benevolently devoted himself to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people of colour in Africa. Unhappily, the cholera was prevailing at New Orleans, when these emigrants arrived,

and no less than twenty-nine of them fell victims to this mysterious and fatal disease, which has traversed the world in its destructive career. In consequence of some delay at one of the West India Islands, the Ajax did not arrive at Liberia, until some time in July.

In May, the brig American, Captain Abels, sailed from Philadelphia, with a small company of emigrants, mostly from the state of New York. Among the emigrants was a venerable old man from Littleton, New Hampshire, who had for years been deeply affected by the condition of his African brethren. This old man was anxious to visit that benighted country, in the hope of imparting to them a knowledge of the true God and only Saviour, Jesus Christ.

The ship Jupiter also sailed from Norfolk on the 5th of November, with fifty emigrants; forty-four of whom were liberated slaves, most of them from Virginia. In this vessel sailed Dr. Todsen, the colonial physician, the Rev. John Pinney, the Rev. Messrs. Cloud and Laird, with the wife of Mr. Laird, and Mr. John Temple, a man of colour, missionaries of the Western Missionary Society of the Presbyterian church. Also, Rev. Messrs. Spaulding and Wright, with their wives, and a young lady, as assistant; missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal church.

This vessel was followed, in a few days, by the brig Argus, Captain Peters, with fifty-one emigrants, thirty-five of whom were manumitted slaves, and nearly the whole number from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia.

The health of the colonists had suffered much during the year; and the mortality among the emigrants by the latest expeditions had been unusually great. Out of six hundred and forty-nine emigrants, one hundred and thirty-four died. Though all were more or less subject to the fever, those who came from the northern parts of the United States suffered by far the most. This extraordinary mortality, it was supposed, might be attributed in a considerable degree to the fact, that there was no skilful physician present in the colony. Dr. Todsen had paid a visit to the United States, and Dr. Hall whom he left in Liberia, was obliged to return on account of his own health. The whole duty of rendering medical aid devolved, therefore, on the colonial agent, Dr. Mechlin, who had duties sufficiently numerous and arduous in his own department

to occupy all his time and attention; and in addition, he himself was visited with frequent attacks of disease; and the sick were separated so far apart, that it was impossible for him to attend upon them. The emigrants too, were imprudent, and did not sufficiently guard against the exciting causes of fever; especially those from the Southern parts of the United States, who supposed that they were not liable to be attacked by the African fever. And when sick, instead of following the advice of those in the colony who had experience, they listened to those of their own number who professed to have skill.

Dr. Mechlin was of opinion that Bassa Cove was a much healthier site for the landing of emigrants than Monrovia: and here, as has been related, a considerable tract of land had been purchased. This was recently much enlarged by the wise policy of the agent; so that the territory extended fifteen miles into the interior on the Benson's river, and included between one hundred and fifty and two hundred square miles of the best land, with two eligible mill-seats, and abounding with the best timber. Concerning this land, the agent, in one of his despatches, says: "For fertility of soil and the facilities for procuring articles of trade and subsistence, I know of no place within our limits, that can compare with the country in the vicinity of St. John's river." On the tract of land purchased by the same gentleman, on the Little Bassa, one hundred and fifty emigrants settled during the preceding year, and erected a village, beautifully situated and commanding a view of the ocean, which received the name of Edina, in honour of the liberality of the people in Edinburgh, Scotland. In this settlement provisions were much cheaper than at Monrovia.

Notwithstanding that the season was unhealthy, and the mortality great, still the progress of the colony was onward. During the year, several vessels were built in the colony, and the arrivals at Monrovia amounted to seventy. The Board used every means in their power to turn the attention of the colonists more to agriculture, and less to trade; but the pursuits of freemen cannot be regulated by rule, or accommodated to general principles of political economy. Individuals in every country, will engage in that business which brings them in the largest profit. Many unreasonable expectations were entertained respecting this colony, which are not realized in our own, or in any other country. The people of Liberia are as

free to choose their own pursuits as any upon earth; and the only method by which they can be induced to follow one mode of life rather than another, is by convincing them that this will be most profitable, at least in the long run. And when too many persons engage in trade, the evil soon corrects itself, by the smallness of the gains which accrue to individuals. No doubt, however, the views of the Board were correct, that the solid growth and safety of the colony would be better promoted by attention to agriculture, rather than commerce; and their exhortations to the colonists, on this subject, were not only well intended, but wise. Still, however, it is known to all, that cities flourish just in proportion as they enjoy a lucrative commerce. And if Monrovia had not possessed enterprising merchants, her wealth and prosperity would have been this day nothing like what she now enjoys. Some patriotic persons, however, who had not been brought up to agriculture, directed their attention to the culture of the coffee tree, that others might be led to follow their example. The demand for mechanical labour was uniformly great, so that every one who had learned a handicraft trade, was easily able to make a good living.

No subject should be more interesting to a young colony, than education; this had from the beginning received much attention from the Board, and the successive agents who presided over the colony. At the time of which we are now treating, most of the children of the emigrants were enjoying the advantage of being at school. Six schools were maintained in the colony, three of which were supported by a society of benevolent ladies in Philadelphia. The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Massachusetts, appropriated, early in the year, the sum of one thousand dollars for the establishment and support of a free school; and a judicious plan and regulations for such an institution were drawn up by the society, and forwarded to Liberia. Mr. Savage also, of whom we have spoken, had formed the plan of a manual labour school at Millsburg, for which enterprise he was deemed excellently qualified. About this time also, many ladies of the city of New York, of different denominations, united in a society, to promote education in Africa. Their plan was to get an association formed in every congregation, to raise a sum sufficient to support a single teacher. The managers also expressed

their opinion of the importance of erecting a high school in Liberia, on the plan and fund of Henry Sheldon, Esq. But the ideas of many in this country were very crude, and indeed, erroneous on this subject. They seemed to think that if funds could be obtained, and qualified teachers would consent to go, a college might speedily be erected. They neglected to consider, that prepared pupils are necessary to a college, as well as teachers; and where could such be found in Liberia? A good classical school was the highest institution which Liberia needed at present, and of which she was capable.

The number of churches in the colony, at the commencement of the year 1834, was nine. The Sabbath and public worship were well observed; and many of the recaptured Africans had joined themselves to some Christian church.

It was scarcely to be expected, that in the infancy of the colony, there would be much attempted for the conversion of the pagans of the country: but the Baptist Missionary Society of Monrovia, this very year appointed Adam W. Anderson a missionary to the Vey people at Cape Mount, and instructed him not only to preach the gospel to the adults of this nation, but to teach the English language to their children. All the tribes in the vicinity of the colony appeared to be ready to receive instruction in letters, arts, and Christianity. Thousands of human beings, degraded and benighted, seemed to invoke the spirit of missionary enterprise to extend its benefits over an almost unlimited field.

It was pleasing to remark, that an extraordinary zeal for the instruction and civilization of Africa, seemed about this time to occupy the minds of many, both in Europe and America. Two promising missionaries, Mr. Cox and Mr. Pinney, had already set foot on the African shore; the former sent out by the Methodist Episcopal church, and the latter by the Presbyterian church. The former, whose zeal was uncommonly ardent, had but a short course. His health was bad before he went to Africa, and he had laboured but little here before he was cut off in the morning of life; but his dying words were calculated to encourage others to come and rescue unhappy Africa from the galling yoke of sin and idolatry. Mr. Cox went to Africa, labouring under a consumption of the lungs, which soon carried him off. Of him, the managers say, "He had conferred with many intelligent and religious men at

the English colonies, acquired valuable information, comprehensively and judiciously surveyed the wide field before him, and adopted the largest plans of usefulness. His intellectual strength and activity—his zeal, charity, and apostolic devotion, qualified him for great achievements: and though fallen when his armour was just put on for the conflict, he speaks to the church and her elect host to follow him, in the words ordered by him to be engraven on his monument, ‘LET THOUSANDS FALL BEFORE AFRICA BE ABANDONED.’ Animated by his spirit, and moved by his example, two missionaries with their wives, and a young lady, as a teacher, of the Methodist denomination, soon after went out to occupy the station which he had vacated; and to seek, through the might of Him who claims the homage of all hearts, to turn the barbarians of Africa from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.”

Mr. Pinney, having spent some months in Liberia, returned to America, to secure more labourers, and to communicate his views to the Board of Missions. When he returned, he had with him the Rev. Mr. Laird and the Rev. Mr. Cloud, together with Mr. Temple, a man of colour. But new disasters were in store for the missionary cause. Mr. Laird and his wife had been landed but a short time in Liberia, before they both sickened and died, and so did Mr. Cloud, and Mr. Temple returned home. Thus all the recruits which Mr. Pinney could obtain in the United States were cut off in a few weeks, and he was left as solitary and forlorn as ever. But Providence turned away his attention for a while from the missionary field, for the health of Dr. Mechlin having failed, he returned to the United States, and the offer of the place of Colonization Agent having been made unsuccessfully to several persons, Mr. Pinney, just on the eve of sailing, was appointed colonial agent, until a successor to Dr. Mechlin could be obtained. It was with great reluctance that Mr. Pinney accepted this appointment, as his desire was to carry the gospel to the native tribes, and in the character of a missionary, he had set his heart on Africa.

Various complaints were made to the Managers of mismanagement at the colony; and these came through so many different channels, that they could not but believe that there was urgent need of reform, in regard to some particulars, in the economy of the goods and funds. The particulars to which these complaints related were, “the method of supplying the

necessities of the newly arrived emigrants—of allotting to them their lands—of guarding their health—of exciting their industry and public spirit—of securing increased attention to agriculture—suppressing the traffic in ardent spirit, and conducting the operations and defraying the expenses of the colonial government.” On all these points, the Board were of opinion, that there was reason and room for improvement.

In the course of the year 1833, two persons of character and weight in the colony, Mr. Anthony D. Williams, vice-agent, and Mr. J. J. Roberts, high-sheriff of the colony, visited various parts of the United States, and there can be no doubt but that their visit to this country was attended with beneficial results. These gentlemen submitted to the Board a memorial from some of the leading colonists, in which they propose, as a measure likely to give satisfaction and do good, the enlargement of the council as to numbers, and the increase of their powers. These views were, to a certain extent, sustained by the agent; but as it was expected that the entire system of political and civil jurisprudence, in Liberia, would require a revision, the Board determined not to make any change at present.

Dr. Mechlin returned again to the United States in consequence of impaired health. This gentleman did much to enlarge the territory of the colony, and to extend its influence; but whether he was a good financier, and managed the pecuniary concerns of the colony with judgment and economy, seems doubtful. Indeed, the Board at Washington seem to have been wanting in their usual safe policy in regard to this matter. They ventured to send out more emigrants than their resources authorized. Thus a large debt was contracted, which the society had not the means of liquidating; and to increase their embarrassment, the demands on the society's treasury from Liberia, on account of the failure of the rice crops, were large and unexpected, and were entirely beyond the resources of the Board to meet. This pecuniary embarrassment was more unfavourable to the Colonization Society than any thing which had before occurred; and for a while the affairs of the society seemed to stand still, if not to retrograde. Other events and circumstances conspired with their heavy debt, to spread a cloud of discouragement over the prospects of the society, which, as we shall see, was not dissipated for several years.

The colony, by the resignation of Dr. Mechlin, was left

without an agent; and the efforts of the Board, as has been mentioned before, were, for some time, unsuccessful.

The Board, however, had, at this time, in this country, agents in whom they placed the utmost confidence, and by whose public addresses, and publications from the press, much was done to enlighten the public mind on the subject of colonization. In New York, and the New England States, they had the Rev. Joshua N. Danforth, and in the south-west, J. G. Birney, Esq. Besides these, the Rev. Cyril Pearl had done much for the cause in New England by his addresses and writings; and Mr. R. S. Finley, who had entered into the service of the Colonization Society of New York, was very active, and greatly promoted the cause of colonization by his public addresses. The indefatigable labours and exertions of Elliott Cresson, in Great Britain, to circulate correct information, and to collect funds for the society, have already been noticed.

No event of modern times was in its nature more momentous, than the act of the British Parliament, by which provision was made for the emancipation of all the slaves in the British colonies in a very short time; and by which twenty millions sterling were appropriated to remunerate the slave-holders for their loss.

It is pleasing to know and record, that now, after a full emancipation has taken place for some time, no public disturbance has occurred among the slaves; and, although, in some places, difficulties have arisen between the labourers and the employers, in regard to the price of labour, or the proper wages which should be allowed the emancipated slaves; yet this is a matter which, in time, will regulate itself, as it does in all civilized communities. And in some of the smaller islands, although the whole were completely emancipated at once, yet every thing went on in a pleasant and orderly manner; and property had risen in value many per cent.; so that the masters were actually made richer by the emancipation of their slaves, independently of the remuneration in money for their loss. Still our experience is too short, and our information too imperfect, to form a correct judgment respecting this great effort of benevolence, and this laudable attempt to raise a large body of our race from a state of degradation and abject bondage, to the privileges and liberties of free citizens. Every true philanthropist must wish that the scheme may be attended with complete and permanent success.

The emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies by the British Government, gave an impulse to the Abolitionists of this country, which was felt from one end of the Union to the other. It was judged, that an anti-slavery spirit, like that which pervaded England and Scotland, could be enkindled in this country; and that by pouring in petitions from all quarters into Congress, the same effects would be produced as in Great Britain; and that by the force of public opinion strongly expressed, Congress would be forced to adopt measures to bring about the liberation of all slaves in this country, as had been done in the British colonies. Agents therefore were multiplied, and went into every place where they could gain admission, and by vehement addresses endeavoured to stir up the people. The press also was put largely into requisition, and books and pamphlets were multiplied, all calculated to expose the evils of domestic slavery. In selecting matter for publication, it often happened that the leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society were imposed on by narratives purely fictitious; fabricated by some designing villain, to answer his own purposes; and in the public statement of the condition of the Southern States, the facts were more frequently exaggerated and distorted in a shameful manner; and isolated facts were set forth with all their revolting circumstances, just as though they were a fair specimen of common occurrences. The anti-slavery societies in Great Britain, male and female, having accomplished the great object of universal emancipation in their own colonies, thought that they might now turn their attention to the United States, and aid the abolitionists here in their work. Accordingly, one of their popular declaimers, George Thompson, was sent over to America, supported, it was said, by a society of benevolent ladies in Glasgow. This man, however, found things less favourable than was anticipated; even in the States which hold no slaves, he found the majority of the people strongly opposed to the abolition excitement, and the measures which they adopted; and almost every where, the population were ready to put down anti-slavery meetings by violence and tumult. This arose from a vague idea, pretty widely circulated, that the course pursued by the abolitionists tended to destroy the Union of these States. Even in the quiet and peaceable city of Philadelphia, mobs have arisen with great violence, and disturbed anti-slavery meetings, and even set fire, publicly, to buildings

in which they were permitted to be held. But, as might have been foreseen, all these lawless proceedings rather promoted than obstructed the object which they were intended to put down. Conscientious men, not originally of their party, seeing with what violence and injustice the abolitionists were treated, sympathized so strongly with them, that from becoming first their defenders, they became soon imbued with their spirit, and thus their ranks were filled by men, who, had it not been for the injustice and violence of mobs, would never have been associated with them.

Mr. Thompson, after some months' trial, found that little could be effected here by his fervid eloquence: for even in the city of New York his person was not safe in any public hotel; and as to the slave-holding States, his appearance there would have been instantly the signal for his death. He therefore made a precipitate retreat, and returned to report his success or want of success to the good old Scottish ladies, who in their zeal for suffering humanity had sent him to America.

The true state of things in the United States was overlooked by the abolitionists at home and abroad. They acted as if Congress might be influenced by public opinion, expressed in numerous petitions, like the British Parliament, not considering that by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no power to legislate on the subject of slavery. This power belongs exclusively to the States, respectively, each of which can do just what it pleases with the slaves within its jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COLONIZATION SOCIETIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK.

THE account of the formation of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, is contained in the following document, drawn up and published by one of their leading and active members, Elliott Cresson, Esq.

“The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania,

was organized in the month of April last, by the adoption of a constitution and the election of a board of managers. To this measure its members were determined by the following considerations: 1. A belief that a direct appeal should be made to the benevolence and Christian zeal of the wealthy and populous capital of Pennsylvania, and of the State at large, in favour of the establishment of a new colony on the coast of Africa. 2. The necessity of prompt measures being taken to carry into effect the testamentary bequest of Dr. Aylett Hawes, of Virginia, by which he manumitted more than one hundred slaves, on condition of their being sent to Liberia. Acting as auxiliary to the parent Board at Washington, this society proposes to carry into practice in the new colony, certain principles of political economy, which will meet with the approbation of all unprejudiced minds. This will be done by fostering with more care than hitherto, the agricultural interest; checking the deteriorating influence of petty and itinerant traffickers; maintaining the virtue of sobriety, the nurse and parent of so many other virtues, by obtaining from the colonists a pledge of abstinence from the use of ardent spirits; and by withholding all the common temptations and means for carrying on war, or for engaging in any aggressive steps with the native population of Africa.

“The announcement of these views and intentions, at several successive public meetings, at the same time that the cause of colonization in general was ably advocated, made a highly favourable impression on the community. The results were shown in the addition of several hundred members to the society, and the collection of several thousand dollars towards carrying its contemplated measures into effect.

“The better to ascertain the precise conditions on which freedom was granted by Dr. Hawes to his slaves, and especially how far the laws of the state of Virginia would apply to them in case of any delay in sending them to Africa, a commission, consisting of Messrs. Cresson and Naylor, was despatched for this purpose by the board of managers. These gentlemen were also authorized to confer, on their way to Virginia, with the Board of the American Colonization Society at Washington; and, as the latter was unable, for want of funds, to carry into effect the bequest of Dr. Hawes, to obtain from them due powers to act in the matter.

“In conformity with their instructions, (by resolutions of the

board of managers,) the commission proceeded to Virginia, and visited, in the first place, the county town of Rappahannock, where they procured from the records a copy of the will of Dr. Hawes. Thence they went to the residence of one of the special executors, Howard F. Thornton, Esq., on whose plantation were, at the time, resident seventy-eight of the future emigrants. Of these, forty were males, and thirty-eight were females, of various ages, from sixty down to two years of age. Many of the men are well versed in various handicraft employments, four of them being blacksmiths, two carpenters, two shoemakers, two stone-masons, and one weaver. 'Most of them are very intelligent; some of them can read and write, and all of excellent characters. Domestic manufactures have been the constant employment of many of the females, and we are assured that they have arrived at great perfection in them; besides, nearly one-half of them are accomplished seamstresses. In addition to the slaves above mentioned, the husband of one of them, living in the neighbourhood, has been kindly liberated by his master, the Rev. Francis Thornton, to accompany his family to Liberia. He is a carpenter of most excellent character, hardy and hale, and one of the best workmen in the place; he has a large quantity of tools, and will be a valuable acquisition to the colony. His master is a warm and devoted colonizationist, and to him we are indebted for much valuable information relative to our mission, as well as for many other favours kindly rendered us.'*

"The thirty-one coloured persons under the care of Mr. Hawes, forming the other division of the slaves manumitted by Dr. Hawes, were represented to the commission as all willing and desirous of going to Liberia. The greater part of the whole number are members of the Baptist church. They are industrious and temperate, have always been kindly and tenderly taken care of, and abundantly supplied with every thing that could make them comfortable. 'We attended,' says the commission, 'at one of their religious meetings, and were greatly gratified by their exercises. We submitted to them our project of making them a separate establishment in Africa, and it met with their, their master's, and friends' entire approbation. We conversed with them upon their future prospects in Africa, explained to them the situation of the country, and informed them

* Report of the Commission.

of its products, resources, and the capabilities of its soil, answered their inquiries, and were equally gratified and surprised at their intelligence. Upon the whole, we think them eminently fitted for good colonists. Possessing among themselves all the resources of a little community, we believe that they will ably perform their duty. Let us, therefore, be not remiss in the performance of ours; and, under the favour of Providence, the success of the experiment cannot long remain problematical.*

“The next step in the discharge of their delegated trust was for the commission to ascertain fully the sentiments and views of the parent Board at Washington, respecting the conditions on which the Young Men’s Colonization Society of Pennsylvania should charge itself with the embarkation and transportation to Africa of the liberated slaves of Dr. Hawes, and with the guardianship of these people when settled there. The final result was an acquiescence in the resolution of the Board at Washington by the society in Pennsylvania. This resolution is as follows:

“That the Young Men’s Colonization Society of Pennsylvania be informed, that, as auxiliary to this, [the American Colonization Society,] the slaves of the late Dr. Hawes will be transferred to them, to be sent to Liberia, and supported there by them, in a separate settlement or community under the superintendence of such agent, and of such local laws or regulations as may be adopted by the said society, and approved of by the Board; but said community to be considered as a part of the colony of Liberia, and subject to the general laws of the colony, in all respects, as the citizens now there; and that so soon as said society shall signify their acceptance of said conditions, the said slaves shall be formally transferred to them, together with the sum left for their transportation by the will of Dr. Hawes.’

“In acceding to this resolution, the Pennsylvania society expressly stipulated for the right of making such modifications and reforms of existing laws as to enable it, in the new colony, to give more encouragement to agriculture, to prohibit the importation, manufacture, and sale of ardent spirit, and to adopt

* “It ought to quicken the zeal and benevolence of the friends of humanity to know, that during the short career of this society, many offers of large bodies of slaves have been made to it from several Southern States—the owners generously offering their gratuitous emancipation, so soon as we could extend to them the boon of colonization.”

an improved plan for supplying the public stores, and for the issue, by gift or sale, of their contents to the coloured and native inhabitants. These reservations have been admitted by the parent Board. It was also understood by the two Boards, (at Washington and Philadelphia,) that in case the preparations at Bassa Cove, for the reception of the new emigrants sent out by the Pennsylvania Society, should not be sufficiently matured to allow of their being landed at once, a temporary asylum is to be furnished for them in some of the present settlements in Liberia.

“The preliminaries having been satisfactorily adjusted, prompt and vigorous measures were taken by the executive committee of the Board of Managers of the Young Men’s Colonization Society, to make the requisite purchases of stores, utensils, clothing, and other supplies, for the future colonists, and to charter a vessel for the transportation of both persons and goods. Success attended their efforts; and on the 24th of October last, the good ship *Ninus* set sail from Norfolk, Virginia, with one hundred and twenty-six coloured emigrants on board. Of these, were the manumitted slaves of Dr. Hawes, one hundred and nine in number; the carpenter already mentioned, freed by the Rev. Francis Thornton; a father of a family whose members were emigrants, and who was purchased a few days preceding; and a little girl, also freed by purchase. In addition to these, was a small body of fourteen persons, who had been freed by Mrs. Page, the sister of Bishop Meade, and who were offered a passage, although destined for the old colony. But for all the particulars connected with the embarkation of the emigrants, the reader is referred to the following report, by Elliott Cresson, Esq., on the part of a committee deputed by the Board of Managers of the Young Men’s Society, for the purpose. It will be seen that even in this early stage of its labours, the society is fully alive to the importance of education keeping pace with colonization.

“It may be well to mention, in this place, that the superintendent of public schools, the vice-agent, and the physician, who is a licentiate in surgery, sailed in June last for the new colony, from New York, in the *Jupiter*. Though young, Dr. McDowell has seen much of the world in his profession, as a voyager and traveller; and he will, it is presumed, be on the spot ready to receive and give such counsel to the newly arrived

emigrants, as will be required by a due regard for their health and comfort.

“The cost of the present expedition is about \$8000, viz. \$2500 for charter of ship, and \$5500 for stores and appropriate goods.

“By the terms of the will of Dr. Hawes, twenty dollars a head were allowed, and have been paid by his executors, towards defraying the expenses of the emigration of his liberated slaves.

“The committee appointed by the Young Men’s Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, to superintend the sailing of their first expedition, respectfully Report:

“That they lost no time in complying with the wishes of the Board, and at Fredericksburg, on the 19th inst., found that portion of the slaves (eighty-one in number,) which were from Dr. Hawes’ late residence in Rappahannock county, already arrived. These people having become acquainted with one of the committee last summer, expressed the most lively joy on recognizing a friend in whom they confided; testifying their gratitude for the counsel then imparted, as having been instrumental in counteracting the efforts of individuals interested in defeating the benevolent intentions of their late master, and thus securing them a boon, the very prospect of which filled them with gladness. It was a pleasing indication of their future habits, that most of them were found industriously employed in such labour as they could obtain for the purpose of adding to the slender means they possessed. To foster these valuable characteristics on the voyage, we purchased a supply of leather to give employment to the shoemakers; and instructions were given to have as much of our stock of woollens and cottons made into garments as circumstances would warrant, our complement embracing shoemakers, tailors, and seamstresses, as well as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, farmers, blacksmiths, weavers, spinners, a dyer, cooper, wagon maker, and collier.

“On the ensuing day, the remaining thirty-one from Dr. Hawes’ estate in Caroline county, Virginia, having arrived, arrangements were made for proceeding to Norfolk in the steamboat Rappahannock, the following morning. There being some warm friends of the colonization cause at Fredericksburg, your committee took advantage of the interest excited, and at

a meeting of their young men, a new branch, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, was organized. Indeed, we could not but remark, that while the whole South was indignant at the late attempts in the East, our mission was greeted with a warm welcome by all the friends of the negro, embracing a very large portion of the good sense and good feeling of the community; and we cannot hesitate to believe, that a steady perseverance in these benevolent efforts, will speedily pave the way for the moral elevation and eventual emancipation of the large body of slaves held in that great State.

“The 22d was ushered in by a bright morning, which permitted many of their kind friends to accompany this highly interesting group of one hundred and twelve (including a parent who was bought a few days previously, that he might accompany a wife and seven children,—a little girl for whom three hundred dollars was paid,—and a very valuable mechanic gratuitously emancipated by the Rev. Francis Thornton, in preference to selling him for one thousand dollars)—on board the boat which was chartered for the purpose. Many being highly esteemed members, and two of them ministers in the Baptist church, they had been organized into a congregation, which was joined in the evening in their religious services, by the Rev. Mr. Hill, of New England, when several addresses were made and appropriate hymns sung. Early next morning we reached Norfolk, and the *Ninus* having sailed from Philadelphia on the 14th, (William Penn’s one hundred and ninetyeth birth day,) was fortunately descried on entering the harbour; and, by running alongside, in a few minutes our people and their baggage were safely deposited on her decks.

“It was gratifying to learn from John McPhail, Esq., so long known as the faithful, disinterested friend of the society, that on an examination of our supplies, nothing was left for him to provide, and that it was the most complete outfit that had ever proceeded to Africa. The emigrants, on finding how amply every want had been anticipated, and the commodious accommodations of the ship,—her outfit having cost nearly eight thousand dollars, two thousand two hundred dollars of which was bequeathed by the will of Dr. Hawes, renewed their grateful acknowledgments, and seemed to forget the pain of separation in the prospect of comfort and independence in the land of their forefathers; but above all, in the providential opening

thus presented for meliorating the condition of their heathen brethren.

“In addition to our own emigrants, fourteen entrusted to the parent society by Mrs. Page, the sister of Bishop Meade, and intended for the old colony, arrived, and were gratuitously provided with passage and provisioning to Monrovia, by us. On the same evening, Edward Y. Hankinson and wife, arrived from New York, with an ample stock of agricultural implements, and tools for his workshops, just in time to join the expedition. Of this invaluable couple, so highly qualified for the performance of the duties assigned them by the Ladies’ Association of Philadelphia, your committee feel almost at a loss to speak in adequate terms; his versatile mechanical genius, and amiable and cheerful disposition, mingled with an intense love for long oppressed Africa, manifested by both, eminently qualifying them for their arduous and responsible station. The climate of Africa having been prescribed as the last resort in the case of Stephen Barnes, late a student in the Theological Seminary of Virginia, a passage in the *Ninus* was proffered, and gratefully accepted. Should he survive, we anticipate much from his devoted missionary spirit, and his mechanical abilities. In the more probable event of his death, candour will surely not charge it to his removal from a more salubrious atmosphere: a result deemed inevitable by his physicians, had he staid a few weeks longer in his native clime, so strongly marked were his consumptive symptoms.

“Happily the return of that day, so conspicuous in the annals of Pennsylvania, as the anniversary of her foundation and the landing of our Pilgrim Fathers—the *24th day of October*, was in all its autumnal brightness; and at ten o’clock the whole body of emigrants was assembled on the deck of the *Ninus*, in company with a number of their religious friends. A feeling of solemnity pervaded the assemblage, and the throne of grace was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Howell, the Baptist minister of Norfolk—the Rev. Mr. Boyden, of the Episcopal church, then made a concise and appropriate address; after which, Bishop Heber’s Missionary Hymn was sung with touching effect, followed by the Rev. P. F. Phelps, of the Presbyterian church of New York, invoking the Divine blessing on this beneficent enterprise. The service was con-

cluded with a very feeling expression of thanks, on the part of the colonists, by Aaron P. Davis, one of their ministers. The ship having obtained her clearance, dropped down into the stream at noon, and went to sea early on the morning of the 26th, with a fine leading breeze. Late on the preceding evening, we took our final leave of our proteges; and, as the charge has been so frequently brought against the society, that the objects of its bounty are coerced away, we took much pains to ascertain their real sentiments. But even on the eve of departure, no lingering regret seemed to oppress them. They acknowledged with great apparent sincerity, their deep sense of the kindness extended towards them last summer, in our sending down a committee, whose frank exposition of the disadvantages, as well as advantages of their new mode of life, had relieved their minds from the fears artfully excited by the enemies of colonization; and on reminding them of the threats that we intended to sell them to the slavers, the loud laugh of derision, at once evinced their contempt for the charge, and their confidence in our friendship and good faith.

“Your committee cannot close this report without adverting with gratitude, to the signal success which has hitherto been graciously permitted to attend every step of the society, mingled with humble trust that our institution, based on the principles of benevolence and religion, will continue to enjoy the Divine blessing. Among these, the selection of emigrants imbued with feelings of Christian love toward the benighted children of Africa, and the rigid exclusion of ardent spirit, stand prominently forth. The testimonial appended to this report, respecting Isaac Walker, one of the one hundred and twenty-six slaves whose freedom has been secured by this first effort of the Young Men’s Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, presents, we have every reason to believe, a fair specimen of the character of a large portion of our colonists. Every adult most cheerfully gave the temperance pledge proposed to them; and, as Captain Parsons, the respectable commander of the *Ninus*, does not permit the use of spirits on board his ship, she has proceeded on her voyage in strict accordance with the principles of our constitution.

“It appeared to inspire most of these interesting people with new confidence, and to excite a spirit of manly independence, when the judicious principles, adopted by our Board for their

benefit, were detailed to them. In that of confining the commerce of the colony, at its first settlement, to the colonial factory, they foresaw the preservation of the natives from the rapacity of unprincipled traders, and winning them to a just appreciation of the advantages of civilized life;—a new impulse to their own agricultural and mechanical pursuits;—in its profits, a provision for meeting the public wants;—and hence the means of supplying themselves, at a moderate price, out of the fruits of their own industry, instead of being a charge on our bounty. We have every reason to believe, that by thus implanting new and powerful motives to virtuous action, much will be done to conquer habits too frequently the concomitants of their former unfortunate position in society.

“In sending out this first expedition, the great principles upon which this society is to act, should be kept distinctly in view:

“1. Entire temperance in every colonist:

“2. Total abstinence from trade in ardent spirits and arts of war:

“3. An immediate Christian influence and operation upon surrounding heathen:

“All designed to accomplish the second article of our constitution,—‘to provide for civilizing and christianizing Africa, through the direct instrumentality of coloured emigrants from the United States.’

“And, under the belief that this institution, if adequately supported, will confer upon the African race an inestimable blessing, and secure a salubrious and prosperous home for thousands of slaves, whose benevolent masters are now preparing them for the rational enjoyment of liberty; but more especially at this juncture, to meet the pressing solicitations, and secure the liberty of a body of colonists of high character in Georgia, long anxious to emigrate to Africa, we earnestly and affectionately solicit the patronage of our fellow-citizens, to enable us to comply with their wishes,—strengthen the colony now sent forth,—present a new barrier against the prosecution of the slave-trade,—and hasten the regeneration of that long oppressed continent.

“On behalf of the committee.

ELLIOTT CRESSON.

“October 31, 1834.”

On the 24th of October, 1834, an oration, replete with sound sentiment and varied learning, was delivered before this society in St. Paul's church, Philadelphia, by J. R. Tyson, from which it will be gratifying to our readers to peruse a few extracts.

After giving some account of the origin and proceedings of this society, the orator says, "As an association formed in Pennsylvania, guiding and directing the destinies of a colony bearing its honoured name, it will seek the establishment of those cardinal doctrines of government which rendered Penn illustrious and his province happy. It will imitate the colonial policy of its founder, conceded to be far-sighted and virtuous. It will infix as in corner stones of the *Pennsylvanian* fabric, the principles which he inculcated, and practised; the principles of *toleration* and *temperance*—of unbroken *faith* and universal *peace*. It will aim, in unison with the parent society, at those practical blessings to the American negro, and the native African, which it was the great design of that institution to promote and subserve."

The speaker in describing the degradation and depravity of the coloured race in this country, appeals to the statistics of crime in the state of Pennsylvania, and to a comparison of the numbers of whites and blacks committed and condemned by the criminal courts, from which it manifestly appears, that notwithstanding the multitudes of unprincipled white men, who have of late years sought an asylum in this country, and especially in Pennsylvania, yet facts clearly demonstrate, that the proportion of criminals among the blacks, in this favoured State, in which they are by law admitted to all the rights and privileges of free citizens, is so great, that although the white population, in the year 1830, was one million three hundred thousand, and the coloured population no more than thirty-eight thousand; yet the number of prisoners in the three penitentiaries of the State was nearly equally divided between the whites and blacks. The exact number, as given by Mr. Tyson, and no doubt taken from the public records, is as follows: "The number of persons in the three penitentiaries of the State, at the end of the year was five hundred and ninety-eight, of which two hundred and fifty-three were blacks. If the convictions among the white population were in the same proportion with the black, instead of there being three hundred and forty-five convicts in the different penitentiaries of the State, there would

be an immense and overwhelming multitude of between *eight and nine thousand!* Nor is there in the magnitude of the crimes committed a perceptible difference. * * The fact cannot be reasoned against, explained, or impaired; and however reluctant we may feel to admit the moral inferiority of the black man in Pennsylvania, the conclusion is altogether irresistible." We could wish it were convenient to cite all that the eloquent and learned orator says on this subject, but we can only state the facts which he has brought to light, which are so clear and convincing that no reasoning upon them is required.

But before we dismiss this discourse, which ought to be more extensively circulated than it has been, it will be desirable to quote his remarks on the subject of amalgamation. "In such a state of things, it has been suggested, that it is the part of Christian philanthropy to break down the idle prejudices of lineage and colour, by offering to the coloured man the refinements of society, and to admit him to a full participation in the endearments of social intercourse. Let those who inculcate these doctrines set before us the spectacle of their own bright example. Let them, if they can, thus violate all the sanctities of feeling, all the heart-felt charities of private life: let them, if they can, upon *Christian principles*, make the invidious distinction between the negro and his own correspondent class among the whites. An exaltation of the negro above the head of his white compeer, would be unavoidably attended with a two-fold impropriety and absurdity. The exclusion of the latter of equal deserts is indefensible, invidious, and unjust, while the admission of the former, places him in a station for which he is unfit, and by which he is incapable of deriving advantage. A forced and unhallowed union, alike repugnant to reason and to feeling, must ever be the parent of infelicity. But the projectors of amalgamation, not having reached that point of moral sublimity which can overlook these various objections, it may be considered as a question broached, rather as a metaphysical abstraction, than with the hope, desire, or expectation of ever seeing it reduced to practice.

"As the negro in this country is, from the causes adverted to, curtailed of his moral and mental proportions, it seems rather the dictate of enlightened benevolence to form plans for his ulterior amelioration and practical improvement, than to seek

to render him odious, by a premature, an indiscreet, and unnatural elevation."

From these facts and principles, Mr. Tyson proceeds eloquently to defend and recommend the plan for colonizing the free people of colour in the land of their fathers, as being, in all respects, best suited to accomplish the end at which abolition societies profess to aim. In a note to this discourse, it is judiciously remarked, that "there seems to be a peculiar fitness in placing the negro in Africa, when it is recollected that large portions of its immense tracts are suited only to *his* constitution. The white man will languish and die beneath a sun which is congenial to the animal nature of the black man. Nature herself, therefore, would seem to concur with this philanthropy, unless it be thought that she designed those regions which are so well calculated for the residence of the latter, and for him only, to lie waste and uninhabited."

Captain Nicholson, of the United States navy, says of Liberia, which he visited in 1828, "It was, I believe, never intended that the white man should inhabit this region of the globe; at least, we know that the diseases of the climate are more fatal to him than the man of colour. They luxuriate in the intense heat, while a white man sinks under its exhausting influence."

I cannot forbear from quoting, in confirmation of these views, some judicious remarks of a learned writer in a late number of the *Phrenological Journal* of Edinburgh. "If we look," says he, "to that well marked and vast peninsula, called Africa, we find that equally marked race, the negro, with slight modifications, forming its native population, throughout all its regions. We find the temperature of his blood, the chemical action of his skin, the very texture of his wool-like hair, all fitting him for the vertical sun of Africa; and if every surviving African of the present day, who is living in degradation and destitution in other lands, for which *he was never intended*, were actually restored to the *peculiar land* of this *peculiar race*, in independence and comfort, would any man venture to affirm, that Christianity had been lost sight of by all who had in any way contributed to such a consummation? It matters not to brotherly love, on which side the Atlantic the negro is made enlightened, virtuous, and happy, if he is actually so far blessed; but it does matter on which side of the ocean you place him, when there is *only one* where he will be

as happy and respectable as benevolence would wish to see him; and *there* certainly, a rightly applied morality and religion would sanction his being placed."

The author of this excellent discourse, admits that very untoward and disastrous events had occurred in the commencement of this great enterprise; and that among the first colonists, the mortality had been considerable; but he makes it appear very clearly, by a statement of facts, that the colonization of America by Europeans was attended with far greater disasters and mortality of the first colonists, than has occurred in Africa. "Their early history," says he, "presents an uniform aspect, one unvarying page: it is marked by disappointment and disaster, by discouragement and mortality. The parent and nurse of all the Spanish establishments in America, proved a certain burying place to most of the primitive adventurers. Of the thirty-eight persons left in Hispaniola by Columbus, as the seed of a colony, all had perished in ten months after, on his return from Spain. The armament which Ovaredo conducted thither in 1502, consisted of two thousand five hundred colonists. One thousand of these fell victims to disease. . . . Of the colonists conducted by Sir Walter Raleigh to the coast now forming a constituent part of North Carolina, and of others who subsequently followed, not one survived to tell the story of their melancholy fate. The settlement at Jamestown, narrowly escaped a similar miscarriage. One-half of the original emigrants were swept off, in a few months, by famine and distempers. Of five hundred settlers, whom the chivalrous Smith left in Virginia, but sixty were in being a few months afterwards; and they, enfeebled by famine, and dejected by various misfortunes, were projecting a speedy departure from the land of their sufferings and their hardships. The colony at New Plymouth experienced like embarrassments. In six months after the landing of the pilgrims, owing to the unaccustomed rigours of an eastern winter, and the fatigue and hardships inseparable from a new settlement, nearly half the adventurers had died. A great pestilence, they were informed by the Indian chief, Samoset, had raged four years before, and swept the populous region of Patuxet. To their other calamities, was added the sterility of a rocky and stubborn soil, the productions of which, after untiring and laborious cultivation, were always uncertain. The distresses of famine threatened them at every step. They subsisted upon fish, with pre-

carious supplies of corn and beans, procured from the Indians. It is not necessary to remind *Pennsylvanians* of the hardships encountered by those worthy pioneers of the wilderness, who landed on the shores of the Delaware, on this day one hundred and fifty-two years ago. It is not necessary to recount the perplexities and trials which their situation imposed—their disappointment and consternation in finding caves for their dwelling places, and impenetrable tracts of forest in the promised land! With such lights and examples, let Liberia be viewed, and with other lights which history sheds, and it will be seen that less hardship and disaster, less mortality and discontent, cannot be found in any settlement which the long narrative of colonial annals records. The concurring testimonies of Captain Stockton, and Captain Nicholson, who visited Liberia in 1828; of Captain Sherman, in 1830; of Captain Kennedy and Captain Abels, in 1831; of Hannah Kilham, in 1832; and of Captain Voorhees, towards the close of the past year, establish, beyond the possibility of question, its striking fitness for its destined object. In confirmation of these disinterested and respectable travellers, are the reports of agents, the letters of the colonists, and the evidence of British and French naval officers, who have occasionally visited the settlement. They unite in representing it as the abode of peaceful content and smiling plenty. The preposterous and unfounded statements of one or two unknown and discredited witnesses, are entitled to no respect from the honest inquirer.”*

* The author refers here particularly to an account of Liberia given in a letter of Mr. Birney, from a person styled, the *Rev. Samuel Jones*. To show how the most knowing of the abolitionists suffered themselves to be imposed upon by false statements, the following extract from this letter is here given:

“On the fourth day, Mr. King (agent of the Tennessee Colonization Society,) suggested that we ought now to visit the *poor*. We accordingly did so, and of all misery and poverty, and all repining that my imagination had ever conceived, it had never reached what my eyes now saw, and my ears heard. Hundreds of poor creatures, squalid, ragged, hungry, without employment—some actually starving to death, and all praying most fervently that they might get home to America once more. Even the emancipated slave craved the boon of returning again to bondage, that he might once more have the pains of hunger satisfied. There are hundreds there who say they would rather come back and be slaves than stay in Liberia. They would sit down and tell us their tale of suffering and of sorrow, with such a dejected and wo begone aspect, that it would almost break our hearts. They would weep as they would talk of their sorrows here, and their joys in America—and we mingled our tears freely with theirs. This part of the population included, as near as we could judge, *two-thirds* of the inhabitants of Monrovia.”

In the year 1833, a number of persons in the city of New York formed themselves into a colonization society, not merely with the view of aiding the funds of the American Society, but of aiding in promoting the great object of that society, by sending out colonists to Liberia, and of promoting the prosperity of the colony, by assisting the colonists to establish schools and seminaries of learning among them. This society, from its commencement, acted with a spirit of energy and wisdom, which furnished a most favourable prognostic of its future usefulness.

In the year 1834, a proposal was made to the Board of Managers of this society to unite with the "Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, in the establishment of a new and model colony, upon the coast of Liberia, in furtherance of the general objects of the Society, and in execution of its previous determination to that particular effect." Accordingly a committee was appointed to confer with the committee already appointed by the Pennsylvania Society, to agree upon the terms of union between these two societies, whose object was the same. Certain articles were soon agreed upon by these committees, which were afterwards adopted by the Boards of the two societies respectively. The principal articles of this union and agreement were: That the basis of the union should be laid in a co-ordinate action of the two institutions, through their respective organs. That the object of the union should be the establishment of a new and model colony, on the coast of Africa, on the following principles; temperance, dissuasion from war, the promotion of agricultural pursuits, and the other principles embodied in the constitutions of the two societies. That the American Colonization Society, to which both these societies are auxiliary, should not be abandoned. That the new colony should be located at Bassa Cove. That the name of the colony should be fixed upon hereafter. That each society should immediately appoint an efficient agent; and that the Pennsylvania Society should go on to redeem its pledge, in relation to the slaves of the late Dr. Aylett Hawes, of Virginia, in expectation of the aid of the New York Society, in their removal to Africa. While this plan of union was under consideration, Mr. Israel W. Searle, a graduate of Amherst College, was appointed by the society to proceed in the *Jupiter*, to take charge of the new settlement under the superintendence

of the Rev. Mr. Spalding, who had previously been appointed the principal agent of this society in Africa. With a view to the contemplated union, Mr. Searle was directed to confer with the principal agent as soon after his arrival in Africa as possible, on the subject of a suitable location.

In this vessel, besides Mr. Searle, there went out the Rev. Ezekiel Skinner, of Connecticut, a physician, as well as a missionary of the Baptist denomination; also Dr. Robert McDowal, a coloured man, educated in Edinburgh as a physician, both of whom were under appointments from the parent Board, as colonial physicians. They were accompanied, moreover, by Mr. Charles H. Webb, a medical student, under the care of the American Colonization Society, whose purpose was to complete the study of his profession under the instruction of the physicians of the colony, and afterwards to engage there in the practice of medicine. Mr. Josiah F. C. Finley, the son of the founder of the American Colonization Society, and a graduate of New Jersey College, also went in this vessel, who, with Mr. Searle, went out as a teacher, under the patronage of the "Ladies' Association of the city of New York." There went, also, in the Jupiter, a coloured woman from Vermont, under the patronage of the New York Colonization Society, who was led by a spontaneous determination to devote herself to the cause of education in Africa.

Subsequently to the departure of the Jupiter, a proposal was made to the Board, through Mr. Thomas S. Clay, of Georgia, to take under their care a number of coloured persons, in Savannah, who were desirous of emigrating to Liberia. The report of the intelligence and moral character of these people was very favourable, and it was resolved to endeavour to raise the sum of money requisite for their transportation to Liberia. Before the union between the New York and Pennsylvania Societies was consummated, the Board of the New York Colonization Society received a visit from the Rev. Dr. Laurie and Walter Lowrie, Esq., deputies from the American Colonization Society, the object of which was, to represent the urgent necessities of the parent Society, and to request the aid of the New York Society in obtaining funds to enable them to liquidate the heavy debt by which the Society was pressed, and to carry on their measures in regard to the colony. The Board of the New York Society did not refuse their cooperation, but warmly

recommended the agents of the parent Society to the friends of colonization in the city and state of New York.

After due deliberation, and after hearing a very favourable report of Bassa Cove, the union with the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania was completed; with this additional article, viz: "That thirty per cent. on all moneys raised by these two societies should be paid over to the parent Board, for its exclusive use; and that the name of the new colony should be Bassa Cove; and that particular settlements should be designated "New York," and "Pennsylvania," respectively.

The manumitted slaves of Dr. Hawes, of whose embarkation an account has already been given, arrived at Monrovia, in the *Ninus*, on the 8th day of December, and on the next day proceeded to Bassa Cove, which had previously been examined by the Rev. Mr. Pinney, and also by Dr. Skinner, Dr. McDowal, and the Rev. Mr. Teage, a missionary of the Methodist society. Mr. Russwurm and Mr. Paul also, both intelligent and experienced settlers of the old colony, all concurred in giving a decided preference to Bassa Cove, above Cape Mount, or any other location on the coast, both as it related to health, and the fertility of the soil in the vicinity. Other considerations in favour of this place were, that the expense of settling a colony here would be less than anywhere else, while the selection of this spot would certainly be the means of breaking up a slave factory in the vicinity.

The union of these two societies, having their seats in the two largest and wealthiest cities in the United States, seemed to give a new impulse to the cause of colonization. The New York Colonization Society adopted a resolution in which they speak of this union "as an event promising to be highly beneficial to the colonization cause, and cordially recommending it to the approbation and support of all the friends of the coloured population." By another resolution, they "approved of the plan of raising fifteen thousand dollars in aid of the objects of the society." A handsome subscription was made at the meeting, but the sum proposed was never filled up; and the Board, in their report, ascribe the failure to the prevalence of *abolitionism* in the Northern and Eastern States, which began now to exert a systematic and virulent opposition to all colonization societies. In their Third Annual Report to the New York Colonization Society, the Board make the following remarks: "Much

of the delay which has occurred in carrying these plans into execution, is doubtless to be ascribed to the persevering opposition which the efforts of this Board have encountered from certain persons in the Northern and Eastern States, who believe, or pretend, that the system of colonization is fraught with evil and pernicious consequences to all the people of colour in the country, whether held in bondage or emancipated; and whether the latter are induced to emigrate to the land from which they sprang, or prefer remaining in that of their involuntary adoption. In short, that the colonization system 'tends to rivet the chains of the slaves, and extend to Africa the vices, but not the benefits of civilization.' Upon these grounds, or pretexts, the persons in question, both in their individual capacities and collective organization, under the name of Anti-Slavery societies, not only counteract the influences and traduce the principles of the American Colonization Society, and impugn the motives in which it originated; but actually, if not wilfully, misrepresent its acts, policy, and proceedings, as well as the sentiments and conduct of all who publicly support its objects, or advocate its cause. They indiscriminately condemn every measure that ever has been adopted or suggested in relation to the colony of Liberia; defame the characters of those who have been from time to time engaged in its management and superintendence; exaggerate every error and misfortune which has occurred in its administration or government, and attempt to impeach the evidence they cannot refute, of its beneficial effects and prospective advantages. And all this, avowedly, because they deem its prosperity and existence incompatible with their uncompromising and impracticable object, for the immediate abolition of slavery in the south."

The report then goes on to repel the false accusations of these men, and to vindicate, by solid arguments, the benevolence and utility of the scheme of colonization.

At the annual meeting of the New York Colonization Society, in the city of New York, on the 13th of May, 1835, several very able and effective speeches were delivered by its distinguished friends. Among the speakers on the occasion, were the Rev. Dr. Hewitt, of Connecticut; the Rev. Dr. Fisk, President of the Wesleyan University; the Rev. Dr. John Breckinridge; the Rev. Dr. Bethune; the Rev. Cortland Van Rensselaer; the Rev. Mr. Seyes, a missionary from Liberia,

and the Rev. Mr. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society. We have seldom, anywhere, or on any occasion, read speeches that possess more true eloquence, founded on solid argument, than these addresses; and some of them are replete with the shafts of wit and poignant satire, to which their opponents of the anti-slavery society had exposed themselves in the assertions and statements which they had made. And especially Mr. George Thompson, an emissary from Great Britain, had provoked the indignation of all Americans, except the members of the anti-slavery societies, by his intemperate addresses, and outrageous attacks on all slave-holders, and on all who excused or defended them.

This zealot, it was understood, was in the pay of a society of ladies in Glasgow, who, in the exuberance of their benevolence to the slaves of America, had sent this violent declaimer, under the impression that his impassioned eloquence would carry all before him; and such seems to have been his own impression before landing on our shores. But he soon found, that a grand miscalculation had been made of the sentiments and feelings of Americans; for even in the non-slave-holding States, to which he confined his benevolent labours, he was received with little favour by a large majority of the intelligent population; and as for the lower classes, they were ready, every where, without the sanction of law, to proceed to acts of violence and disorder, which, as they should not be provoked, ought not to be tolerated in any country. Mr. Thompson's mission was, therefore, a pure abortion. He accomplished nothing towards the object which brought him across the Atlantic. Indeed, ferocious as was his zeal, he never ventured into any of the slave-holding States, but thundered out his denunciations at a distance. He seems to have had none of the martyr's blood in his veins. This course, in which Mr. Thompson exercised a prudent care for his personal safety, was ridiculed with inimitable wit by the Rev. Dr. Bethune. Having introduced the name of George Thompson, it may not be amiss to say, that after his return to Great Britain, he ceased not to calumniate the whole American character, except his few friends of the anti-slavery society; and he went so far as publicly to challenge any American, or other person, to meet him publicly, and vindicate this country from his accusations. This challenge having met the eye of the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, then in London, he

intimated, in a public paper, his willingness to accept the challenge. Accordingly, a meeting was held in Glasgow, and the accuser of America, and her defender, occupied many successive nights in alternate speeches. No situation could have been conceived more unfavourable to Dr. Breckinridge. It is doubtful whether he had in the whole audience, one mind which sympathized with him in the sentiments which he uttered. It is not wonderful, then, that the prejudiced and highly excited people, proclaimed a victory for their favourite advocate. If Mr. Breckinridge had met this man before an American audience, even in Boston, or New Haven, the verdict would have been very different. After Mr. Breckinridge, then on the continent of Europe, saw the account of the dispute published with the venerable name of Dr. Wardlaw, who presided on the occasion, he addressed to that reverend gentleman a letter in defence of America, which is certainly one of the ablest documents of the kind that we have ever seen; and which neither George Thompson, Dr. Wardlaw, nor any other Briton can refute.

The favourable testimonies to the flourishing state of Liberia, and the contentment and good order of the colonists, up to the present time, are so numerous and uniform, that to record them all would fill a volume. Still there is a party in this country who are incredulous; and if they can get a partial statement from one disappointed, discontented colonist, out of five thousand, they pay more attention to this, than to all the disinterested accounts given by intelligent men, of known character for truth and probity. They have even carried their incredulity so far as to talk of sending out a vessel to bring home the famishing and miserable colonists, who may be desirous to return and have not the means. The colonists in Liberia, upon hearing of this *benevolent* design, make themselves merry with the idea of a ship coming out to carry home the *miserable* colonists; but they pleasantly invite the abolitionists to carry their purpose into effect; acknowledging that there are some indolent and thriftless persons even in Liberia, whom it would be very desirable to the colony to have removed; and, moreover, saying, that many of the contented and industrious colonists who had no wish to leave that country, might be found willing to avail themselves of so good an opportunity as such a vessel would afford, of visiting their friends, free from the usual expenses of such a voyage.

As however, we have here touched on the subject of the false reports which have been circulated respecting the colony, it may not be amiss to insert a few testimonies of a contrary nature, from persons above all reasonable suspicion.

Captain Nicholson, of the United States Navy, whose name has already been mentioned in connexion with this subject, writes: "I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning, that eight of my crew (coloured mechanics,) after going on shore two several days, applied for, and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These men had been absent from their country above three years, and had among them nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced, that their happiness would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have entered on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps for ever, where they all had left friends and relations.

"The appearance of all the colonists, those of Monrovia as well as those of Caldwell, *indicated more than contentment*. Their manners were those of freemen, who experienced the blessings of liberty and appreciated the boon. Many of them had by trade accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars may be called so."

Captain Sherman, a respectable and pious man, well known in Philadelphia, gives the following testimony. His visit was in 1830.

"Monrovia at present consists of about ninety dwelling houses and stores, two houses for public worship, and a courthouse. Many of the dwellings are handsome and convenient, and *all of them comfortable*. The plot of the town is cleared more than a mile square, elevated about seventy feet above the level of the sea, and contains seven hundred inhabitants.

"The township of Caldwell is about seven miles from Monrovia, on the St. Paul's river, and contains a population of five hundred and sixty agriculturists. The soil is exceedingly fertile, the situation pleasant, and the people satisfied and happy."

Captain Kennedy visited the colony in 1831, and thus states the result of his inquiries and observation:

"I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, many of whom were personally known to me, and by long

and many conversations, endeavoured to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their condition (if such existed) or any latent design to return to their own country. Neither of these did I observe. On the contrary, I thought I could perceive, that they considered they had started into a new existence: that disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they had formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud of their attitude."

Captain Abels, who was in the colony in the latter part of 1831, gives this emphatic testimony. "All my expectations, in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. There are about two hundred buildings in the town of Monrovia, extending along the Cape Mesurado, not far from a mile and a quarter. Most of these are good substantial houses and stores; the first story being of stone; and some of them handsome, spacious, and with Venetian blinds. Nothing struck me as more remarkable than their great superiority, in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, over their coloured brethren in America. So much was I pleased with what I saw, that I observed to the people, should I make a true report, it would hardly be credited in the United States. Among all that I conversed with, *I did not find a discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America.* I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one."

All the above testimonies are from highly respectable and intelligent men, acquainted with the world, and well qualified to form an impartial judgment.

The next is from two coloured men, sent out from Natchez, in Mississippi, purposely to explore the country, and bring back a faithful report to their brethren. The names of these two men were Simpson and Moore, respectable coloured men, and one of them a minister of the gospel. Their visit was made in 1832, and furnishes a testimony more recent than any yet given. They say, "As a body, the people of Liberia, we think, owing to their circumstances, have risen in their style of living; and their happiness, as a community, is far above that of their coloured brethren, even the most prosperous of them, that we have seen in the United States. They feel that they have a home. They have no fear of the white or the coloured man.

They have no superiors. They do not look up to others, but they are looked up to by them. Their laws grow out of themselves, and are their own. They truly sit under their own vine and fig tree, having none to molest or make them afraid. Since our return, we have been in the houses of some of the most respectable men of colour in New York and Philadelphia, but have seen none, on the whole, so well furnished as many of the houses in Monrovia. The floors are, in many cases, well carpeted, and all things about their dwellings appear neat, convenient, and comfortable. There are five schools, two of which we visited, and were much pleased with the teachers and the children. * * * We found only two persons who expressed any dissatisfaction, and we have much reason to doubt whether they had any good cause for it."

Captain Voorhees, of the United States Navy, visited Liberia in 1833. He says: "Piracy has not afflicted this quarter for some time; and the inhabitants at the settlements, living in undisturbed peace and tranquillity, seem to entertain very encouraging confidence in their future security." And, describing the kind of people which should be sent, he says, "Such persons of colour here, in the land of their ancestors, find a home and a country; and *here* only, do they find themselves redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled."

The colony at Bassa Cove, principally formed by the emigrants sent out by the praiseworthy exertions of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, gave promise of great prosperity, when an untoward event occurred, which not a little discouraged the colonists, and damped the sanguine hopes of its friends. As this colony was established on principles of *Temperance* and of *Peace*, no provision was made of arms or munitions of war for defence. The neighbouring chiefs had, indeed, promised that they would not disturb or invade the colony; but the promises of savages, where self-interest is concerned, are found to have but little binding force. Too much reliance, however, seems to have been placed on these promises; so that the poor colonists were left actually at the mercy of every invader; for among the whole of them, there was but one musket. When the colonists, alarmed with a hostile appearance among the natives, applied to the agent, Mr. Hankison, for protection, this man, pursuing, no doubt, the instructions which he had received, refused to adopt any measures of precaution; and

what was more culpable, actually declined the proffered assistance of the people of Edina, a settlement on the* opposite bank of the St. John's river. All this misguided, and, in effect, inhuman policy, arose from the belief of a principle, long cherished among the members of the various peace societies, that if men would act faithfully on the principles of non-resistance to violence, Providence would always protect them from their enemies. This principle was now put fairly to the test; and the result, though lamentable, was nothing but what might have been expected. The sincerity with which the agent trusted to this principle, is manifest from the fact, that he and his family remained quietly in the place, while the natives were evidently plotting the destruction of the little colony. The circumstances which preceded and led to the murderous attack on these defenceless people, were these. A slave-trader, upon coming into the harbour, discovered that a colony of coloured people from America had been planted on the river, on which he refused to land his goods, alleging that the colonists would interrupt his trade. Joe Harris, the brother of King Peter, and his most efficient man, both in palaver and in war, finding that the profitable traffic in slaves was about to be cut off, resolved, with the concurrence of his brother, on the destruction of the colony. For some days before the attack, he and some of his people had been hanging about the settlement, no doubt, to ascertain, whether any means of defence were possessed by the colonists. If they had been armed, it is almost certain that no attack would have been made; for the single gun owned by a colonist, had been lent to a neighbour, and the houses of these two men were the only ones spared. Joe Harris had narrowly inspected every place, and having seen a gun in each of these houses, supposed that there were two, and that it would be dangerous to enter these habitations. The assault was made in the night, and an indiscriminate slaughter of such as could not escape, ensued. The number massacred was nearly twenty, mostly women and children. Most of the men contrived to make their escape. Mr. Hankinson and his wife were rescued from destruction by the friendly aid of a Krooman, who concealed them until the danger was over.

Those of the colonists who escaped, were carried immediately to Monrovia, and provided with such things as were necessary. The agent at Monrovia, took immediate measures

to chastise the people who committed this outrage. After demanding redress, which was refused, an armed force was marched against the aggressors, and soon put them to flight, and destroyed their towns. King Peter, and his brother Joe, were now deeply sensible of the mistake which they had made. According to their own account, they had been led to believe that those colonists were intruders who had no connexion with the colony at Monrovia, and would not be protected by that colony. They, therefore, now gladly accepted a peace, on the condition of abandoning the slave trade for ever; and also agreeing to let the natives from the interior freely pass through their territory, to trade with the colony at Bassa Cove. They moreover stipulated to build a number of houses for the colonists, to replace those which they had destroyed, and to restore the property carried away, or to pay a reasonable price for the same.

As soon as peace was concluded, Dr. Skinner, then acting agent of the American Colonization Society at Monrovia, paid a visit to Bassa Cove, and selected a more healthy and beautiful spot for the town than that before occupied, and proceeded to clear the ground, and to lay it out in lots, on which buildings to receive the dispersed colonists were immediately commenced.

This painful disaster which terminated in the cruel death of so many persons, may nevertheless be overruled for the greater prosperity of the colony. It has taught the friends of colonization in this country, that it is a folly bordering on madness, to place a company of settlers in the immediate vicinity of savage African hordes, without arms or munitions of defence. Those who are conscientiously scrupulous about putting arms into the hands of the colonists for self defence, ought not to take any part in the management of colonies. Indeed, after this, it may be presumed, that no attempt will be made to plant a colony any where on the coast of Africa, without furnishing the people with arms and ammunition. It would be just as reasonable to expect that bears and tigers and lions would not attempt to take away the lives of such persons as might be exposed to their rapacity, as that such unprincipled savages would forbear to murder unarmed and unprotected settlers in their vicinity, when a prospect of gain was offered. The natives have also been taught a salutary lesson by the prompt chastisement

which they received. They know now that all the colonies have a common cause, and that an injury to one, will be resented by all; and also that no single tribe of natives can stand before the trained bands of the colonists.

Although it anticipates an event some time future, yet it will be convenient to mention here, that the town of Edina, not included in the territory originally purchased by the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, was in 1837, by an arrangement between the American Colonization Society and the two societies of New York and Pennsylvania, transferred to the latter society, the settlers in this thriving place, giving their full and free consent to the transfer. This must be considered a very favourable acquisition to Bassa Cove, and no less advantageous to Edina, as it connects them with a colony near at hand, instead of one at a distance; and while the union lessens the expenses of government, it tends to combine the strength and identify the interests of both parties, and can be no loss to the colony at Monrovia.

It is proper to remark here, that the settlement at Bassa Cove was commenced in the close of the year 1832, before the emancipated slaves of the late Dr. Hawes arrived. It consisted at first of thirty-eight emigrants, sent on from Monrovia; when the Ninus arrived, the number of colonists was increased to one hundred and seventy-two.

The American Colonization Society, besides the stipulated per cent. of all collections, received from the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, from time to time, special pecuniary aid, to enable them to accomplish important objects to which their own funds were inadequate. Thus, as early as 1831, they contributed important aid to enable the parent society to build a schooner of sixty tons burden, for the use of the colony. This vessel was built at Philadelphia, and sailed from that port, under the command of Captain Abels, with a coloured crew. She was called the *Margaret Mercer*, as has been mentioned in a former part of this work.

We will conclude this chapter with the just and noble sentiments of Dr. Skinner, the American Colonization Society's agent. "I become daily more convinced that the colonization cause is the cause of God. Slavery, in a form far more horrid than in the United States, exists in an unknown extent, spread over this vast continent. A general effort to civilize, and

Christianize the natives is the only means of putting it down. Slave factories are established all along the coast, *Liberia only excepted*, from which thousands, every year, are carried into perpetual bondage. There is no other conceivable means of abolishing it, but by establishing colonies along the coast. Had I a thousand lives, I would devote them all in such an enterprise as is now going forward here. All the money would be furnished, did the Christian public know the facts, and what is needed."

CHAPTER XXVII.

AGENCY OF THE REV. J. B. PINNEY.

THE Jupiter arrived in the harbour of Monrovia on the last day of the year; and on the following day the new colonial agent was escorted into the town. His reception is thus announced in the *Liberia Herald* for January, 1834.

"On New-year's day, at 10 o'clock A. M., the new agency boat, recently procured from the United States' ship John Adams, was despatched to the ship Jupiter, for the colonial agent, Rev. J. B. Pinney. About noon he landed at Waring's wharf, where he was received by the civil and military officers, and the different uniform companies of the colony; he was then escorted to the agency-house, where he was welcomed by the acting agent, G. R. McGill, Esq. Minute-guns were fired from the time the boat left the ship till she arrived at the wharf."

The following testimony relating to the general state of the colony at this period, is from the report of Captain Voorhees of the United States' ship John Adams, to the Navy Department. "The importance of this settlement here is daily developing itself, in various ways, and is always felt as a refuge of security and hospitality, both to the oppressed natives and the shipwrecked mariners. Lately a French oil ship was cast away to the south of Grand Bassa, when the crew, about twenty in number, were kindly received by the settlers at that

place, and from which they safely travelled uninterrupted along the sea shore to Monrovia. Here the generous hospitality of the people of Liberia, (though with humble means and at their own expense,) prompted them to fit out a conveyance for the seamen, by the government schooner, in which they were carried to their own settlement of Goree. And on our arrival here, I found a French man of war barque, the commander of which had been despatched by the Governor of Goree, to express the thanks of his country to the people of Liberia, for the charitable services which they had rendered their countrymen. Monrovia appears to be in a thriving condition, and bears an air of comfort and neatness in the dwellings quite surprising. Several stone warehouses and stone wharfs line the banks of the river; others are building, which, with schooners loading and unloading, or repairing, afford an aspect and an air of business common to a respectable white population. All seem to be employed, good order and morality prevailing throughout. The settlement must move onwards, and with all its disadvantages, it appears a miracle that it should be in such a state of advancement. An intelligent man, about sixty years of age, with whom I conversed, stated that he had been here about eighteen months, and was getting on cleverly for himself and family, and that on no account would he return to the United States. It was true he had not yet the luxuries which he had been accustomed to in America, but the want of these was not to be brought into competition with his rights and privileges as a man, in Liberia; for here only in the consciousness of having no superior, did he feel himself a MAN, nor had he ever before known what it was to be truly happy. Here only, *in the land of their ancestors*, do persons of colour find a home and a country—and *here* only do they find themselves ‘redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled.’ ”

The whole of this letter is very interesting, and may be found in the African Repository for March, 1834. It appears that during the year preceding the date of this letter, “the vessels to Monrovia, together with their several calls, amounted to about ninety in number, many of them, foreign as well as American. The natives are frequently giving invitations to the people of Mesurado to come and settle among them. The trade of Mesurado with the interior, for the last year has fallen off considerably, in consequence of the war between the native tribes

about two hundred and fifty miles distant. They are all, however, in harmony with the settlers. Journeys are occasionally made amongst them, and an intelligent youth, about nineteen years of age, son of one of the settlers, lately penetrated about two or three hundred miles into the interior. He represents the country at about twenty-five miles from the sea, as rising into high and hilly land, with a very agreeable and pleasant temperature—the low flat land along the coast being covered with moderately sized trees and a thick underwood, difficult to penetrate, whilst that of the higher ground abounds with large timber of various descriptions, with scarcely a bush, and resembling in some degree beautifully cleared groves. He was treated with great kindness by all the chiefs and people throughout the whole course of his journey. The services of the late lamented Dr. Randall, continue to draw forth from every settler the most grateful acknowledgments. It appears that his directive energies gave a new existence to the place, and no one could be more deplored.”

A comparative view of the population of the colony at this time, is given in the report for the last year, as follows: “The number which had been sent to the colony before the arrival of these expeditions, (those above mentioned as having been so severely afflicted,) was eighteen hundred and seventy-two persons; and the actual population of the colony (not including the recaptured Africans) in 1832 was sixteen hundred and ninety-seven. The whole number of emigrants including the expeditions of last year, and the recaptured Africans, (a part of whom only were removed from this country,) has been thirty-one hundred and twenty-three, while the present population of the colony is stated at twenty-eight hundred and sixteen. About fifty of the colonists are believed to have been absent in the country at the time this census was taken.” And to account for this mortality, assuredly not disproportionate under the circumstances, “it should not be forgotten that the early emigrants were exposed to almost every variety of hardships and sufferings; that several fell in a contest with the natives; that from twenty to fifty at least, have returned; that some have perished by disasters upon the rivers and at sea; that all have had to contend with difficulties inseparable from their enterprise in an untried climate, and on a distant and uncultivated shore; and finally, that neither the information nor the pecuniary means of

the Society, have at all times been such as to enable it adequately to fulfil the dictates of its own benevolence."

It has already been said, that the annual meeting of the year 1834, was one of unusual interest. It was so in many respects; from the unusual number present—from the high character of the speeches delivered—the importance of the measures that were taken; and from the peculiar circumstances of the society, both in its internal and external aspects. Besides the names of those already mentioned as having taken an active part in this meeting of the Board, speeches were delivered by many other gentlemen prominent in the church and state. Indeed, when the present era of this noble institution has ceased to be cotemporary history, it will be found that the records of no other enterprise of this age show a union of so many of the great and good, in the land.

To human appearances, the affairs of the Board, at home this year, had come to a fearful crisis. They, however, immediately addressed themselves to the work of removing the burden of debt that was so heavily pressing upon them, both by economy and public subscription. The success of these efforts were not at all commensurate with the pains taken. The reasons of this are well known. In many places their agents were publicly interrupted and challenged by champions, certainly not of truth. These were, nevertheless, always readily responded to, whenever the circumstances of the case at all comported with the dignity and seriousness of the cause they defended, and the result with candid persons, was always such as is ever with the candid, the result of benevolence and truth. At the city of Utica, after an address by one of the Society's agents, the friends of Colonization themselves, anxious that the full merits of the cause should be laid before the public, proposed to give its opponents leave to urge objections. A public debate was accordingly opened, and continued through nine successive evenings, with great enthusiasm and ability, on both sides. A large number of prominent gentlemen of either party conducted the discussion. The audience attending, amounted to about two thousand, at each meeting. At the conclusion it was resolved, "that this meeting deeply deplore the unfortunate condition of the coloured population of this country, and commend to the zealous support of the philanthropist and Christian the American Colonization Society, as

the instrument, under Providence, which is best calculated to ameliorate the condition of the free negro and secure the ultimate emancipation of the slave."

At an early meeting of the year, the Board passed some very important measures in reference to the internal economy of the colony. They re-constituted its municipal institutions—increased the number of the colonial council—extended its powers and defined them. The entire code of colonial law was, however, soon after this time, subjected to a much more elaborate revision, by gentlemen of the Board, eminently conversant with practical, as well as theoretic, law. Before this important measure went into operation, Mr. Pinney remarks, "it is utterly impossible for one who has never had the experience, to imagine, much less realize the difficulties in our courts. The colonial laws do not touch on one point in a hundred which comes before us, and the single direction to be guided by the common law of England and the United States, leads to endless difficulties. In relation to the estates of intestates, the rules of administration, the courts of probate, the provision and government of the poor, &c., we are in utter confusion; so also in relation to the port regulations, the tariff for the supply of the treasury, and many other points of vital importance to the interests of the colony." Of course it would be impossible for any human sagacity to prescribe a code of laws in all respects applicable and adequate to the new and varying emergencies of a society whose conditions and relations were so complex and multiplying as those of the colony had become by this time. Nor is it in the power of human law to effect a conformity of practice to its own rules, in the first instance, any more than it is within the sagacity of the human lawgiver to provide for all possible cases. The municipal regulations of a new society must be mainly the growth of the society itself. The Board, therefore, have wisely reserved to the colonial council the power of legislation in reference to the "common law" which the colony is naturally generating in its own progress—the right to guide, confirm, and write it. That they are fully capable of so doing, their records abundantly evince.

Heretofore a great obstacle in the way of the immediate efficiency of new emigrants, in the colony, existed in the want of any suitable preparations for their reception. A great improvement was made in this respect, by means of an ordinance

“for the better accommodation of emigrants on their first arrival in the colony, and in order to prevent the necessity of their immediately clearing ground and erecting houses for themselves.” The colonial agent was instructed to have a number of small cottages erected on eligible sites, the grounds about them improved, and gardens planted with common vegetables. Of these cottages the new emigrants took immediate possession, and found a pleasant home, with necessary provisions supplied to their hand: a great improvement, that not only promoted their social comfort for the time, but had an important influence on the general health and efficiency of the colony. If any occupant of these cottages, after a year’s residence, wished to retain the place, he could acquire it “in fee,” by building a similar cottage, with improvements, on another site, for some future emigrant. In accordance with the advice of the society at a previous annual meeting, some direct and efficient measures were taken to promote a more general attention to agricultural labour than had yet been attempted in the colony. The agent at Liberia, was instructed to procure a healthy territory for settlement, on the highlands from thirty to fifty miles in the interior, and to open a road with the settlement: and a fresh supply of implements of husbandry were forwarded to the colony. Before these instructions were received, the agent had himself felt the radical importance of the same subject, and had instituted certain measures, the object of which was to invite and encourage the people to the prosecution of *agriculture*, as the fundamental principle of the operative part of the colonial establishment. He had also successfully negotiated the purchase of some interior territory, having a very favorable situation, of considerable extent, and of great fertility of soil. He re-asserted the title of the colony to a considerable portion of land at Bendoo, back of Cape Mount, included within the limits of the original contract, but of which the right and possession had been withheld by the native kings. Of this beautiful region, Mr. Pinney says, “a healthier, or more delightful country could not be desired. The combined grandeur and beauty of the scenery from Bendoo is thrilling, and the passing visiter feels himself strongly urged to take up his abode on the borders of the Pissou. Bendoo is a high bluff at the embouchure of Pissou river into the lake of the same name. It is the point of land between the river and the lake which was conveyed to the

society. Before it, spreads out a lake of surpassing beauty, across which to the side directly opposite, is a distance of ten or twelve miles. Standing upon the bluff, the outline of the lake to its furthest extremity inland, and thence all round, can be more or less distinctly seen. Its interior, or south-eastern extremity, is an unbroken sheet of water, whose edges are covered with a luxuriant growth of vegetation, here and there interspersed with villages; this is on the left hand as seen from Bendoo. On the right, and in front, westward, a multitude of little islands stud its mouth, as if to relieve the sudden boldness of Cape Mount, which completes the back-ground, with an elevation of eight hundred, or one thousand feet. The scene is one which painters would love to view. On the high bluff, with a fine lake and river abounding in fish, and securing a free circulation of air at all times, I cannot believe an infant settlement would have to endure half the difficulties from climate, which have been elsewhere encountered."

When Mr. Pinney came to undertake the active duties of his temporary appointment, he found the work arduous indeed. It appears that the whole machinery of the colonial establishment, with all its appointments, was in a state of great irregularity, in some instances, of utter confusion. He immediately set himself to the business of restoring things to their proper order. And the measures which he adopted, and the subsequent success of their operation, more than ratified the propriety of the society's choice, when they selected Mr. Pinney for the colonial agency. The wise and comprehensive forecast with which he brought together discordant and dis-severed things, and embraced them within a harmonious plan, giving thereby a unity and wholeness to the entire system and conduct of the colony, and the energy with which he effected the practical application of his measures, show that he was no ordinary man. Indeed, so well satisfied were the Board with Mr. Pinney's first despatches, such a remarkable degree of good judgment and executive ability did they evince, that they resolved to secure, if possible, his permanent services in the agency. This purpose, however, was obstructed by the reluctance of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, under whose auspices Mr. Pinney had gone to Liberia, to yield their claim to his services. Their refusal was very respectfully tendered, and their reasons assigned; but at the same time they relin-

quished their present claims, in favour of the Board till such time as another person might be selected for the agency.

Mr. Pinney also found the public works of the colony in a dilapidated condition. The agency house and other buildings had to be repaired in order to render them tenantable. The Society's schooner was laid up and rotting for want of rigging and tackle. He immediately had her overhauled, and by means of materials kindly furnished by captain Voorhees of the United States' ship John Adams, she was rendered seaworthy, and with a trade cargo of fourteen hundred dollars, was sent down the coast. For the first time, ardent spirits, an article hitherto considered indispensable as a means of traffic with the natives, was wholly excluded from the list of her goods. From the want of suitable receptacles for the new emigrants, it had been found necessary to remove those which came with Mr. Pinney in the Jupiter, in the first instance to Caldwell, and then to transport such of them as were undergoing the acclimating fever, back again to Monrovia. In order to provide against such inconveniences, the agent erected two large hospitals, at right angles with each other, on the top of the bluff at the cape. These buildings, by their situation and the showy plan of their construction, present a beautiful appearance from the harbour. The importance of a light-house on the coast, having been long felt both by the colonists and by strangers, an ordinance was passed for erecting such a building at the cape. A saw-mill, also, was directed to be put up; as well for the purpose of furnishing good and cheap building materials, as to monopolize the business of sawing; which was not only unhealthy as done by hand in the swampy ground, but drew off labourers from cultivating the soil. The public store was found to be without trade goods, the provisions were nearly exhausted, and those upon the infirmary list had to be restricted to rations of rice and meal alone. Late changes in the mode of appointing officers, and in the local regulations among the recaptured Africans, who were of different tribes, had produced dissatisfaction, and they were in a state of much disorder. The financial affairs of the colony were in great derangement. The mode of compensating officers employed by the society, had induced speculation, and orders of the former agent, to the amount of several thousand dollars, were held by the colonists, clamorous for their pay. Mr. Pinney remodelled the plan of the public

store, satisfied the public creditors, relieved the sufferings of the poor, made provisions for the comfort of the infirm, and then contrived such a method of remuneration to public officers, as at once secured the greatest diligence and the most punctual exactness, by making the interests of those employed coincident with the interests of those that employed them. Among other things, the situation of the Eboes and Congoes attracted the agent's early attention. They were in a state approaching to war, from disputes and jealousies relative to their officers. Considerable difficulty was anticipated in reconciling them; but by permitting each tribe to have its own officers, peace was soon restored. It was a matter of greater difficulty to assign them a proper location. By a law of Governor Ashmun, they were to have been placed at a distance of three miles from any other settlement. Lott Cary had placed them, or attempted to place them, immediately back of some lands given to the colonists on Stockton, about half way from Monrovia to Caldwell, hence called the "Half-way Farms," a location very inexpedient both to the colonists and themselves; however, by mistake they were actually placed on lands belonging to individuals. By some neglect they had never been removed, and it was now thought it would be cruel and unjust to do so. They had the reputation of being the most enterprising labourers in the colony, and were making the most rapid advances of any. During the preceding year they had left their old town of thatched houses, and laid out another on the same territory, near the river, of good frame buildings. The agent says, "I could not reconcile it to my sense of duty, to leave them at the mercy of the colonists on whose lands they had built; I have therefore determined to make exchanges, even at the expense of parting with town lots of considerable value. By this means I hope to obtain lands there of sufficient extent to lay them out a town on the Stockton, that the experiment which they have begun may have a full trial. When informed of this plan their joy seemed to know no bounds; and in their efforts to evince it by firing a great gun, three men were very severely wounded."

At the same time, the agent found throughout the entire territory of the colony, a large number of floating and disputed titles, in consequence of the absence of accurate surveys. He proceeded at once to adjust these and fit the proper land-marks. In the midst of such a complication of difficulties, Mr. Pinney

adapted all his measures with a discretion, promptitude and energy, and with a final success, which entitles him to the lasting gratitude of the friends of colonization.

In relation to the moral and religious state of the colony at this time, "I cannot," says the agent, "compare it with former years, not having had experience. There is, as in all other communities, so here, a larger portion of vice than the good would wish to see; yet I am persuaded that a large portion of the community are virtuous, and inclined to favour a severe construction of the laws. The Baptist church is not yet completed, but the materials are now ready, and it is intended at once to have it prepared for use. A Presbyterian church is under contract, and the walls are rapidly rising. The Methodist society are also about erecting a very large and beautiful building at Monrovia, their old place of worship being almost useless. They have already nearly completed a church at Edina. The teachers in our schools are very attentive, and, as a general thing, very successful."

The emigrants who went out with Mr. Pinney in the *Jupiter*, under Dr. Todsen's management, all passed through the acclimating fever, except an aged woman who refused medicine, and two very young children. The fever was so light in all the cases that hopes were entertained none would be fatal. But in this they were painfully disappointed. Mrs. Wright, of the mission family, after having attended her husband unremittingly for three weeks, was attacked just as he became convalescent, and, in consequence of a wrong administration of medicine by an ignorant nurse, she very suddenly died. Mr. Savage, a young gentleman from western New York, dreadfully prostrated by the fever that had preyed upon him for six months before the physicians arrived, speedily followed her. They were both lovely, and neither could fail, even upon a cursory acquaintance, to awaken an uncommon interest. "We mourn *our* loss," say the colonists, "not theirs." The general health of the colony was excellent, and very few deaths had occurred. The average number of deaths, even at this time, as compared with cotemporary tables of mortality, was in favour of the colony. They now numbered about three thousand in all; more than one half of whom were manumitted slaves, and five hundred of them recaptured Africans; with a territory stretching along the coast about two hundred miles, and ex-

tending thirty miles into the interior, containing two hundred thousand natives, of whom two tribes of from twenty to twenty-five thousand had voluntarily submitted to the colony, and were sending their children to its schools, and capable of sustaining and rendering wealthy and comfortable more than one million inhabitants.

The colony was called, on the eleventh of September, to mourn the death of one of its most valuable citizens, Mr. Francis Devany, of whose public testimony in behalf of the colony, notice was taken in the preceding pages.*

On the twenty-first June, the brig *Jupiter*, returned to the colony, from the city of New-York, with stores, agricultural implements, and trade goods, to the amount of seven thousand dollars. Among the passengers, were the Rev. Ezekiel Skinner, of Connecticut, missionary and physician, and Robert McDowall, of Edinburgh, Scotland, a coloured physician, under appointment by the Board, as colonial physicians. They were accompanied by an assistant, Charles H. Webb, a coloured man, one of the medical students under the care of the Board; also Mr. Searle, graduate of Amherst College; and Mr. Finley, graduate of New Jersey College, as teachers, under the patronage of the Ladies' Association of New-York city. In addition to these a coloured woman of education and piety, from Vermont, embarked of her own accord and motive, to devote herself to the cause of education in Africa.

* He held for some time the office of high sheriff of the colony, and in the various relations of life, sustained and deserved the reputation of an honest man. He died of consumption.

About the same time died "King Tom Bassa," of little Bassa, a prince remarkable for his good sense, moderation and love of justice; as he showed himself, in several instances, a friend to the colony, his death deserves to be noticed in this place. The following curious account of his interment is taken from the *Liberia Herald*. "Two bullocks were slain, one placed at the head and the other at the foot of the grave, into which were also put two large chests of dry-goods, in the same position, also one high post bedstead and mattress; then the corps, dressed after civilized mode, with a hat, two umbrellas and shoes; then a kettle of rice; two large pots of rice, one at the head another at the foot; two large looking glasses in the same position; coral beads, pipes, tobacco, mugs, decanters, wash hand basins, swords, cutlasses, and one hundred native mats, when a general fill up took place; outside the grave was placed a large slave pot to receive donations from the pious. As soon as his death was known a general lamentation took place throughout the country; and it is said every absentee is obliged to perform this cry no matter how many years may elapse before he returns to his country; it being viewed in the light of a religious duty."

Dr. Todsen's official relations to the colony terminated on the arrival of this vessel. Mr. Pinney's health was so bad during the summer, that he was under the necessity of transferring the active duties of his station to Dr. Skinner, who in addition to these was attending to missionary labours, and with his assistants, faithfully pursued the practice of his profession as a physician. His treatment of the diseases of the colony was unusually successful. He considered Millsburg as the most healthy of the colonial settlements, and pointed out the neighborhood of some mountains in the vicinity, as an eligible site for a medical or high school. As a proof of the salubrity of this region he mentions the case of two families living there, each consisting of nine persons, who were among the first settlers, and had all passed through the fever without physician or medicine. Dr. Skinner was of opinion that every part of Liberia would be rendered more healthy by cultivation.

In promoting religion and morality among the colonists, and in stimulating them to active usefulness, this officer was an efficient co-operator with the agent. The Board were gratified to learn from him, that he found the state of society in the colony moral and orderly, in a very high degree.

"Every obstacle," says he, "will vanish before judicious and patient exertion. The glory of our Creator, the good of mankind, the prosperity of our own country, the interests of the present and the welfare of the future generations, glory, honour, interest, religion, call us; and united, point out the path to gain the end."

The State Colonization Society of Kentucky, for the purpose of satisfying their people by the most unexceptionable testimony of the actual condition of the colony, determined to send out, this year, a special messenger for the single purpose of observing with minuteness all that was necessary for an emigrant to know. The person selected was Joseph Jones, of Winchester, a coloured man, who proceeded upon his mission, and after an absence of more than a year returned with his report of the land. Mr. Jones was a very superior man of his class, a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, over forty years of age, "a man of great observation, intelligence, and candour." He bore this recommendation back from Governor Pinney: "Mr. Jones' conduct whilst here, has been blameless, and a pattern for others, and I trust he will find favour before God and man.

If the section of country from which he came, can afford us one hundred men possessing the spirit of enterprise, and patience and perseverance which he has evinced so far, they will bless the colony by their presence." Upon his submitting his report to the Board they unanimously resolved, that they were fully satisfied with the manner in which he had performed the services expected from him, that he was entitled to the thanks of the society for the great amount of useful information which he had, with much toil and labour, acquired, and that the Board recommend him to the kind and respectful consideration of all persons friendly disposed to African colonization, as a man of excellent character, of a clear and vigorous understanding, and possessed of those qualities which make a man useful to society. They also requested Mr. Jones to accompany their agent to the principal places in the State, for the purpose of giving information with regard to the colony. He was a sincere, modest man, had no set speeches or studied narrative to give, but spoke without remuneration and from his heart, about the country he had visited, and which he had deliberately chosen as his future home—for as a proof of his own conviction of the many advantages which Liberia offers to the free coloured man, he had determined to return and connect his destinies with those of his countrymen in the colony. It will be found that one such man as Joseph Jones has done more actual good to his kind, than a whole army of abolitionists.

Although the parent society was prohibited this year from fitting out any new expeditions, yet auxiliary societies, missionary societies, and other friends, did not permit the cause in this respect to languish. The only exceptions to the rule, adopted by the Board at their last meeting, which directed for the present the society's withdrawal from the business of direct emigration, were two: one was the case of fourteen manumitted slaves belonging to the estate of the late Matthew Page, of Frederick county, Virginia, to whom the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, gave a free passage in the vessel which carried out the new emigrants for Bassa Cove—the other case was that of between thirty and forty slaves liberated, on condition of colonization, by the last will and testament of the late Rev. John Stockdell, of Virginia. Their contested claim to freedom having been decided in their favour, the Board determined, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to make an effort for promptly

conveying them to the colony. In the latter part of this year also, a correspondence had taken place between the Navy Department and the Board, in relation to sixty-two recaptured Africans, who had been placed at the disposition of the Federal Government by the judgment of one of its courts. This correspondence resulted in the acceptance by the Department of terms on which the Board proceeded to restore those unfortunate persons to their native land.

The citizens of Albany, in the state of New York, projected the establishment of a temperance settlement in Liberia—to consist of one hundred new emigrants—to be located on an eligible site, at the option of the society's agent, and to be called New-Albany. They agreed to raise three thousand dollars for this purpose, fifteen hundred of which sum was this year placed at the disposal of the Board, who accepted it for the purpose proposed, and directed their agent to proceed at once to the selection of a site and all necessary preparations. This was accordingly done. The Board also accepted a proposition from the Kentucky State Society, who offered to send out fifty emigrants at their own expense, and acceded to the appropriation of five hundred dollars left by a lady of Kentucky, for that purpose.

By appointment of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Mr. Seys went out to the charge of their missions in the colony. A more judicious selection could scarcely have been made. A native of the West Indies, he had nothing to fear from the climate; he was acquainted with the agriculture of tropical latitudes, experienced in business, industrious and persevering, conciliating in his manners, and a zealous Christian. He visited the various settlements, and in a few weeks established several new schools.

The exertions of the parent society to promote the cause of education in the different settlements of the colony, were nobly seconded by auxiliary societies. The Massachusetts Society, founded on a principle very appropriate to that State, famous for the completeness of its system of education, devoted its attention to the specific object of establishing schools in the colony and supplying them with well qualified teachers. Besides others which have been already mentioned, the Ladies Association of New York, and the Female Colonization Society of Richmond and Manchester, Virginia, rendered essential aid to

the Board, in the cause of education. The former sent out, as a teacher, Eunice Sharp, an intelligent and zealous female, well provided with school apparatus—the latter, sent out Mrs. Cyples from Charleston, South Carolina, a lady strongly recommended by Mr. Grimke. The colony had already done much towards spreading the English language among the natives over an immense territory, and it was every where regarded as a great accomplishment, and had become an object of ambitious competition among the natives, who should soonest acquire its fluent use. The influence of the colony in meliorating the condition of the miserable Africans within its reach, was growing more and more manifest—not only mediately, as being the only possible means of opening the way to missions, but directly in its efforts to educate the natives who came into the settlement—old superstitions were beginning to give way, and habits of decency and civilization to be adopted. The presence of a regular civilized community, acting as a city set on a hill in the midst of them, could not but soon enlighten the heathenish darkness which had prevailed around it. The slave trade was driven from the whole line. The colonists were no longer looked upon by the natives as encroaching conquerors, but as returning brothers—not one acre of ground did it hold from them which had not been voluntarily ceded, and for a fair consideration—its title to every inch of ground stands as clear in the broadest equity, as in the strictest law. In this view no parallel can be drawn between the African colony in its bearing upon the African people, and the case of the American colonies and the American aborigines. In the one case they were men of another race, superior and of incompatible nature, encroaching upon the territory of men whom they could only subdue by annihilating. In the other case, they are exiles and brothers, returning to their kindred and their native land.

The cause of African missions suffered severely by the decease of the Rev. Mr. Laird and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Cloud, of the Presbyterian Church, and the Rev. Mr. Wright and wife, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; individuals who, by their talents, zeal and piety, were well qualified for extensive usefulness in that great and holy work to which their lives were cheerfully devoted; cut down in the commencement of their labours, they could do little more than exhibit, under the most trying circumstances, the noble Christian spirit which animated them, and bequeath an

example of influence to revive something of the primitive spirit of our religion in the bosom of the church. In addition to this mournful array, the society was called to mourn the death of two individuals of much consideration in the colony, the Rev. C. M. Waring, who emigrated from Virginia in 1823, pastor of the First Baptist Church, a member of the colonial council, and who had twice filled the office of vice-agent; and the Rev. Gustavus V. Caesar, an emigrant from Hartford, minister of the Episcopal Church, and surveyor of the colony. In reference to these most afflictive dispensations, Mr. Pinney piously and heroically remarks,—“Our losses do not dishearten me. I trust the church will not be discouraged; God is about to try us, but I hope some good will be found, and faith which shall not tremble, though a thousand fall.”

At the close of this year, the Board were under the painful necessity of declaring that Mr. Pinney's official relations with the colony were to cease. “His administration, until disease incapacitated him for exertion, was so vigorous, provident, and discreet, that the Board feel pain in announcing that the society is no longer to have the benefit of his valuable services, as he proposes to devote himself to his missionary labours so soon as a new colonial agent can be appointed.”

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AGENCY OF DR. E. SKINNER, 1835.

THE government of the colony, by the retirement of Mr. Pinney, had now devolved upon Dr. Skinner, colonial physician, a gentleman whose indefatigable labours as a medical man, as well as a missionary, had already won the hearts of the people, and who was well fitted by a natural energy of mind and aptitude for business, to enter upon the labours of the previous Governor, and complete the improvements which had been commenced under his administration. For some time previous to Dr. Skinner's entering upon the office, there had been no actual head to the government, in consequence of Mr. Pinney's ill health; and it is not to be wondered at that under

such circumstances the sanctions of law should have lost something of their authority, when they had no one properly to enforce them, and that dissatisfaction with government should have been manifested by those who complained that they had no adequate government at all. But as soon as Dr. Skinner entered upon his office, he found a people as docile and accessible to motives as any others, and the supremacy of law was acknowledged as soon as the people perceived a duly constituted magistrate at their head. Indeed a comparison of the annals of this colony with the history of similar undertakings, will show, that there never has been a new colony yet established which was composed of people so tractable, so forbearing, and so reasonable in all respects, as those who have composed the colony of Liberia. When all the circumstances of the case are considered, it might very naturally be anticipated that a principal obstacle in the way of the undertaking would be difficulties existing among the emigrants themselves, and their relations to the Society on this side the ocean. But instead of this, we do not find in all their history, a single instance of intestine disturbance among them which does not seem to have had an apparent reason, and which was not quelled by the very first explanation. It is to be remembered too, that these people from the outset have been treated by the Society as independent men, and admitted to a principal part in their own legislation. In this aspect of the undertaking, we confidently assert, that the inhabitants of Liberia present to the world a recommendation, not only of the cause in which they have engaged, but of the cause of humanity itself—an example remarkable in the history of nations and unknown to the records of colonization.

Dr. Skinner went to Liberia with a true conception of the single direct business of the Colonization Society, the radical idea of the whole scheme, and that in which lay the consummation of its wisdom—the colonization with their own consent, upon the coast of Africa, of the free people of colour of the United States. He, therefore, clearly perceived that from this time it was a vital and principal thing in the practical working of the scheme, to render the colony in all respects a plainly inviting home for those who were to be the voluntary recipients of its benefits.

Under these views of the present state and wants of the colonization cause, Dr. Skinner entered upon the active duties

of the agency at the colony; and the vigour with which he prosecuted the work shows that he was a man of no ordinary strength of mind, as he certainly was not of benevolence of heart. We have seen that he had previously paid his special attention to the sanatory condition of the colony; he had modified and greatly improved the methods of medical treatment in use before his time, and adopted precautionary measures which had the effect in some cases to prevent, and in all to lighten the force of the acclimating fevers. He frequently declares that with wholesome diet, airy houses and strict cleanliness, the colony could be rendered not only healthy but eminently salubrious. In treating the fever he relied chiefly upon these precautionary measures, together with careful venesection; abolishing in all but indispensable cases, the use of quinine, which had been the universal remedy. So highly did the Board esteem the medical services of Dr. Skinner that they felt solicitous he should be able to give his undivided attention to them; his appointment to the agency was therefore only considered as temporary. He continued to administer the office until the latter part of the year 1836, when, in consequence of broken health incurred by the frequency of his labours and self-sacrificing exposures, he was obliged to return to America.

At the close of the year 1835, the society found itself nearly free of its great debt. This gratifying state of its finances was produced, as we have seen, by a steady adherence to the policy indicated by the managers in their special report a year previous—the business of direct emigration was postponed to the primary objects of diminishing the debt of the society, and improving the condition of the colony—they then cast themselves upon the liberality of the friends of the cause, nor did they appeal in vain.

On the 4th of March, the brig *Rover*, Captain Outerbridge, left New Orleans for Liberia, and arrived at Monrovia on the 27th of April, with seventy-one emigrants for the colony. For good character, intelligence, and property, the persons composing this expedition were represented as being superior to any company that had ever entered at one time into the colony. Twenty-six of their number had been selected out of one hundred and thirty, emancipated by James Green, Esq., deceased, of Mississippi, for their faithful services:—forty-three were from Claiborne county, having excellent characters, and carrying with them property to the amount of ten thousand dollars. No pre-

vious expedition had been so munificently fitted out, and all the emigrants had been under a course of education and discipline, with a view to their colonization. The entire expense was defrayed by the friends of colonization in the state of Mississippi. Among these emigrants were Rev. Gloster Simpson and Archy Moore, two pious and intelligent individuals, who had previously visited the colony, as exploring agents, on behalf of the free coloured people of Mississippi. Rev. Gloster Simpson was a regularly ordained minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the farewell meeting held previous to the embarkation of the company he preached a sermon which would not have been discreditable to many preachers who have had the advantages of an early and mature education.—“One day,” said he, “as a friend was pointing out to me the graves of the missionaries, *white men*, who had gone to that land of darkness to diffuse the light of salvation, and had fallen in quick succession, one after another, martyrs to the holy cause, I could not but exclaim, ‘O! Lord, and shall there not come from our own ranks, men to take their places, and preach to our benighted brethren, the gospel of Christ?’ For one, I am willing and determined to go.” At another meeting he said:—“For a long time I had desired to find a place of refuge, where I might enjoy liberty and such advantages as I could not here—not that I was treated unkindly in Mississippi—I have many dear friends there. But it is not possible for coloured men to enjoy among white men all the privileges and advantages of liberty. I heard a good deal about Liberia, and read a great deal.—We arrived at Monrovia the last day of June—there was a quarterly meeting on the second day of July—I went ashore. The heavens appeared to open over me. I seemed to be born a second time. Every thing looked kindly. It looked like the home for the coloured man. Mr. Moore and I travelled about and examined the country—we saw abundance of every thing growing. The people looked as healthy there as they do here. I have persevered so far and am now about to embark for Liberia. I hope to do something for my blessed Master’s cause there if he spares my life. If death be my early lot, I hope to be as ready and willing to meet it on the coast of Africa, as on the shores of the Mississippi. Brethren pray for us.” His family was in bondage at the time of his return from his mission to the colony; but immediately upon his signifying his wish to colonize, the gentleman who owned his family, Robert

Cochrane, Esq., executed a bill of sale to Gloster for the whole. They were estimated to be worth four thousand dollars.

Archy Moore was a member in good standing of the Methodist church—an intelligent, respectable man, who had lived without reproach. His family was also in bondage, and were liberated by some gentlemen of Mississippi, at a cost of nearly two thousand dollars. When told that his family was free, and he could go, his joy knew no bounds. Mr. Moore, at the same meeting, narrated some of the results of his experience as colleague of Simpson, on the mission. “As to our moving to Liberia, we have no more cause for going than other free people. We go of choice. I go to enjoy liberty and equality of rights. As to the natural productions of the country, they exceed anything I ever saw in all my travels elsewhere. As to the style of living among the colonists, it was quite superior to what I expected to see. Many houses where I visited looked like those of respectable white families. I dined at Mr. Devany’s. He introduced us into a sitting room well furnished with carpet, chairs, two elegant sofas, and mirrors. In a little while the folding doors opened, and we were invited to take seats at the table, richly set and well supplied. Some may think I am ignorant of what good style is. But I have lived in the first families of the country. I lived many years with Governor Clairborn of your State. Twenty years ago, I know the furniture of the best houses in the west was not better than what I saw in common use in Liberia. I go willingly. I have got a living here, in slavery, and now that I am free, if I can’t, with health, get a living there, then let me suffer.”

Another was a brother of the last named. About nine years before, he had been emancipated for his meritorious services—bearing an excellent character for piety and talents, he was a valuable accession to the colony. This man was remarkable for an uncommon and very impressive equanimity and self possession. He was seldom seen to be out of temper, except when attempts were made to dissuade him from going to Liberia. He said “he could not help considering those his enemies, who attempted to do so.” He took with him a cotton-gin stand, one thousand dollars’ worth of agricultural implements and mechanics’ tools, one thousand dollars’ worth of trade goods, and about three thousand dollars in specie. He was accompanied by his wife and six children, whom he had redeemed from slavery, at an expense of five thousand dollars. One of these

children, a son aged fifteen years, was a good English scholar, and had made considerable progress in the Latin language. At a public meeting held at New Orleans before their departure, they all formed themselves into a temperance society, on the principles of total abstinence. No company of colonists ever departed under more hopeful auspices than this from New Orleans. They were sped by the cordial plaudits of thousands of the most respectable citizens of that city, and the states both of Louisiana and Mississippi. The deepest interest was manifested in those parts, at this time, on the subject of colonization—an interest amounting now to a degree of generous enthusiasm—an interest that was verified by corresponding action and liberality. Farewell meetings with the colonists were attended sometimes to overflowing, by the most respectable audiences, and when at the last a parting hymn was sung, and an agent of the society attempted to speak, his utterance was drowned by the feelings of his audience, and the emigrants in silence and in tears took leave of the friends whom they had served, and by whom they had the best evidence of knowing that they were beloved. No more striking proof could be desired, of the gross injustice done to the south by the abolitionists of the north, than is to be found in the case of the fitting out of this expedition, by the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, and in its attending circumstances. Here was a large company of emancipated slaves, freed, educated, and munificently equipped at the sole expense of their masters, and we see them leaving these masters, affected to such a degree by the memory of their kindness, that their emotions could only find utterance in their tears. And they left a much larger number than themselves in those States, who, out of the same spirit of piety and love, were under a similar course of training for emancipation, and Liberia. One gentleman in the vicinity of New Orleans, was educating one hundred and fifty slaves for the colony, and all of sufficient age were able to read fluently at the time of this expedition. And another, Mr. E. B. Randolph, had given freedom to twenty slaves, and sold his land to give them education.

In the preceding chapter, was noticed the conclusion of an arrangement with the Navy Department for restoring to their native country a number of recaptured Africans, who had been placed at the disposal of the government by the judgment of one of the federal courts. Of those unfortunate persons, thirty-seven were delivered to the society's agent at New Orleans

and, together with eight manumitted slaves of William H. Ireland, deceased, sailed at the close of May, the present year, in the brigantine *Louisiana*, Captain Williams, amply provided with supplies. They arrived in the colony on the 9th of August, in good health. The emigrants were settled on lands provided for them and the recaptured Africans at New Georgia, where they found a number of their countrymen, and some acquaintances. They were hailed by their rescued brethren, says the *Liberia Herald* for that month, "with the most extravagant expressions of joy."

On the 29th of June, the ship *Indiana*, Captain Wood, sailed from Savannah, with sixty-five emigrants, for the settlement formed at Bassa Cove by the united auxiliary societies of New York and Pennsylvania. The disastrous circumstances of that settlement caused them to sojourn at Monrovia, where they arrived in the month of August. By the arrival of these parties in such rapid succession, the simple natives appear to have been very much puzzled. Imagining, however, that Americans were influenced to alter their locality on the same principles with themselves, they explained the matter by saying, "Rice be done for big 'Merica;" and they hope they will plant more next year, or "black man will no have place for set down." With the *Indiana's* company went Mr. Davis and his family.

These three expeditions comprise the whole number added to the colony during the year 1835. The return of the vessels brought despatches from Dr. Skinner, and letters from the missionaries and others, of the most gratifying nature. As it respects the temperate habits of the people, and their strict observance of the Sabbath day, every body speaks in the highest terms. Captain Outerbridge says he did not see an intoxicated American in the place, that he did not hear a profane word, that a glass of rum could not be bought except at the apothecary's, and that no man in the colony, not even a native, could be hired for "love or money" to labour on the Sabbath. Dr. Skinner says, that the general state of morals in the society is superior to that of most towns in the States; that the entire social aspect of the people was amiable and promising in the highest degree. The Rev. Mr. Seyes returned accounts to his society here, which are so full, and yet so connected and compact, that it is impossible to make extracts. He went to the colony, as every body under the false impressions of the times went, expecting to find a state of

society tumultuous almost to barbarism, and a state of morals unprincipled and lawless. Instead of which, he received the most grateful welcome of a people characterized by their manliness, sobriety, and hospitality. He entered at once into a regularly constituted state—a civilized and educated society, containing men of cultivated minds, conversable men, already bearing the impress of a peculiar and dignified nationality. He found himself in an atmosphere where he *felt* that the genius of law and order was prevalent as in the land he had left. Mr. Seyes declares, almost in the very same words which our quotations from many other sources have caused us only to reiterate, “that in five months’ intercourse, at all times, and with all classes, he had not heard a profane word, or seen an intoxicated person in the colony.” The African Repository, of this year, also contains a number of well written letters from old inhabitants of the place to their friends here. They are calm, serious, and real productions, composed in an earnest spirit, having a highly moral, and, generally, a deeply religious character. No one of them speaks as though the notion of removing back to this country had ever entered the writer’s thoughts. They speak like men writing from home. It is quite amusing to notice the manner in which they received the information, through abolition papers, of the miseries of their colonial situation. The reply of the Liberia Herald to these publications is very serious and pungent. It earnestly entreats the abolitionists to “let them alone.” After a pathetic strain of entreaty to this effect, and rebuking the preposterousness and falsehood of their course, the editor thus concludes: “And yet these men wish to denominate themselves friends to the coloured man. How they can justify themselves before God or man, in their opposition to, and abuse of, this colony, we cannot conceive. We are at a loss also from what motive they act. No one can believe they are actuated by a principle of love for the man of colour. Though this is the principle they avow, their invariable and untiring conduct is directly the opposite of that which we would suppose would result from such a principle. But they say, we are unhappy, and poor, and miserable in Liberia; and they only wish to call us back where we may be happy, and rich, and comfortable. But we say, we are not; and, as we are the more immediately concerned, we ought at least to be allowed to determine. We declare that we believe we are as happy as our calumniators.

Riches we refer to the great Donor of all mercies, who dispenses this blessing as it pleases him; and as to misery, we are not one half as miserable as we were before we left America. We do not pretend there is no poverty or unhappiness in the colony; we acknowledge there is. But until there is none in the United States, our enemies ought to be silent on this subject."

In the year 1830, Captain W. E. Sherman, an experienced and pious ship-master, had published a letter on the state of the colony, in which he takes notice of the salutary influence of the colony over the native tribes. This part of his letter was, in the present year, publicly contradicted in the famous "examination" of Thomas Brown, a wretched creature, who had been for a season in Liberia, and was now in the employ of the Abolition Society. In reference to this portion of his examination, the editor of the *Liberia Herald* observes: "We are sorry to find Mr. Brown so ignorant on every subject, upon which the least true information would throw the scales in favour of the colony. It is a well known fact, that almost all the tribes around here have thrown themselves under the protection of the colony, and if any man doubts our assertion, we have only to refer to the official records, where the names of the parties are given. It is also a well known fact, that whenever Boatswain brings war on them, (this Boatswain was the most powerful and tyrannical king among the tribes, and stood in awe of nothing but the colony,) they are sure to flee within our territory for protection, never considering themselves secure a moment out of it, till peace has been restored.

"The following will show the names of such kings and headmen, all we remember at present, as being under the protection of our laws, and subject to their jurisdiction:

King Gray, and people.

" Short Peter, and people.

" Bob, and people.

" Willey, and people.

" Brister, and people.

" Peter, and people.

Mary McKinzie, and people.

Farga, and people of the District of the Dey country.

Prince Will, and people of Junk.

Bob Grey, and people of Grand Bassa."

Numerous slave factories had been broken up, and the ac-

cursed trade driven from a region of coast extending, by the inclusion of Sierra Leone, over a space of five hundred miles in length. "Liberia," says the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, "is a standing evidence, that slavers cannot breathe in a moral atmosphere. Their detestable traffic shuns the abodes of fair and legitimate trade, and one colony, established on the principles of temperance and peace, sustaining in their purity the moral and religious institutions of the mother country, is worth a dozen scores of men of war." In this connexion, we shall quote from a letter of Mr. Wyncoop to the editor of the *New York Evangelist*, dated Princeton, April 6, 1835: "About a year since, I explored the western coast from Grand Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, for the purpose of learning the most favourable points for the establishment of missions. I availed myself of every opportunity of ascertaining the condition of the colonies, their extent, &c. I learned the following facts touching the slave trade—they are unquestionably true. The river Galinas is the most extensive slave mart on the western coast. It is not within the limits of Liberia.

"Grand Cape Mount was for many years an extensive slave mart. About two months previous to my visit, the natives had resolved to abandon the slave trade for ever. They were led to take this noble step, partly by their own convictions, and partly by the persuasions of the governor and citizens of Monrovia.

"Cape Mesurado was a slave mart at the time it was purchased by the agents of the Colonization Society. The establishment of the colony broke up the slave trade entirely.

"Little Bassa was a slave mart up to January, 1834. Two tribes, the Fishmen and Kroomen, combined their forces, demolished the factory, and drove off the traders. This place is between Monrovia and Grand Bassa. It is still owned by the natives.

"Grand Bassa was a slave mart. There were two factories, one on each side of the river. The first was destroyed when the American Colonization Society obtained the north-western section, and the other when the Young Men's Society, by their agent, purchased the south-western section.

"It was thought by some that Young Sesters was a slave mart, but no evidence of it could be obtained. The slave trade has never been tolerated between Young Sesters and Cape Palmas, and for some distance beyond. If there is no slave mart

at Young Sesters, then indeed colonization has been the means of destroying that cursed traffic from Cape Mount to Trade Town."

The colony had now begun to feel the strength of their own resources. A generous spirit of self-reliance, and independence of the Board had become prevalent. They took a more active part in their own legislation—a new colonial court was established—the debates in the colonial council are those of a manly and thoughtful eloquence and wisdom—the action of this council, on the reception of the news of the Bassa Cove massacre, was as prompt, energetic, calm and parliamentary, as the example of the best consulting bodies could furnish. They were putting up public offices, and a stone light-house, to be at an elevation of two hundred and eighty feet from the sea, and were opening public roads, and had launched a new large schooner, at their own expense. The business of agriculture, and the introduction of domestic animals, were occupying general attention. During the year 1835 more than double an amount of agricultural produce had been brought to market, than ever in any previous year. The new Georgia and Caldwell settlements took the lead in this reformation. Working animals, oxen, &c., were introduced into the colony from Bassa, Cape de Verd Islands, and other places. By a resolution of the Colonial Council, corporate powers were this year bestowed upon each of the settlements. Liberia had by this time progressed to such a degree of civil establishment, that had the people left the colony in 1835, they would have left a city whose roads, and wharves, and stores would have remained for ages as memorials of a people of wonderful enterprise, and of a most respectable national power.

Several new schools were commenced in the colony and neighbourhood, this year. Those already established and supplied with teachers by the ladies of Richmond and Philadelphia, and by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, continued prosperous. Two hundred and fifty-five children of the colonists were receiving regular and competent instruction in these schools. There were now ten schools, besides Bible classes and Sunday schools in the entire colony. But notwithstanding these encouraging particulars, the Board felt that the colonial schools were greatly inadequate to the wants of the citizens. And in their last report they do earnestly appeal to

the friends of colonization, in this behalf. The principle desideratum was a greater number of well qualified teachers.

About three years previous to this time an institution was formed in Maryland, under the auspices of that pious and gifted lady, Miss Margaret Mercer—a bright name in the annals of Christian charity. This society had now collected thirteen hundred dollars towards a fund to be appropriated for the maintenance, clothing, and instruction of two young men, colonists from Liberia, at the University of Glasgow, in Scotland, on condition that after completing their education they should return to the colony as teachers, or physicians. The determination to educate them in Scotland, was formed after a correspondence which Miss Mercer had opened with Mr. John Ross, a distinguished gentleman of that country. The colonial agent was accordingly directed to select the two most promising boys in Liberia, between the ages of ten and fourteen years, and to send them immediately to Glasgow. Mr. Ross was appointed their guardian. This benevolent institution is called, in memory of the place of its origin, the “Cedar Park Liberian Education Society.”

As it respects the subject of education among the natives at this time, we have the following account from the *Liberia Herald*. “We feel proud to notice the commencement of a new school for the tuition of the natives, by Mr. and Mrs. Tittler, (they were coloured persons,) under the patronage of the Western Board of Foreign Missions. This school is established on the Junk river, about midway between this place and that. The account Mr. Tittler gave of the extreme anxiety evinced by the natives for the instruction of their children, is truly gratifying. In the council that was called when the subject was first proposed to them, not only a general approbation was expressed, but the most solemn assurance given, on the part of the head men, that every thing should be done to facilitate the object: and in testimony thereof, they immediately pledged themselves to furnish as much rice and other necessary provisions, as would be sufficient for the school. As the farming season is at hand, they furnished Mr. Tittler with a large house, hitherto used for domestic purposes, promising that as soon as they finish cutting their farms, they will furnish a new one. They have also put some of their female children under

the care of Mrs. Tittler, to learn, as they call it, ‘White man fash.’”

The native kings in the neighbourhood of Cape Mount, were engaged in a bloody war, carried on with more than ordinary ferocity; and King Boatswain was at war with several of the more interior nations, who had leagued together to resist this tyrant and prince of slave-dealers. Commissioners were sent out by the colonial Council to mediate a peace. They were well received, but unsuccessful in the first instance, when they were reappointed with the addition of Mr. Finley, and on a second mission effected a cessation of hostilities. They penetrated far into the interior, and the result of their mission and of their journey of inspection, was published at large in this country. The following extract from a message of Governor Pinney, in this connexion, as illustrative of African speech-making, is interesting. “Nearly fifty natives with their long robes were around, at our first interview. Zingby, the chief warrior arose, and with the interpreter approached near me, and plead his master’s claim to our friendship. The words of the interpreter were written down at the time, as follows:—Zingby say, ‘Hear him now; He speak King Boatswain’s word. King Boatswain send him. You and King Boatswain be friends. King Boatswain send him book for you.* When you look him (i. e. Zingby with the token) you look King Boatswain. He say him fight war. He say Goolah people fight him for America people palaver. Him cut path and Goolah people make war, so path be stopped, and American man no get bullock. All ivory and bullock come from King Boatswain. Goolah no have too much. That way (therefore) Goolah people make path close. All America belong to King Boatswain, and King Boatswain he belong to America people, (i. e. there is a mutuality.) I be King Boatswain boy-true—no more. I be head war man for King Boatswain. Let all America live in my hand. I cut path—Goolah no be able to keep path close. King Boatswain say that white cloth be him heart. This war belong to America people’s palaver. Goolah man no look (own) bullocks and ivory like King Boatswain’s man. They fight cause King Boatswain send goods here. Zingby come tell you him (i. e. King Boatswain) fight war this time.’

* This *book* was a token; a silver manilla with his name upon it.

"Here there was considerable hesitation, as if he was uncertain whether to proceed any farther. The whole of the preceding part had been no uningenious introduction to the main object—a request for powder and a large gun. The effort had been to work upon our pride and cupidity, to lead us to assist in fighting the Goolahs. He proceeded:

"King Boatswain say come back quick. Let Governor send him book. If Governor send a book, no make war. King Boatswain set down, only he no want Goolah man trouble Cape, and close the path. Interpreter, my name be Kili. I be him boy. I live in your hand till Zingby carry book. (I had then sent the commissioners the first time, though unsuccessfully; they had gone a second time.) Zingby come quick and bring money—let the news about the commissioners live in the book. (Hesitatingly.) King Boatswain want *big gun*. He say Goolah people make Condo man run, cause he have *little big gun*."

"As our policy and Christian character unite in requiring peace, I refused the gun, but sent presents and urged peace."*

This year the fifth Baptist church in the colony, was formed at Caldwell, and the first annual meeting of the Liberia Baptist Association held at Monrovia, in October, which was a joyful and profitable season. Quarterly and protracted meetings were held in the fall, by the Methodist churches, which were greatly blessed; and there were revivals of religion in nearly all the settlements. A coloured teacher, writing about this time, from the colony, and evidently after having seized such a view of the true nature of colonization in Africa, that it had inspired him with that kind of confidence which grows only out of absolute faith, exclaims, "The time has commenced, for the regeneration of Africa. Those who are opposed to Africa, may as well undertake to stop the sun from rising, as to undertake to prevent the gospel from spreading throughout Africa. Civilization will dilate itself to the last green verge of this land." Who, upon reading this extract, and others from the productions of the colonists, to be found in this chapter, would imagine them to have been penned by men who were but a short time since precisely on a level with the great class of black men that are among us now? Nor have their words, in any instance,

* Poor fellow, he was killed about two weeks after, in an attempt to scale a barricade of the Goolahs.

been quoted merely as samples of their style. Passages might have been selected from the colonial paper and other sources, that, for graphic eloquence of description, we feel to be equal to all praise. But there is in all they utter, a manliness of sentiment, a dignity of purport, and a precision of rhetoric, so remarkable as to be difficult clearly to account for. Doubtless the actual knowledge of the writers, and their cordial earnestness in their work, give them a peculiar power of expression—but we cannot help feeling in the perusal of their records, that Liberia has done something for these men, which we, at a distance, are not entirely able to render intelligible to our own inquiries.

The medical wants of the colony continued to be well ministered by Dr. Skinner, Dr. McDowall, and a colonist who had recently commenced the practice of medicine. It was their misfortune to lose the aid of Charles H. Webb, the coloured medical student who emigrated to the colony the previous summer. In the following autumn this promising young man fell a victim to the local fever, aggravated by some imprudence on his part, at the age of twenty-two years. The following is an extract from his obituary in the *Liberia Herald*. “Ardently attached to the profession of medicine, he quitted his attendance on the lectures at Washington, that he might be enabled to derive an acquaintance with the diseases of Africa, and be the better qualified to graduate with honour to himself, and advantage to his fellow beings. Since his arrival, his exertions have been unceasing in attendance on the sick, and his fatal illness may be attributed to the zeal and devotion which he uniformly exhibited in the discharge of duty.” William Taylor, an intelligent young man of colour, was at this time, through the liberality of Miss Mercer, under the care of the Board, pursuing medical studies at the University in Washington. Dr. Todsén, whose professional skill had been often advantageously exerted in the colony, returned to the United States in the brig *Bourne*, in April of this year.

At no period of its history has the feeling of attachment to the cause been so general and enthusiastic, in this country, as at the present. The genial truths of the principles of the society, elicited and provoked by the antagonisms of the times, being now generally disseminated, became the seedlings of auxiliaries that sprung up in every direction over the country. “It would

have done your heart good," says a gentleman attending the formation of the North Carolina State Society, "to have heard the cause advocated as it was, on the ground of its bearing on the final removing of slavery from among us." At the anniversary of the New York State Society in the month of May, so profound was the enthusiasm of the people that they adjourned three several times, with overflowing houses, and at last refused an adjournment till actual midnight, so eager was the desire of knowledge, and so craving was the sympathy of the people.

The history of colonization during the past year, is a practical illustration of what that wise and good man Jeremiah Hubbard once said. "The direct and incidental effects of colonization are not limited to a qualified benefit to the free blacks alone, but comprehend in their wide range, the cause of emancipation, the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa." And to this enunciation we will add, what in another connexion we have already said, that the Colonization Society in the United States is the best expression, and promises to be the only apparent security, of a lasting national conservatism in our union.

CHAPTER XXIX.

COLONIZATION, AND THE COLONY IN 1836.

THREE important expeditions were sent to the colony during the year 1836, by the parent society and two of its auxiliaries.

The brig *Luna*, captain Bears, having on board eighty emigrants, and two recaptured African children under the care of the United States government, with liberal supplies of provisions, agricultural implements, and trade goods, sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, on the third of March, and completed her voyage on the seventh of April. Of these emigrants forty-four were manumitted, on the condition of colonization, by the will of the late general Blackburn of Staunton, Virginia; seven by the late Rev. John Allenmong; and five by the late Mrs. Washington, of

Frederick county, Virginia ; while four were emancipated by the Rev. C. W. Andrews of Frederick county; six by the late Jedidiah Atkinson of Petersburg; seven by Thomas S. King, Esq. of Portsmouth; one by Mr. Davidson of Charlotte county; one by Mr. S. O. Moore of Albemarle; and two by Mr. A. McNeill of Mecklenburg, North Carolina. Several others were free persons of colour from Norfolk. A number that were expected from the same State failed to embark at this time.

Most of the *Luna's* company were young men, several of them preachers of the gospel, and one a minister and missionary of the Methodist church, the Rev. Beverly R. Wilson, spoken of in the last chapter, as having, after a visit and examination of the colony, during fourteen months, returned to the United States for the purpose of concluding a final settlement of his affairs in Virginia, and removing with his entire family to Liberia. His statements concerning the colony made in sundry places and before large audiences, in the northern and middle States, convinced many that the scheme of African colonization merited their decided and earnest support.

The schooner *Swift* left New Orleans on the twenty-eighth of April, with forty-three emigrants, recently emancipated, mostly from the state of Mississippi, and arrived at Monrovia on the seventh of July. Among these were twenty slaves liberated for colonization by Edward B. Randolph, of Lowndes county, Mississippi. The expenses of this expedition were paid by the Mississippi Colonization Society, assisted by an advance of twenty-five hundred dollars, by the liberal executor of the estate of the late James Green, by whose will provision was made for the manumission of a part of his slaves, and the application of a generous portion of his large estate, to aid the object of the society. A majority of the emigrants were young, accustomed to labour on plantations at the south, and well furnished with implements and stores necessary to a comfortable settlement, and the successful cultivation of the soil, in the colony. They sustained a good character for intelligence, industry, and morality, several of them adorning, by their lives, the profession of the Christian faith, and all inclined before their departure to organize themselves into a temperance society, on the principle of total abstinence from ardent spirits.

The emigrants by the *Luna* were landed at Monrovia, but subsequently removed to a new settlement on the Junk river, called Marshall, after the late chief justice of the United States.

In consequence of the untimely arrival of these emigrants on the coast, or from some other circumstances which our knowledge of the African fevers does not enable us to distinguish, several of these emigrants fell victims to the climate. Yet it is remarkable that out of sixty-two emigrants that arrived about the same time in the preceding year, only three died, and they were small boys "who could not be kept from running out in the sun and rain."

The company by the Swift proceeded at once to Millsburg, about twenty miles from the coast, on the river St. Paul's, a settlement enjoying great advantages for health and agricultural pursuits.

The Brig Luna, Captain Hallet, with eighty-four emigrants, fifty of whom were slaves recently liberated in Kentucky and Tennessee, on condition of colonizing, sailed from New York on the 5th of July, and arrived at Monrovia on the 19th of August. This expedition was fitted out under the direction of the Auxiliary Colonization Society of New York city. The company proceeded immediately to the settlement at Bassa Cove. Nearly all of these colonists were members of temperance societies, most of them professors of religion, and many of them ministers of the gospel. Among the latter, were the Rev. Mr. Anderson, a Baptist minister; Mr. Priest, of the Presbyterian Church; and Mr. Jones, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the number of this company were also a Mr. Hayne, his wife, and four or five children, boys and girls. This family were of more than common respectability, in good circumstances as to property, and had long been free, in Georgia. They were objects of peculiar interest to the numerous friends of the emigrants, who visited them at and before their embarkation. A farewell meeting was held with these emigrants by the citizens of New York and others, at the quarantine ground, Staten Island. When about to embark, in reply to an address from the venerable and lamented Dr. Proudfit, and the encouraging remarks of other friends of the cause, the Rev. Mr. Herring, a coloured Methodist Missionary, who accompanied the expedition, responded in behalf of the colonists in a very pertinent and impressive manner. He declared himself indebted to the Colonization Society for his personal freedom, having been manumitted for the purpose of going to Liberia by his humane master in Virginia. He had been to the colony, and after

making his observations, and labouring for a time as a preacher of the gospel, both among the colonists and the natives, had returned to the United States to improve his education, and qualify himself for more extensive usefulness. Having for two years previous pursued his studies at the Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and in other parts of New England, he was about to return and spend his life in the colony, proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ on the shores of Africa. He expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the kindness and sympathy he had experienced, and especially for the interest then manifested in the welfare of those with whom he was about to take his departure, and in conclusion offered a fervent address to the throne of Grace, which (remarks one who was present) "melted all hearts and gave evidence of his high qualifications for usefulness in the field to which he is devoted." Says the same person, "the touching incidents connected with the parting scene with this band of emigrants, will not soon be erased from the memory of any who were present, and the earnest request for the prayers of the pious, which they urged through Mr. Herring, ought not to be forgotten or unheeded."

Mr. James B. Herron, a citizen of Nicholasville, Kentucky, much interested in the welfare of the people of colour, and the success of their colonies in Africa, took passage in the *Luna*, resolved, even without compensation, to visit and examine for himself the condition and prospects of those settlements.

The full intention of this expedition was obstructed by a painful circumstance, which is best told in the following letter of Mr. McElroy, to a gentleman of Pittsburgh. "This morning I arrived in your city with sixty-five emigrants, destined to Bassa Cove, West Africa. Fifty of them were recently liberated slaves, liberated only, however, upon condition that they would emigrate to Liberia. To get these men, women, and children, rescued from slavery, I have laboured night and day for weeks past, with the threats of certain legatees hanging over me, and their fiercest opposition resting upon me. Yet, with the generous aid and countenance of some true friends of the coloured man and of freedom, I succeeded in collecting the above number from the two states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and thus rescuing them from coming bondage. And now, sir, it be-

comes my painful duty to announce to the public, that while engaged a few hours with some of the clergy of the city, in soliciting contributions of various articles of food, clothing, &c., to sustain the expedition till we should arrive at New York, certain white and coloured persons surrounded the emigrants, where they were busy packing up their effects, and making ready for their hasty departure, and decoyed away ten men, women and children, from the estate of Donelson, and four from Fisher's, leaving a very aged and infirm grandmother whom I had brought along only to gratify her children. Known and acknowledged abolitionists, white and black, were busy in this work of (what shall I call it?) kidnapping, or enslaving. To the public I owe a statement of facts in regard to those persons thus decoyed. In regard to the Donelson people, before they could be delivered into my hands, or sent from the estate, certain gentlemen had to sign a bond in a penalty of five thousand dollars, that they should go to Liberia; this bond is filed in court. In respect to Fisher's, their owner entered his own bond under a penalty of three thousand dollars. This money is liable to collection, and doubtless will be demanded as soon as this intelligence reaches Nashville. And further, I have in my possession a draft for eight hundred dollars, to be divided among the Donelson emigrants, not a dollar of which can be drawn until I certify, upon oath, that each one has embarked for Liberia, on some vessel chartered for the purpose. If one should refuse to go, the draft cannot be honoured. There is near four hundred dollars left to Fisher's people in the same way. But, what further adds to the malignity of this outrage, these people, who are thus led off by those so reckless of what they are doing, are free *only* on condition that they emigrate to Liberia. They have refused, and now it becomes my painful duty, my sworn duty, to write the heirs that they may come and demand them. It is to me painful because I have every reason to believe they will ferret them out. They assured me they would even at the expense of ten thousand dollars. Thus, while I and others have laboured for weeks to rescue them from slavery, in a few hours a mingled crowd of white and black, have rendered them liable to bondage as perpetual as it may be hopeless and cruel."

The above is not by any means the only instance in which

the abolitionists succeeded in their efforts to frustrate the labours of the society, at the expense of decoying back into bondage or a worse misery, the liberated slaves that were under its care. Miss M. C. Moore, of Hillsboro, North Carolina, a most excellent and pious lady, from motives of philanthropy and at a great sacrifice, had liberated eight slaves, for the purpose of colonizing them in Liberia. They were sent under the special care of a friend to the city of New York, and delivered over to the executive committee of the auxiliary branch of the society in that city. The ship being not yet ready to sail for Africa, the committee obtained lodgings for the emigrants in a respectable coloured family on Long Island, where they remained nearly three weeks, occasionally visited by some members of the committee, and coming at their pleasure to the city. They appeared contented with their situation, and cheerful in the prospect of emigrating to Africa:—but on the vessel being ready to sail, it was found that during the absence of the coloured man with whom they were at board, they had been decoyed from his house and secreted from the committee. They had written to Miss Moore, that from the reports which they had heard of the designs of the society, they “had become disgusted,” and had resolved not to embark, but would remain in New York.

The grief of this benevolent lady, their benefactress and former mistress, on receiving intelligence of the frustration, in one short hour, of a design upon which she had set her heart for many years, and for the effecting of which she had undergone much personal deprivation, appears to have been well nigh overwhelming. The following are some extracts from a letter which she addressed to them at the time. “You all well knew that for the last three years I have been struggling to set you free, in direct opposition to the advice and wishes of many of my friends; and when at length, through the kind assistance of my friend and yours, (Mr. Taylor,) I supposed my object nearly accomplished, you are just going to undo all, and reduce yourselves probably to a much worse situation than that from which we have been striving to deliver you, so that you might be free and virtuous and happy in the native land of your forefathers, the land best suited to you, and in which we believe you would be happier than in any other part of the

earth. I could not liberate you in North Carolina, but said 'if you will go to Liberia, you shall be free.' You all then thankfully accepted the offer, and two of you said you were willing to remain with me if I could not do well without your services. But I told you to go, that I would rather labour with my own hands for a support than to keep you in slavery. You ask me, in your letters, what I think of the Colonization Society; my answer is, just what I thought when I took leave of you in Wilmington. I do not more firmly believe that there is a sun in the firmament of heaven, than that the men engaged in the colonization scheme are *good* men, seeking earnestly to promote the best interests of the coloured people, both in this world and in that which is to come. You say there is 'death in the pot' in Africa. I tell you there is a great deal more 'death in the pot' in New York and Canada. I know more than you do of the climate of Canada; and if you go there I have very little hope that either Jane, or Hannah, or yourself, will live to see another spring. I knew perfectly well that you could be free in New York before you left your own State; and do you suppose that I would have made such efforts to send you to Africa, if I had not known that you would have done much better there? You well know that I have ever been the friend of the coloured people, and I feel an increasing interest in their welfare; and could I know it to be the will of God, I would not hesitate a moment to leave my native land and all that it holds dear to me, and go to Africa, to spend the remainder of my days in labouring for their present, in connexion with their eternal well being. If I should ascertain it to be my duty to go, will you go with me? Write as soon as you receive this, and answer this question."

Mr. James Brown, a very respectable colonist, whose name we have before mentioned, was this year elected president of the Town Council of Monrovia, an officer whose title and duties are equivalent to those of mayor or intendant, in the cities of the United States. Mr. Brown took a special interest in the subject of agriculture, and made a series of laborious experiments, and published several circulars, with a view to its promotion in the colony. He instituted an agricultural conversation club, also a fair and a museum. In a long and able letter to the Home Board, the main object of which is to recommend the establishment of a farming concern on Bushrod

Island, together with a manual labour school for the instruction of apprentices, he says, "I will repeat a few things for your encouragement. Corn has succeeded this year, beyond that of any former time; and cotton also. Messrs. Moore and Simpson brought out a few ears of corn from Mississippi, and as they could not immediately enter into farming, but had a desire to preserve the seed of this corn, they distributed it among the citizens, among whom was Mr. Randolph Cooper, of this town. Although his garden is not situated in a very choice spot, yet in about two months from the time the corn was planted, he presented Mr. Simpson with an ear altogether larger and better than the original seed. Mr. P. Moore, of Millsburg, tells me he has seed corn raised at Millsburg, and that he never saw larger or better corn in America. I have offered a dollar for one dozen of those ears, for the purpose of sending them for your inspection. The cotton above mentioned, has equally improved from the American seed, and comes to perfection in three months. I planted some seed of the English or green pea, in my garden, and in about four weeks they were fit for the table, and as well formed as any I ever saw. But why need I enumerate? I say now, as I have said before, almost every thing that grows in the United States, will grow here, and come to perfection in about half the time."

The whole internal economy of the colonial establishment appears to have been making steady progress—good order, and obedience to law being every where prevalent. We find accounts, this year, of the "anniversaries" of several religious societies, infant schools, and other public charities, that give the colony the appearance of a long established and well settled state of society—and in a good sized pamphlet, an example of their municipal legislation, which for phraseology and juridical merit, need not fear a comparison with the productions of much older states.

Most of the settlers had returned to Bassa Cove. They were assisted in establishing themselves by Dr. Skinner.—Soon after his return from that settlement, Thomas H. Buchanan, Esq., agent of the New York and Pennsylvania societies, very opportunely arrived at Monrovia. He landed on the first of January, with abundant supplies for the relief of the infant colony. After collecting the remaining emigrants from Monrovia, and the surrounding settlements, he proceeded at once to Bassa Cove.

The place selected for the new settlement was in a beautiful and healthy region, which had previously been the scene of a slave factory from which five hundred slaves had been monthly exported. During the last summer more than one hundred and fifty town lots had been cleared, and several houses erected for the accommodation of future emigrants. Several public buildings also were far advanced towards a completion. Not a death had yet occurred since the resettlement. "Our village, (says the agent) though so recently covered with a dense forest, presents a cheering picture of industry, neatness, and order. The well cultivated gardens, full of various vegetables, impart an idea of comfort and independence, while the broad smooth streets, shaded here and there by the palm, with its long feathery leaves, throw over the whole an air of picturesque beauty that is quite delightful. Generally, the emigrants are sober, peaceful, contented, and happy. Their number exceeds two hundred."

Whatever is said by a man having the conscientiousness and discretion of Thomas H. Buchanan, is entitled to the highest respect. Soon after his arrival at the colony, he thus writes:—"I find a state of things here altogether better than I had ever anticipated, even when trying to imagine the brightest side of the picture. But with my present imperfect ability to detect the errors of first impressions, I shall withhold the remarks which my feelings would prompt. I visited New Georgia, Cape Town, and Caldwell, on Tuesday last. With all these towns I was much pleased; but this term is too feeble entirely to convey the delightful emotions excited by the appearance of things in the two first named villages, which are the residence of the recaptured Africans. Imagine to yourself a level plain of some two or three hundred acres, laid off into square blocks, with streets intersecting each other at right angles, as smooth and clear as the best swept side-walk in Philadelphia, and lined with well planted hedges of cassada and plum; houses surrounded by gardens luxuriant with fruit and vegetables; a school house full of orderly children, neatly dressed and studiously engaged; and then say whether I was guilty of extravagance, in exclaiming, as I did after surveying this most lovely scene, that had the Colonization Society accomplished nothing more than had been done in the rescue from slavery and savage habits, of these three hundred happy people,

I should be well satisfied.” Nearly all the inhabitants of New Georgia, were professors of religion—and their town was a pattern of industry and cleanliness to the whole colony. Inter-marriages between them and the colonists were esteemed quite desirable on both sides, and frequently took place—while the marriage of a colonist with any one of the neighbouring tribes, was considered exceedingly disreputable, and subjected the individual to the contempt of his fellow colonists. The inhabitants of New Georgia this year petitioned the council to extend to them the full rights of a colonial establishment. “Again,” Mr. Buchanan remarks, “Liberia far exceeds, in almost every respect, all that I had ever imagined of her. Nothing is wanted, I am persuaded, but a better system of agriculture, and the permanent establishment of schools, to bring the people of Liberia, at a very early day, to the very highest point of the scale of intellectual refinement and political consequence.”

The labours of Dr. Skinner in the colony, notwithstanding all that had been done by his efficient predecessor, were exceedingly arduous and multiform. And in consequence of the addition of new labours at the re-establishment of Bassa Cove, and negotiations for new territory in the interior, his repeated exposures brought on an attack of fever, under which he was at length reduced so low as to be obliged to leave the colony and return to the United States. On his departure, the administration of the government devolved on A. D. Williams, the lieutenant-governor. This title, and that of governor, had, by order of the Board, superseded those of agent and vice-agent.

The wars among the natives, which continued with little interruption, subjected the colonists to great inconvenience. Natives under the protection of the colony, were sometimes seized and sold to the slave dealers, by whom every effort was made to set the natives against the colonists. Nearly all these wars grew out of the prohibition of the slave trade by the colonial authority. By the breaking up, this year, of the immense factory of the notorious Blanco, that trade was driven entirely from a vast extent of coast. “It is a fact,” says the *Liberia Herald*, “known to all who have made any inquiries on the subject, that there is not a regular slaving establishment to the windward of Sierra Leone, nearer than the Rio Pongas; nor is there in the Rio Pongas, as far as we can learn, an established market for the avowed purpose. Vessels casually purchase

slaves there, but there is no regular market for the purpose. Nor is there to the leeward of Sierra Leone, nearer than the Gallinas, a regular slaving establishment. Here, (at Liberia) there is an extent of coast of one hundred and twenty miles cleared of the scourge, by the influence of one settlement alone. Gallinas is the only slaving establishment between this and Sierra Leone; and to the leeward of us, there is none nearer than Bassa." According to this, from an extent of coast of three hundred and sixty miles, this trade has been nearly extirpated by the influence of the colonies, and this a region which it is said was visited formerly by a greater number of vessels engaged in that trade, than now touch there for purposes of legitimate commerce. It was partly in consequence of the loss sustained by the tribes who had supplied the dealers, and partly by the instigations of the disappointed dealers themselves, that these wars, in which the slave trading tribes sought to vex the tribes which were under the protection of the colony, were set on foot and encouraged. James Brown was sent to settle the difficulties between the Dey Kings, and between Boatswain and Jenkins. Messrs. McGill, Williams, and Whitehurst, returned from the mission into the interior, having proceeded as far as Bo Poro, about one hundred miles from the colony, and published the result of their labours in a journal by Whitehurst, which contains much curious and valuable information, and is a well written production.

In the latter part of April, information reached the colony, that a town belonging to a clan of the Dey people, under the command of King Softly, had been sacked, burnt, and the inhabitants carried off prisoners. A messenger was immediately sent, requesting an interview with the aggressive party. In the course of a few days the messenger returned, accompanied by Ynamby, the commander-in-chief of Boatswain, with an armed escort of forty men. Audience was immediately given, and a palaver talked, concerning the cause of the war. This Ynamby was a notorious character, recommended to Boatswain by some bold exploits, who accordingly secured his services as his head warrior. He was a noble looking man, about thirty-five years of age, considerably over six feet high, muscular, and well proportioned, with a proud and commanding front. Before opening the audience, he, with his warrior escort, went through a strange religious ceremony, accompanied by a wild

dance. Finding that a cessation of hostilities was desired by the agent, he made two or three attempts to ascertain whether the authorities were willing to pay for a peace. This he artfully interwove with a brief narration of his life, which for deep cunning and adroitness, would not discredit an enlightened diplomatist. The palaver commenced on the part of the colony by the agent: "I want you to stop the war. I want African man to live in peace." *Ynamby*: "My farrer die, he no give me nothing; my morer (mother) die, he give me nothing. I put cassado ground, he no come; I put rice ground, he no come; I go look camwood, I no find him; I go look ibery, (ivory,) I no get him. Dat time my farrer die, he gim me dis, (grasping his lance,) he say, here your money. Now, pose war done, what I do for money? I can git slave for work my farm. I can git plenty oomon, (women). Pose no war, I must put kinjar (a kind of wicker basket,) my back, all same slave. Dis time, I git plenty slave. I git plenty oomon; ebery time I send all my friend oomon, I say here your wife. Pose King Boson want for make peace, and I no will, he can no do em. Pose you send man for King Boson, for tell him no fight, he can ask me—Ynamby, you heart lay down? Pose I say no: he can no do em; pose I say my heart lay down, he can say war done."

Notwithstanding their troubles with the natives, and a temporary scarcity of provisions, occasioned by the native wars, the colonists continued to progress in the internal improvements of their towns and settlements. Monrovia contained five hundred well built houses, many of them of stone, and all with stone foundations and first story, besides docks, light-house and public offices. There were three stone churches, and as many large store warehouses, twenty trading vessels, and men in business, "who came not worth five dollars, now worth thousands." Nor were the colonists inattentive to their moral and religious advancement. We have seen, from the testimony of a thousand witnesses, that the inhabitants of Liberia are *peculiarly* a temperate and Sabbath-keeping people. Out of a population of thirty-five hundred at Monrovia, more than five hundred were professors of religion. Nearly all the settlements were this year visited with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, upon their religious assemblies, and many were hopefully converted. The fifth Baptist church was this year erected, making in all ten churches in the colony.

The first murder that ever occurred in the colony, was committed this year. A recaptured African, of the Congo tribe, named Joe Waldburgh, was murdered by an Ebo, named John Demony, at the instigation of Waldburgh's wife. The crime was marked by the most aggravating circumstances. The parties were tried, Governor Skinner presiding, and condemned to be hung. The execution took place on the 22d of July.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas continued to prosper. From the commencement of this settlement in 1833, the society had sent out seven expeditions, containing in all about three hundred emigrants. The village of Harper contained about twenty-five private houses, and several public buildings; a public farm of ten acres had been cleared, and thirty acres were under cultivation by the colonists. Their influence on the natives was salutary: schools were established in the settlement, and the people were pronounced by their late excellent governor, Dr. Hall, moral, industrious, religious, and happy. This gentleman had resigned his office, and J. B. Russwurm, former editor of the *Liberia Herald*, was appointed to that station. In addition to the number of missionaries already engaged in this settlement, the brig *Niobe* from Baltimore, in December, brought out Thomas Savage, M. D., missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Rev. D. White and lady, of the American Board, Mr. James, a coloured printer, sent out by the same Board as assistant missionary, and Mr. David James, a coloured missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. Mr. Seyes, who had recently returned from a visit to the United States, and brought with him one white and one coloured Methodist preacher, writes under date of December 21: "I preached in Krootown this afternoon, to a congregation of Kroomen. I spoke without an interpreter, in broken English, compounded of the most common words of our language, and many that are peculiar to Africa, and which were familiar to me from my infancy. They listened to us with deep attention, and when we went to prayer, in conclusion, they came around us, and not content to kneel simply, they bowed down their faces to the earth. O let me urge it upon the church to have pity upon this intelligent and teachable tribe. O send us a missionary for Kroo Settra. They beg, they intreat us to send them a teacher—a man of God. We shall

make an additional effort to plant the standard of the Redeemer among the Condoes."

While Dr. Hall was Governor of the Maryland colony, he was a good deal annoyed by the pilfering propensities of King Freeman's people. In order to defend himself, he informed the king that he should hold him responsible for the thefts of his people. The king complied for some time, but the cases were so frequent and his authority over the tribe so easily eluded, that he gave up in despair, and applied to the Governor for the secret of the influence which made the colonists so orderly and obedient. On being informed that all his laws were manufactured by the Society's Board in Baltimore, King Freeman resolved to send his head-man, Simleh Balla, to Baltimore, to get him a book of laws made. Simleh, accordingly, took ship for Baltimore. He was introduced to the Board, and of course kindly received by them. He then stated the object of his mission in the following speech, as nearly as it could be written at the time:

"I be Balla, head-man for King Freeman of Cape Palmas. Him send me this country. I come for peak his word. Pose him sava book, I no come; he make book and send him; but cause he no sava make book, I come for look country and speak him words.

"Long time past, slave man come we country. He do we bad too much, he make slave, he tief plenty man for sell. By and by all slave man knock off. This time we no sell slave, no man come for tief him. All man glad this palaver done sit. Beside that we have plenty trouble. All man have to go for ship for get him ting, iron, cloth, tobacco, guns, powder, and plenty, plenty, little ting. Some time canoe capsize, man lose all him money. Some time he die, plenty water kill him, him can't come up. This hurt we too much, and make we heart sorry. By and by one white man come we country. He bring plenty black American man. Him buy we country—we give him land for sit down. Him say he come for do country good. Him build house—put all him money shore—make farm—make road—make all country fine. This time all good ting live shore—no more go ship. Ebery man can buy that ting him want. No money lose—no man lose. This make all men heart glad—make king's heart glad. King tell me, 'Balla, go that country, see how this ting be. Tell them people all we

heart say. Thank him for that good thing them do for we country. Beg him for send more man, for make house, make farm—for bring money, and for make all little child sava read book, all same America men.' I done."

The Board furnished a simple penal code, in language that the natives could understand. On reading it to Simleh, a clause limiting every man to a single wife alarmed him, and he expressed his disapprobation in the following language:—"No good for my countryman. (Why not, Simleh?) Me tell you. I got four wives. Spose I send three away, and keep Bana—she pretty—she young. No man give 'em rice—no man take care of 'em—they die—pickaninny die too—no good law that." There was so much reason in his objection that an immediate reply was not made to him, and after a short pause, he went on: "Me tell you. Spose that law no good law for me—well—that law good for my son—he pickaninny now—got no wife—by um by he want wife—I say, 'King Freeman say you only have one wife—so all men.' When I got my four wives I no sava that law. When my son get wife, he sava law—he do what law say. Yes, that good law for time come."

After the return of Simleh to Africa, the laws being adopted, and found to be popular and productive of the happiest results, the king applied to the Rev. Mr. Wilson to write him a letter of thanks to the Board, as follows:

"King Freeman to the Gentlemen of the Colonization Board of Baltimore—Naheveo. (Greeting.)

"Mr. Wilson be hand for me and Simleh Balla be mout for me for make dis book, but de word come from me own heart. He be true I send Balla for look you—he eye be all same me eye, and dat word he peak be all same he come out me own mout. You do Balla good when he lib at your hand, dat be all same you do good for King Freeman. I tank you for dat—Balla tell me you hab fine country—I believe what he say, cause he no fit for tell lie. I tank you bery much, gentlemen, for dem dash you send me. I like em plenty and go keep em ail de time. But I tank you berry much for them law you send me—he be good law and all my people go do him. Pos' I have dem law first time, I no go do fool fash all time—dis time I go make all me people do dat ting what you law tell me. I tank you plenty, gentlemen, for dem good law. I tell all man go

hear Misser Wilson talk God palaver, and yiserday so much man go till plenty hab for stand outside de house.

"Soon Balla go for Merica first time, me go long way bush, and tell all man say he must make fine road and bring plenty trade for Cape Palmas. Me heart tink say, he gwil do him soon.

"Me hear you say you hab plenty slave in your country. Me hab one word for peak dem. You must come me country, den you be *freemen* for true. Dis country be big and plenty room lib here. Pos' you come, I speak true, me heart be glad plenty for look you. Pos' any gentleman want come, me want him for come too—me heart glad for see dem too much.

"Me wod be done now. I tank you berry much for your dash and your law. I go lub you till me dead. Me send you one country chair for you look at. Me go put pickaninny country und for you see.

"A good child loves his father, he loves his mother.

"KING FREEMAN, *alias* PA NIMMAH."

It must have been truly gratifying to every benevolent heart to watch the progress of the cause at home, during this year. In almost every section of the country it was increasing in favour with the people. Auxiliaries were formed—large bequests and other contributions were made—the society was multiplying its labours—and the situation of the slave became everywhere the object of the most benevolent interest. The secretary of the society made a tour through the south and south-west, and was everywhere received with favour, and often with enthusiasm. Memorials, from several different quarters, were sent in to Congress praying for governmental aid to the cause. The project of a colonial collegiate institution was ardently taken up by the Young Men's Colonization Society of New York, and a large amount of money was raised for that object. Several associations were formed for the purpose of considering the condition of the slaves in this country, and with a special view to educating them and preparing them for freedom and colonization.

We shall close the history of colonization, during the year 1836, by an extract relating to Liberia, from the Sketches of Foreign Travel, by the Rev. Charles Rockwell, of the United States Navy.

"It was on the Sabbath, late in the month of November,

1836, that we came to anchor in the harbour of Monrovia. As the day is there observed as strictly as in a Scottish or New England village, we saw nothing of the colonists until Monday, though they must have been anxious to know who we were, and what news we had brought them. During our visits to the different settlements along the coast, our intercourse with the colonists was everywhere free and familiar, and apparently gratifying to both parties.

“Mr. Williams, who has for years been the acting governor of Monrovia, took the lead in entertaining us, and in doing the honors of the place. He was from Petersburg, Virginia, where, if I mistake not, he was once a slave. He has a peculiarly modest, sedate, gentlemanly deportment, and during his repeated visits to the United States, has, by his intelligence and good sense, justly secured the esteem and confidence of those with whom he has had intercourse. He came to Africa, as a clergyman of the Methodist church, and for a year or more was engaged in the self denying labours of a missionary among the natives, at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles in the interior. Under the title of vice-agent, he has for years been at the head (actively) of the colony, and as far as I could learn, has so discharged the duties of his office as to secure the confidence alike of his fellow citizens, and of the society from which he received his appointment.

“The secretary of the colony, who is also the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, was a native of Virginia, but was educated in part in Boston. He is a man of dignified and gentlemanly deportment, and an able, correct, and vigorous writer. He came to Africa at so early an age that his manners are those of one who has known no superior, and who has never been trained to cringe and bow to those who, from having a skin whiter than his own, might have claimed the right of lording it over him. Such specimens of the coloured race, I have seen no where but in Africa; and surely to those who take pleasure in beholding in man the image of his Maker, it were worth a voyage to that continent to witness so pleasing a spectacle. The different physicians in the colony, at the time of our visit, were also men of colour; and we met with individuals in other walks of life, whose intelligence, energy, and independence of character, would have done no discredit to any community.

“We were every where hospitably received, taking our seats

with the colonists at their tables, uniting with them in a public dinner which they gave us on shore, and entertaining them and their ladies on board our ship. The houses of the wealthier class are two stories high, of a good size, and with drawing rooms furnished with sofas, sideboards, and other articles of luxury and ease. Most of the colonists, however, live in houses of a story and a half high, framed and covered as in New England, and having, besides the chambers, small but convenient rooms on the lower floor, while the cooking is commonly done, as in our Southern States, in cabins distinct from the house, to avoid the annoyance of smoke and heat. In attending church at Monrovia, we met with an attentive and devout audience; and among the females it struck me that there was a larger proportion of silk dresses than is often to be met with in congregations with us. There is commonly preaching in all the churches three times upon the Sabbath, and once or more during the other days of the week.

“At a wedding party which I attended, there was a degree of form and etiquette, such as to remind me of the remark made by a foreign traveller, that the coloured people were the most polite class he met with in the United States. On the tables, to which we were invited, was beef, obtained from a small breed of native cattle which are very fat, together with mutton, ham, eggs, fowls, fine oysters and fresh fish, sweet potatoes, rice, oranges, bananas, and other tropical fruits, with excellent bread, pastry, and sweet-meats. The cooking was very good, having been done by those who had been trained in the first families in our Southern States. Among our young officers there were several who found in the colonies, old family servants of their own, or of their relatives and neighbours; and the feelings of interest and attachment that were exhibited in such cases, and the liberal presents made on both sides, showed that the meeting was far from being an unpleasant one.” The author next goes into a minute and most valuable account of the climate, soil, and productions, of the country, where we regret that our limits do not permit us to follow him. He agrees with the Rev. Mr. Wilson, himself a southern gentleman, that the rice plantations in the colony “were unsurpassed, or rather unequalled, by any he had ever seen before.”

Well may we reply with Dr. J. Breckinridge in a speech at an anniversary of the society in New York, in answer to the ques-

tion, What has been done? "We point to the history of that blessed institution planted by American hands. We point to temples reared to the living God on that dark coast, now bespangled with colonies clustering like a constellation of promise, and rising on the deep dark sea of Africa's woes. We point to revivals of religion, to the Spirit poured from Heaven, and giving the testimony of the God of the Bible to this good cause. We point to an enterprise begun and carried on upon principles such as God's word has announced, and his providence has openly sustained."

CHAPTER XXX.

VICE-AGENCY OF MR. A. D. WILLIAMS, 1837.

IN the recent death of the illustrious James Madison, the American Colonization Society had, with the American people, special cause for mourning. This great statesman, and "father of the constitution," had for years filled the office of president of the society, had been one of its earliest advisers, and one of its most ardent friends. One of the last, if not the very last, labour of this great man's pen, was a letter in recommendation of the principles of the society.

The vacancy occasioned by the death of Madison, was filled by the unanimous election of the Hon. Henry Clay. In signifying his acceptance of the office, this distinguished friend of the society, observes: "Regarding the American Colonization Society as the only practicable scheme ever presented to public consideration, for separating advantageously to all parties, the European descendants upon this continent from the free people of colour, the descendants of Africans, with their own consent; and of ultimately effecting a more extensive separation of the two races, with the consent of the States and individuals interested, I shall continue to cherish the highest interest in the success of the society, and will contribute whatever is in my power to promote its prosperity."

The operations of the parent society were somewhat crippled at this time, by the State societies, some of them, pre-

ferring to make independent application of their funds; and the planting of the new settlement of "Mississippi in Liberia," increased the number of separate colonial establishments in Liberia, to four. Some of these State associations preferring, as we have said, to act independently of the parent society, it became necessary that some plan of union should be agreed upon among them all. Such a plan was accordingly drawn up by a committee of the American Colonization Society, consisting of twelve gentlemen, mostly statesmen well known to the nation, of whom the Hon. C. F. Mercer was the chairman, and at a subsequent meeting was accepted by the Board. This plan of federal union, and the constitution accompanying it, was then submitted to the particular societies, all of whom agreed thereto, except that of Maryland. A convention of delegates was then proposed to meet at Philadelphia, in September of the following year. The proposition was favourably received, and a convention was held at the time and place proposed. Maryland still declining to become a party, the convention broke up, and at the succeeding annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, in which all the societies interested were fully represented, the plan of Federal Union was fully discussed, and, with little alteration, adopted. The society, from that time, has been in operation under the amended constitution for the united colonies, by the name and style of the Commonwealth of Liberia. It has been found, as predicted, that these changes in the organization of the society, have proved highly advantageous. The wisdom and power of the State societies, are thereby embodied in the American Colonization Society. The directors being now composed of delegates from the State societies, naturally feel a more direct responsibility than when appointed as formerly, and being distributed in the several States, are able to represent the views and wishes of the friends of colonization generally, and are an accessible medium of communication between the society and its patrons.

The charter through which the society receives its present corporate powers, was granted by the Legislature of Maryland, and passed that body on the 22d of March, 1837. The charter of 1831, held from the same State, was found to be defective in some important respects, and the rights and interests of the society had been materially injured in consequence. Having

applied in the first instance to the Congress at Washington, for a new charter, and being refused on the ground that Congress had not power under the constitution to confer it, the society turned again to the Legislature of Maryland, praying for the addition of new powers to their former act of incorporation. Their memorial was accepted and considered by that legislature, and on the 13th of May, 1837, a special meeting of the society being held at Beltsville, Prince George's county, for the purpose of considering the new charter, it was accepted.

In the reports which the secretary of the society made from time to time during his tour through the South and West, we find the following interesting passage, which, although not immediately bearing upon the history of colonization, yet has a collateral connexion therewith, and is possessed of so intrinsic an interest, that we cannot forbear extracting it. "In the respected family of General Owen, of Wilmington, North Carolina, I became acquainted with a native African, whose history and character are exceedingly interesting, and some sketches of whose life have been already published. I allude to *Moro*, or *Omora*, a Foulah by birth, educated a Mahomedan, and who, long after he came in slavery to this country, retained a devoted attachment to the faith of his fathers, and deemed a copy of the Koran in Arabic (which language he reads and writes with facility,) his richest treasure. About twenty years ago, while scarcely able to express his thoughts intelligibly on any subject in the English language, he fled from a severe master in South Carolina, and on his arrival at Fayetteville, was seized as a runaway slave, and thrown into jail. His peculiar appearance, inability to converse, and particularly the facility with which he was observed to write a strange language, attracted much attention, and induced his present humane and Christian master to take him from prison, and finally, at his earnest request, to become his purchaser. His gratitude was boundless, and his joy to be imagined only by him, who has himself been relieved from the iron that enters the soul. Since his residence with General Owen, he has worn no bonds but those of gratitude and affection,

‘O! ‘tis a Godlike privilege to save,
And he who scorns it, is himself a slave.’

Being of a feeble constitution, Moro's duties have been of the lightest kind, and he has been treated rather as a friend than a

servant. The garden has been to him a place of recreation rather than a toil, and the concern is not that he should labour more, but less. The anxious efforts made to instruct him in the doctrines and precepts of our divine religion have not been in vain. He has thrown aside the blood-stained Koran, and now worships at the feet of the Prince of Peace. The Bible, of which he has an Arabic copy, is his guide, his comforter, or as he expresses it, 'his life.' Far advanced in years and very infirm, he is animated in conversation, and when he speaks of God or the affecting truths of the Scriptures, his swarthy features beam with devotion, and his eye is lit up with the hope of immortality. Some of the happiest hours of his life were spent in the society of the Rev. Jonas King, during his last visit from Greece to the United States. With that gentleman he conversed and read the Scriptures in the Arabic language, and felt the triumph of the same all conquering faith as he chanted with him the praises of the Christian's God.

"Moro is much interested in the plans and progress of the American Colonization Society. He thinks his age and infirmities forbid his return to his own country. His prayer is that the Foulahs and all other Mahomedans may receive the gospel. When, more than a year ago, a man by the name of Paul, of the Foulah nation, and able like himself to understand Arabic, was preparing to embark at New York for Liberia, Moro corresponded with him and presented him with one of his two copies of the Bible in that language. Extracts from Moro's letters are before me. In one of them he says, 'I hear you wish to go back to Africa; if you do go, hold fast to Jesus Christ's law, and tell all the brethren that they may turn to Jesus before it is too late. The missionaries who go that way to preach to sinners, pay attention to them, I beg you for Christ's sake. They call all people, rich and poor, white and black, to come and drink of the waters of life freely, without money and without price. I have been in Africa; it is a dark part. I was a follower of Mahomet, went to church, prayed five times a day, and did all Mahomet said I must; but the Lord is so good. He opened my way and brought me to this part of the world where I found the light. Jesus Christ is the light, all that believe in him shall be saved, all that believe not shall be lost. The Lord put religion in my heart about ten years ago. I joined the Presbyterian church, and since that time I have minded Jesus' laws. I have

turned away from Mahomet to follow Christ. I do not ask for long life, for riches, or for great things in this world, all I ask is a seat at Jesus' feet in heaven. The Bible, which is the word of God, says, sinners must be born again or they never can see God in peace. They must be changed by the Spirit of God. I loved and served the world a long time, but this did not make me happy. God opened my eyes to see the danger I was in. I was like one who stood by the road side and cried, Jesus, thou Son of God, have mercy; he heard me and did have mercy. 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' I am an old sinner, but Jesus is an old Saviour. I am a great sinner, but Jesus is a great Saviour: thank God for it. If you wish to be happy, lay aside Mahomet's prayer, and use the one which our blessed Saviour taught his disciples, 'Our Father,' &c."

In another letter to the same, he writes, "I have every reason to believe that you are a good man, and as such, I love you as I love myself. I have two Arabic Bibles, procured for me by my good Christian friends, and one of them I will send you the first opportunity; we ought now to wake up for we have been asleep. God has been good to us in bringing us to this country, and placing us in the hands of Christians. Let us now wake up and go to Christ, and he will give us light. God bless the American land! God bless the white people! They send out men every where to hold up a crucified Saviour to the dying world. In this they are doing the Lord's will. My lot is at last a delightful one. From one man to another I went until I fell into the hands of a pious man. He read the Bible for me until my eyes were opened, now I can see; thank God for it. I am dealt with as a child, not as a servant."

By the establishment of the mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church near Cape Palmas, the whole number of missionaries in the colonies was increased to between twenty-five and thirty. The labours of these self-denying men were arduous, but they were not in vain. Two dialects of the neighbouring tribes had been reduced to a written form, and primers, catechisms, and portions of the Bible, published in both. The report of the Liberia mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, represents this as a year of unparalleled prosperity. "The fervent and united prayers," says that report, "with

which we commenced 1837, have not been in vain. The thousands of pious hearts among the Christians of America, which have been supplicating a throne of divine grace for Africa, have not been pleading for nought." Rev. Mr. Seyes, after his return writes, "It remains for me to add, that up to the present moment we are still the continued objects of divine care, and blessed with innumerable instances of God's loving kindness. Truly, my brother, 'the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage.' When I look around me, and see what a few months—a little more than one short year—have accomplished, I am astonished at the goodness and mercy of God. The work of the Lord goes on. Could you, could any of my beloved brethren in America, have witnessed the scene which my eyes beheld this afternoon, surely a fresh interest would have been excited for poor Africa. I preached to a congregation of Kroomen. They hung upon my lips, and listened with deep attention. I opened to them a brief history of the creation, noticing each day's work comprising the first week of time. I told them of man—how his Maker made him, how he blest him, but how basely he fell. At last I talked of Jesus, the blessed Jesus, and, O my brother, when we went to prayer in conclusion, and our beloved brother Chase, in a most pathetic and appropriate manner, addressed a throne of grace, they formed a semi-circle around us, and not content to kneel simply, they bowed down their faces to the earth. It was a most interesting and solemn time." "We have enjoyed recently two days of much pleasure. The brig Niobe arrived on the 15th, with emigrants from Baltimore, designed for Palmas. In her came as passengers, the Rev. Dr. Savage, Episcopalian clergyman and physician, Rev. David White, Presbyterian missionary, and his lady, and a Mr. Henshaw. These beloved brethren spent two days with us. It was a treat to us to enjoy their excellent society, and their fervent prayers. May God spare their useful lives."

The Rev. Mr. Wilson made an extensive tour through the interior, and was every where beset by the people for teachers and missionaries. The lights of humanity and religion were now gradually pervading the surrounding tribes, and had already effected a total cessation of human sacrifices, so common before the colonies were planted. Bob Grey, one of the principal chiefs at Bassa Cove, informed the missionaries that

he had frequently sacrificed victims under a tree still standing near Edina, and celebrated as the "Devil's Bush." A Christian church is now sheltered beneath the branches of that tree. These branches were, at one time, after a victory on the part of the neighbouring tribe, "loaded with the dripping horrors of a thousand decapitated and mangled heads." "We are gratified by the fact," says Mr. Wilson, "that the people under our charge and instruction, are now in great numbers suspending their ordinary labours and amusements on the Sabbath, and are avowedly determined for the future to be constant attendants upon religious instruction. Last Sabbath I preached to them in the open air; and, although this is with them the most busy season of the year, I had an audience, as it was supposed, of six hundred persons. At the close of the remarks, a venerable old man, of three score and ten years, rose up and smote upon his breast, saying, 'he has spoken the truth, and we never heard it before.' Next Sabbath I am to preach to them on a subject of their own selection: the evidence of the authenticity of the Bible, and the circumstances and manner of its communication to mankind. One week later," Mr. Wilson adds, "we conscientiously believe, that the inquiry has sprung up in the hearts of many of them, 'What shall we do to be saved?' Last Sabbath I exhibited to them some of the proofs that the Bible was God's book. The audience was about six hundred, and I do not know that I ever saw a more orderly, more attentive assembly. Next Sabbath I am, by request of a leading man, to tell them, as he says, 'all about Jesus Christ.' It was hoped that more than twenty of the natives have been truly converted."

In the colony, seasons of revival had been extensively experienced, especially at Caldwell. "I am told," says a female teacher lately arrived at Monrovia, "that at Caldwell there has been an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in the conversion of about forty souls, and the whole society here seems to be in a very prosperous state of religion." The desire for knowledge at Caldwell and New Georgia, was intense. "Brother Brown, of the former place," says the same writer, "has been here since our arrival, and gave a heart-cheering account of his school, in which he has about eighty scholars advancing rapidly. Many, he says, who began with the alphabet when he commenced teaching, are now decent readers in the New

Testament, are quite good writers, and are studying grammar, arithmetic, &c. He said he could have many more native children than are now in his school, if he could support them. The parents of as many as twenty native children had offered to bind them to him, or give them to him on any terms, if he would only take them under his instruction. The people of a native town, near Caldwell, are extremely anxious for teachers. A native town, called Jack's Town, near Monrovia, at which brother Seyes had visited, and taught the people, is advancing towards Christianity and civilization, insomuch that they have renounced their 'greegrees,' and refuse to buy and sell on the Sabbath." Of the number of converted natives, some of them were living in the families of the colonists, and had been trained to the knowledge of the Christian's God, while others were "right out of the bush."

On Sunday the 19th of March, the large house erected for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Monrovia, was opened and solemnly dedicated to the service of Almighty God. This was a durable and spacious edifice, built of stone, sixty-six feet long and fifty broad, made capable of containing nearly all the inhabitants of that settlement. At Millsburgh, the Methodist church had increased, this year, from eleven to sixty-three members. The White Plains Manual Labour School, near this settlement, has shared in the blessings of converting grace. One of the native boys at this school, received a visit from his father, and on being inquired for at a certain hour of the day to go to work with the other boys, was missing. The missionary found him in one of the upper rooms of the school house, anxiously pleading with his father, whom he had carried there, to "look for the American's God, and get his soul converted to Christ."

In the month of September, a public meeting was held by the citizens of Monrovia, for the purpose of declaring, and making known to the world, their free sentiments and opinions concerning the cause of African Colonization. This interesting meeting was addressed by several citizens of the colony, under a deep sense of obligation to the Colonization Society, and with an enthusiasm and eloquence worthy of the cause they had assembled to promote. Said one, "I arrived in Africa on the 24th of May, 1823; at that time the colony was involved in a savage war; immediately I had to shoulder my musket and

do military duty. The circumstances of the colony were trying in the extreme; but never have I seen the moment, when I regretted coming to the colony. My object in coming was *liberty*, and under the firm conviction that Africa is the only place, in existing circumstances, where the man of colour can enjoy the inestimable blessings of liberty and equality, I feel grateful beyond expression to the American Colonization Society, for preparing this peaceful asylum." Said another—"I thank God that ever he put it into the hearts of the Colonization Society to seek out this free soil, on which I have been so honoured to set my feet. I and my family were born in Charleston, South Carolina, under the appellation of free people; but freedom I never knew, until, by the benevolence of this society, we were conveyed to the shores of Africa. My language is too poor to express the gratitude I entertain towards the American Colonization Society." Said a third—"I came to Liberia in 1832: my place of residence was the city of Washington, District of Columbia, where I passed for a freeman. But I can now say I was never free until I landed on the shores of Africa. I further state, that Africa, so far as I am acquainted with the world, is the only place where the people of colour can enjoy true and rational liberty." Said a fourth—"I beg leave to state, that my situation is greatly altered for the better, by coming to Africa. My political knowledge is far superior to what it would have been, had I remained in America a thousand years. I therefore seize this chance, to present my thanks to the American Colonization Society for enabling me to come to this colony, which they have so benevolently established." The following resolutions, among others were then passed, as expressive of the sense of the meeting:

"That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the American Colonization Society has done for the people of colour, and for us particularly; and that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of colour: That this meeting regard the colonization institution as one of the highest, holiest, and most benevolent enterprises of the present day. That as a plan for the melioration of the condition of the coloured race, it takes the precedence of all that have been presented to the attention of the modern world: That in its operations it is peaceful and safe—in its tendencies

beneficial and advantageous: That it is entitled to the highest veneration, and unbounded confidence of every man of colour: That what it has already accomplished demands our devout thanks and gratitude to those noble and disinterested philanthropists who compose it, as being under God, the greatest earthly benefactors of a despised and oppressed portion of the human family."

"Whereas it has been widely and maliciously circulated in the United States of America, that the inhabitants of this colony are unhappy in their condition, and anxious to return,—*Resolved*, That the report is false and malicious, and originated only in design to injure the colony by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends; that so far from having a desire to return, we should regard such an event as the greatest calamity that could befall us."

At the same time a resolution was adopted expressing gratitude to the benevolent ladies of the United States, particularly of New York, Philadelphia, and Richmond, for their efforts to promote education in the colony, and testifying to the promising condition of the schools sustained by their contributions. The Manual Labour School, incidentally mentioned above, was established by the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was located at Millsburg on a spot of singular beauty, salubrity and fertility, under the care of the Rev. B. R. Wilson, and denominated the White Plains Manual Labour School, in honour of the liberality of individuals in White Plains, New York, who had largely assisted to found it. By the plan of the school, from thirty to fifty orphan or destitute children, either from among the colonists or natives, were to receive support and education. These children are to be bound until they are twenty-one, to the superintendent of the Liberia Mission, who is pledged as representative of the Missionary Society, to grant them ample means of living and of instruction in letters and the most useful arts.

The Rondoubt, sailed from Wilmington, North Carolina, on the 30th of December, and arrived at the colony on the 4th of February, with thirty-four emigrants, among whom were William Taylor, a young coloured physician, educated for the medical profession under the direction of the Board, and eighteen slaves, liberated by Dr. Shuman, of Stokes county, North Carolina, for whose comfortable settlement in the colony, he

made liberal provision. Dr. David Francis Bacon, recently appointed principal colonial physician, also took passage in this vessel.

It was found after the *Rondoubt* had been chartered, that her accommodations were not sufficient to carry out the full number that had been appointed to her. Lewis Sheridan, a free man of colour of great respectability, and an interesting company of his relatives and friends, who had made arrangement to embark in her, were obliged to postpone their departure to a more favourable opportunity. Repeated and earnest efforts were subsequently made to secure a passage for these persons, in other vessels to the colony, but without success; and the managers, unprepared in the reduced state of their resources to charter a vessel exclusively for them, finally assented to a proposition from the Pennsylvania Society to convey them to the settlement at Bassa Cove.

Dr. Bacon entered immediately upon his professional duties. The following is extracted from his communication to the Board, dated February 15th:—"I found the colony in a peaceful, prosperous, and healthy condition. The public prosperity, and general comfort have been greatly promoted under the faithful and active government of Mr. Williams, whose business-like management has effected a reform in affairs that has given me a satisfaction which I know the Board and all the friends of the colony will share, on perceiving the results as reported by him officially. In my own department I have found much that required active attention; for although there is not a single case of the common fever in the colony, (unless at Edina, from which I have not yet heard) there are in all this section, besides a few light cases of croup, about fifteen or twenty cases of chronic disorders resulting from debility, mostly in old broken down constitutions, which have been long suffering for want of the aid of a regular physician; the colony having been left entirely to the medical assistants ever since the departure of Dr. Skinner in September.

"The people in general I believe to be remarkably quiet, inoffensive and peaceable, more so than in any part of the United States where I have lived. Ever since I have established myself on shore, all have continued to treat me with the greatest attention and kindness; and since beginning my business here as physician, I have met with nothing but the most polite and

civil usage. My medical assistants in this quarter, Messrs. Prout, Brown, and Chase, have been very polite and attentive, and have promptly pledged themselves to become active and serviceable to the colony under my directions. Dr. McDowall left your service long since, and resides wholly at Bassa Cove."

The office of Governor of Liberia was unanimously offered to Captain E. A. Hitchcock, a gentleman from whose character and energy, great advantages were anticipated. Captain Hitchcock, however, felt constrained to decline the appointment. In the absence of the chief officer from the colony, its affairs had for a long time been very efficiently administered by Mr. Anthony D. Williams, Lieutenant-Governor, and in a manner highly honourable to himself, and conducive to the good order and general prosperity of the colony.

The policy of the society, to which it was driven under the pecuniary difficulties of previous years, namely, of sending out but few expeditions yearly, and those under special circumstances only, it was found advisable still to adhere to. Whenever, however, emigrants were offered, and their expenses defrayed from other sources, the managers rendered their aid. Two very interesting instances of this description occurred during this year. Mrs. Rebecca Smith, widow of the late John Smith, of Sussex county, in Virginia, having died, his administrator transmitted to the society a copy of his will. By this document it appeared that he had bequeathed to his wife all his slaves during her life; and directed that after her death they and their increase should be emancipated and sent to Liberia, giving to each of them a supply of clothing and one year's provision, exclusive of provision for their maintenance during the voyage. The testator farther directed that the expenses of removing and settling them should be defrayed out of his estate. These emigrants were fifty-nine in number.

In July, 1833, the Rev. John Stockdell, of Madison county, Virginia, died, having by will emancipated his slaves, thirty-one in number, for colonization in Liberia, and provided means for their transfer and settlement. The title of these slaves to their freedom being, however, denied by some of Mr. Stockdell's heirs, they found it necessary to assert it in a court of justice; and after considerable litigation, the contest was ultimately decided in favour of the slaves.

These emigrants, through the kind correspondence of Mr. Thomas Potts, administrator of Mr. Smith, and Colonel James W. Walker, executor of the Rev. Mr. Stockdell, together with a few others, amounting in all to one hundred, embarked on board the *Emperor*, which sailed from Norfolk on the 3d of December. The gentleman who attended to their embarkation says: "These emigrants are very orderly and well behaved, and I have no doubt will prove to be amongst the most industrious farmers that have ever been sent to Africa. They went off in perfect health and good spirits." The same vessel bore as a passenger, that generous and devoted friend of Africa, Dr. Ezekiel Skinner, returning to the scene of his former labours, trials, and sufferings, ready in spirit, if need be, to undergo them all again for the sake of the noble cause to which he had consecrated his life. Miss Mary Skinner, his daughter, accompanied her father, to assist him in his benevolent labours, and especially to take and preserve drawings of the plants and other interesting objects of the natural history of Africa. In the same vessel also, sailed the Rev. Mr. Barton, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In the month of January, the Mississippi State Colonization Society resolved to proceed in their enterprise of founding on the coast of Africa, under the general control of the parent society, a colony to be styled "*Mississippi in Africa*," and empowered the Rev. R. S. Finley to obtain donations and fit out an expedition to lay the foundations of this new colony. A tract of land had been purchased, under the authority of the society, by the late Governor of Liberia, Dr. Skinner, on the western bank and near the mouth of the Sinou river; and in the month of April, the schooner *Oriental*, Captain Richards, sailed with a company of emigrants from New Orleans, under the care of the Rev. I. F. C. Finley, as Governor, and Dr. I. L. Blodgett, Physician and Surgeon, to take possession of that territory. They arrived in due time at their destination, and commenced the new colony. Forty-eight of the emigrants in the Mississippi expedition were slaves who had been emancipated, upon condition of colonizing, by the will of the late Major Nicholas Edmiston, of Tennessee. They were very generously provisioned for the voyage, and carried with them besides, some thousands of dollars. In the same company were two children who had never been the property of Major

Edmiston. Their mother had been a servant of Colonel R. H. McEwen, of Nashville, and wished to be sold to Major Edmiston for the sake of being in the same family with her husband. Major Edmiston readily agreed to purchase her, but declined taking her two boys. The lads, consequently, remained in the family of Colonel McEwen, till their mother, with the other servants of Major Edmiston, started to New Orleans on their way to Africa. At the mother's request her sons were immediately emancipated by their master, furnished with clothing sufficient for two years, and abundantly provisioned for the voyage. Nor did the kindness of Colonel McEwen to these lads cease here, for after their embarkation for Africa, his care followed them across the ocean, with a solicitude for their welfare, which we in the North, whose relations to the black man are of such a kind that we can never come "in locum parentis" towards them, can hardly understand. The State Colonization Society of Louisiana, resolved about the same time, to plant a similar colony in Africa; and each of the societies determined to raise twenty thousand dollars a year for five years, in order to carry out efficiently their benevolent designs. As in the state of Virginia, so also in those of Mississippi and Louisiana, the subject of colonization was now, and had been for some time previous, attracting especial attention, and was receiving munificent donations both in emancipated slaves and in money.

The report of the managers of the Maryland Society for the year 1837, gives an encouraging view of their colony at Cape Palmas. The population was about three hundred; and missionaries from four different denominations were established there. They had sent out in all, nine expeditions. Large acquisitions of territory had been made, and the State Society now owned both sides of the river Cavally, from its mouth to the town of Dinah, about thirty miles from the ocean. Full provisions were in operation for the education of the colonists; agriculture pursued as of vital importance; and a code of laws published by the society, well adapted to promote the ends of private right and public order and justice. In the summer, the brig Baltimore landed fifty-five emigrants at Cape Palmas. A majority of these were emancipated by the will of Richard Tubman, Esq., of Georgia, on condition of emigration, and ten thousand dollars bequeathed to the society for the expenses of their

emigration and settlement. They were of good character, and were experienced cotton planters. Many of them were acquainted with some trade. In November the same society fitted out another expedition by the *Niobe*, which sailed from Baltimore with eighty-six emigrants. In the same vessel the Protestant Episcopal Church sent out three missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Payne, and wife, and the Rev. Mr. Minor, to join Mr. Savage, who was at the head of their establishment at Cape Palmas. The emigrants by the *Niobe* were all from Maryland, and nearly all of them persons of known good character, who had been accustomed to labour, and left America under the conviction that their happiness and prosperity in Africa were only to be secured by persevering industry, and not expecting exemption from the toils incident to early settlers in a new country. It had been the wise policy of the Maryland society always to send out men of well known industry, and by keeping general native trade in the hands of the society, to make agriculture the main, and indeed, except in the case of mechanics, the sole occupation of the colonists.

The joint societies of New York and Pennsylvania continued resolutely and successfully to prosecute the enterprise at Bassa Cove. Portions of the state of New York, and especially the city of New York, had ever been active in the cause, and that city seemed to emulate and exceed every other, in devising plans and contributing means, for its promotion. The Charlotte Harper arrived on the 4th of August, at Bassa Cove, with supplies for the colony to the amount of ten thousand dollars. The passengers in this vessel were the Rev. John J. Matthias, who had been appointed Governor of the colony, and his wife; Dr. Wesley Johnson, assistant physician to the colony, David Thomas, mill-wright, Misses Annesly, Beers, and Wilkins, teachers, and Dr. S. Goheen, physician to the Methodist mission at Monrovia, and four coloured emigrants.

The thriving settlement of Edina, separated by the St. Johns river from that of Bassa Cove, was this year, by an arrangement entered into between the American Colonization Society and the Pennsylvania and New York societies, transferred to the latter society, the people of Edina consenting thereto. This was a favourable arrangement for both settlements, as it united their strength and identified their interest, while it lessened the expenses of their government.

Mrs. Matthias and Miss Annesly both died in a few months after their arrival in Africa, and within two or three days of each other. These pious missionaries were intimately attached to each other in America. Together they consecrated themselves to the cause of Africa, and together were called from the field which they had barely been permitted to enter and survey.

Under date, December 18, 1837, Governor Matthias writes from Bassa Cove, "There is not a finer climate for the coloured man in the world, nor a soil more fertile. It is now summer. The thermometer for the month past has ranged from seventy-nine to eighty-four, and the season will continue until May, during which period the thermometer will not rise above eighty-six.

"Although the '*Watchman*' has been pleased to ridicule our organization as a republic, nevertheless we are a State with all its machinery. The editor would be induced to change his views, were he to see our well dressed and disciplined troops, and their management of arms. I should venture nothing in comparing them with the militia any where at home. And our courts of justice, of sessions, and the supreme court, the clerks and sheriffs, with the prosecuting attorney, with great readiness and order performing their respective duties. To see members of council gravely deliberating on matters of interest to the commonwealth and good government, together with merchants transacting their business with skill and propriety, is truly astonishing, considering the short period since our organization. Our chief clerk, for example, one of the children taken by the enemy in Ashmun's war, and restored after a detention of some months, besides being able to write a beautiful hand, can in a twinkling cast up any account and make calculations, without pen or pencil, in the sale of articles, with as much accuracy as any of your merchants.

"I am preparing to go up the St. Johns, to hold a palaver with six or eight head-men and kings, for the purchase of their country. A great change has taken place among them; they seem desirous of being allied to us, for the protection of themselves against each other's aggressions.

"We have now as fine a court-house as there is in Liberia. Benson has finished quite an elegant house, and others are labouring not only to *stay* here, but to live. The government house is nearly finished. We have laid out the yard into

walks and grass plats; on the margin of the walks we have planted the cotton-tree and papaw. I have just returned from partaking in an agricultural dinner, not given by us of the government, but by the farmers. We had mutton, fish, and fowl, and a superfluity of vegetables. The table was set under some palm trees in Atlantic street; there were, I should judge, about fifty persons present. You need be under no apprehensions but that farming will go on. We mean to plant the coffee-tree throughout our farms.

"We have bought, of King Yellow Will, a large tract of beautiful upland. There are four native towns on it. King Yellow Will is, therefore, considered as allied to us by the neighbouring head-men and kings, who appear to be jealous of the honour and determined to share in it. They have sent me word that they would sell their lands."

"It is astonishing," says the late Governor Pinney, "to witness the influence of the colonies upon the natives. The natives look upon the colonists as a superior race of beings, because they possess a knowledge of social and political rights, and enjoy the blessings of a political community, reaping the reward of their own industry and enterprise. They seek to gain from them all the knowledge they can, placing themselves under the influence of their example whenever circumstances will permit them. There is, perhaps, as much difference between the colonists and the natives, in point of comparative intelligence, as there is between the whites and blacks in this country. Upwards of fourteen thousand natives, perfect savages ten years ago, have been brought under the subduing and benign influence of the colonies." But the influence of the colony operated not only upon the black man in its own neighbourhood. The remarkable case of the "Rio Expedition," though so lamentable in its issue, shows that the example of Liberia had begun to extend its influence even to far distant countries. Some time in the month of August, a company of two or three hundred blacks, living in and near Rio de Janeiro, who, by their industry and steady perseverance for years, had secured their freedom and acquired a considerable amount of property, chartered an English vessel to transport themselves and their effects to Liberia, which they had heard of and looked upon, as the only country in which they could hope to enjoy, and transmit to their children, their dearly purchased freedom.

This interesting company left the scene of their former degradation and suffering with high hopes, and with the good wishes of many friends, whose kind interest had been enlisted in their welfare. It is painful to think of the terrible disappointment of these interesting people. Their fate is involved in mystery. Nothing has been heard of them since their embarkation, and there is great reason to suspect that the captain and crew of the vessel betrayed them again into slavery.

Several new roads were this year laid out between the settlements, and into the interior. A weekly mail was established between Bassa Cove and Monrovia. The amount of revenue was thirty-five hundred dollars, and the amount of exports about eighty thousand dollars. The state of society continued to be orderly, and every where the authority of law was strictly regarded. The editor of the *Liberia Herald*, in a well written address to his patrons at the commencement of an editorial year, after lamenting the want of liveliness in the articles of his paper, and assigning, as one reason, the fact, that from pressure of business, he was compelled to do all his writing late at night, thus humorously introduces an additional reason, explaining the absence of piquancy and animation in his editorials: "Another most unfortunate circumstance, incident to our situation, is the sameness of events; the tameness with which things go on in their unbroken course. Here are no striking events with which to vary and enliven the dull and monotonous narration of ordinary life. No mobs, affording columns of matter in accounts of heads broken, houses rifled, magistrates resisted, laws defied, or any other of those brilliant events which generally mark the reign of mobocracy. To this degree of refinement, at least, the citizens of Liberia have not as yet arrived."

We shall close the history of the year 1837, with some extracts from the letters of the colonists and others, containing, as they do, the opinions and statements of eye witnesses, and those whose practice has been a faithful comment upon their belief.

We find at this date a letter of Mr. Samuel Benedict, a man of colour, who emigrated in 1835, from the state of Georgia. And it may not be improper to remark of him, that he was a man of superior mind. Without the advantages of education, he had risen, by the native force of his intellect, to a very considerable distinction as a scholar; by his industry, he had accu-

mulated a competent fortune, and by his integrity had secured the confidence of all who knew him. It may afford some knowledge of his tastes and attainments, to state, that upon his embarkation for Africa, he had in his possession a library containing such books as Henry and Clarke's Commentaries, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Rollin's Ancient History, Blackstone's Commentaries, with a collection of miscellaneous works on divinity, medicine, and law. He thus writes from Liberia: "Instead of repenting that I am here, although I was well treated in Georgia, I would not return to live in the United States for five thousand dollars. There is scarcely a thinking person here but would feel insulted, if you should talk to him about returning. The people are now turning their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and are beginning to live within their own means. I believe that a more moral community is no where to be found than in Liberia; and I never saw more religious enjoyment in my life. I hope that God will send us good inhabitants—men of piety, and intelligence, and pecuniary means—This is all that we want to render us a happy republic."

Says Mr. G. S. Brown, who went out as a teacher with the Rev. Mr. Seyes, and concerning whom the New York Christian Advocate remarks, that in his address at the farewell meeting held in Green street, he highly interested the people by the simplicity of his manner, and the amount of plain good sense he displayed: "Never was there a man more disappointed of one place, than I am of Africa; nor were there ever more falsehoods told of one place, than there are about Africa; for you know, sir, that it is a common proverb in America, that Africa is a 'land that eateth up the people.' But if it be so, then there has been a mighty resurrection of late; for the land is highly peopled at present. I have been here four months, but have not attended one funeral in all the time—the people are as healthy here as they are in America. We have heard it said in America that Africa is a dry and barren land. But the fact is, there are gallons of milk pass my door every day, and I get what I want. Nor have I seen one Anak in Africa, but the natives bow at our feet as if *we* were the giants. And now, if this is a 'land that eateth up the people,' I think it must be well first to 'eat up' some of the sweet potatoes, plantains, cassa-

das, bananas, beans, and cabbage, &c., which are rotting all around us."

We have also of the present date, the testimony of another individual, giving a statement of things, addressed to the colonists themselves, who certainly knew whether the things were so or not, and not directed to a third party; and which, from the experience of the author in the practical observation of different plans of colonization, is perhaps one of the most valuable pieces of history to be found in the later records of the American Colonization Society. It is contained in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Liberia Herald* by W. Hutton, Esq. This gentleman was the agent of the Western African Company. He had spent twenty-seven years in Africa, had visited nearly all the settlements on the coast, and in many of them had resided for several years at a time, filling offices of high trust and responsibility under the British government. His letter is dated, Monrovia, 28th October, and is as follows: "Permit me, sir, as an humble individual visiting your colony, accidentally, to congratulate you and its respectable inhabitants on the state of prosperity and happiness which you now enjoy.

"Having arrived in Africa twenty-seven years ago, during which period I have either visited or resided at most of the settlements on the coast, and have held some situations of importance under the British government in this country, my humble opinion of your colony may perhaps not be unworthy of notice. I will therefore proceed to give it to you without flattery or embellishment.

"Previously to my landing here, I had expected from the reports I had heard, to find nothing but a miserable little town, without either commerce sufficient to detain me a day, or an inhabitant to entertain me for a single hour. Judge then, sir, how agreeably disappointed I was on landing, to hear the friendly voices of the inhabitants inviting me to walk into their hospitable dwellings, and giving me assurances, which have since been realized, of barter for goods to the amount of several hundred pounds, and this too at a time when trade had long been interrupted by wars in the interior, and the day after a French vessel had carried off nearly ten hundred weight of ivory.

"I was not less gratified to find a picturesque and pleasant little town, (fully as quiet, and not greatly dissimilar to an

English country village,) with broad, well arranged streets, and good substantial houses, many of them built of stone, with glass windows, and the apartments large and convenient, well furnished, and neatly papered; these houses, delightfully situated on an eminence, commanding beautiful views of the sea, and surrounding country, and also of a fine river extending many miles into the interior, affording every facility to commerce, as well as a safe and convenient harbour for vessels of from sixty to one hundred tons burthen.

"In addition to these advantages, which few of the settlements on the coast possess, I am desirous of bringing under the notice of the public, the temperature of the climate, the excellency of the water, and the fertility of the soil. In your gardens, which are in good order and well enclosed, I have observed fine cabbages, cucumbers, parsley, beans, and other vegetables, as well as the most delicious fruits, such as pine apples, oranges, grapes, guavas, sour-sops, the African cherry, melons, and lemons.

"I must also do the inhabitants the justice to say, that they are a highly respectable, moral, intelligent people. Their superior intelligence, indeed, is sufficiently demonstrated in the columns of the *Liberia Herald*."

The colony was visited this year, by Captain Nicholson of the United States ship *Potomac*. This gentleman was under government orders, remained some time at the colony, and was at particular pains to ascertain its true condition and its wants. As this, indeed, was his official duty, in as far as any portions of the colony were under government supervision, he would of course be naturally led to detect whatever defects were existing at the time. His presence at Liberia is thus noticed in the *Herald*: "From Captain Nicholson the colony has received considerable assistance in the way of supplies. He seems to take a deep interest in the colony, and has been at no small pains to obtain an account of the true state of affairs. His report therefore, will be of importance to the colony, and we trust, cheering to its friends." We shall close this chapter with some extracts from that report.

"United States ship Potomac, Rio.

"To the Honourable, &c. the Secretary of the Navy.

"I have the honour to inform you that we arrived at Cape Mesurado on the 20th November, whence we sailed for Bassa

Cove on the 27th, and to make the following report of its state, as far as I could ascertain from my own observations, the reports of the authorities at Monrovia, and the information derived from the officers of the ship.

“Its elevated location was selected with judgment; it may be effectually fortified, and its anchorage is good. The population is about one thousand, and their exports amount to seventy-five thousand dollars annually, in camwood, ivory, palm oil, and a few hides; but at present their trade is much depressed in consequence of the wars among the natives. The forests abound with medicinal herbs, gums, and valuable wood of almost every description. About seventy vessels touch there annually, of which one third are Americans. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and the richest sugar-cane, are indigenous to the soil, and with encouragement and industry, could be procured in any quantities. The salubrity of the climate is found to increase, as the forests are cleared away. Vegetables of many kinds may be raised in plenty; and hogs, sheep, goats, and cows, appear to thrive. Fish in abundance are found in the streams, and it is generally admitted that a very comfortable subsistence can be procured by any man of moderately industrious habits. It is important that a greater proportion of farmers be sent among them, for on the product of the soil by their own labour must the settlers mainly depend. The settlement of New Georgia is certainly in advance of the others in agriculture. The schools at the settlements are generally well attended; the children make very good progress. The morals of the upper settlements generally stand fair. We arrived at Bassa Cove on the 29th November, and I have great pleasure in saying, that those who visited the shore were agreeably surprised at the progress that had been made in clearing away the land, laying out streets, draining a piece of low ground, and building houses, as well for the actual settlers, as for those who are expected. The commissioner, Mr. Buchanan, deserves more praise than my report may confer upon him, for having re-established this settlement. Eleven months only have elapsed since Bassa Cove was a dense wilderness, and it now exhibits the evidence of a thriving village, and of an industrious people, obedient to the laws, and understanding their interests in maintaining them. The schools appear to be well attended by adults and children, of which the necessary good effects will be felt in their moral

influence over the natives. The population of Bassa Cove is about one hundred and fifty souls, occupying forty dwelling houses, effectually defended by well placed pieces of artillery. The good understanding with the natives had been occasionally interrupted by the influence of the slavers; but on the appearance of this ship all differences were settled by a treaty between Mr. Buchanan and the neighbouring Princes, or Headmen, obliging themselves to renounce the slave trade for ever, and to be obedient to the laws of the colony, as far as applicable to their condition. The colonists at Cape Palmas appear to have profited by the wars of the older colonists, in avoiding as yet all trade with the natives of the interior, and devoting their whole energies to agriculture. They have already in cultivation forty-seven farms, generally of five acres, on most of which the proprietors reside; and a model farm of fifty acres partly under cultivation. There are two native towns, of two thousand inhabitants, between Harper and the Farms, under the command of King Freeman; but the colonists appear to be on very good terms with all the kings and people of the neighbourhood, and I cannot refrain from expressing my agreeable surprise at the evidence of industry and foresight that was exhibited throughout the settlements. The ship was visited by King Freeman and King War; the latter is at the head of a powerful tribe in the interior. They were so much astonished at her size, that for want of language to convey their impressions to their friends, they measured her length and breadth with fishing lines. The only missionary establishment I had an opportunity of visiting was that of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who has about one hundred of the native children of different towns under his charge, and a few adults. I was pleased at the correctness with which many of them read from English books; and as some of them are the sons of kings, and may be kings themselves in time, it is impossible to foresee the happy effect upon the civilization of the Africans, that may be produced by this school. The respective colonies being much in want of arms, ammunition, &c., for their defence, received from this ship in accordance with the instructions from the Department, all the aid that their circumstances seemed to require. I would further say, that the colonies have now taken firm root in the soil of Africa; and though they may be depressed at times by adversity, yet by the gradual development of their resources, and the judicious assistance

of their friends, they must finally flourish, to be an asylum to the coloured man, and an honour to their founders."

By an authentic document in the nature of a report rendered this year to the "Boston Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Coloured Race," we are enabled to run a statistical parallel between the people of the colony of Liberia, in Africa, and the free people of colour in the city of Boston, in America. In Liberia more than one in every four of the inhabitants are church-members; in Boston, less than one in every seven of the coloured people are church-members. In Liberia there are five hundred and eighty pledged members of temperance societies; in Boston there is not one, as appears from the tabular view. In Liberia every child of sufficient age of the families of the colonists, was at regular school. In Boston the proportion was so small and so uncertain as to be really not comparable. In Boston a primary school for coloured children had to be discontinued for want of scholars. In Liberia fifteen schools could not satisfy the people, clamorous for the education of themselves and their offspring. In Liberia the inhabitants support, both by their pecuniary and by their literary contributions, an ably conducted paper—they can not only generally read, but can generally write and compose in a correct and manly style, as our quotations therefrom abundantly testify. In Boston scarcely any of the adults were able to read, "and of children so reported some discount must be made." In Boston "a majority of all classes of them attend public worship very irregularly." In Liberia the people are a "peculiarly church-going people, nor could love or money influence any of them to labour on the Sabbath." The coloured population in Boston had decreased one hundred and eighteen within the last five years, and the proportion of unmarried persons was truly appalling, if the canons of political economy on this point be true, and we have the right thereby to infer the moral condition of the people. The additions to the census in Liberia, apart from emigration, have been more than sufficient to supply the losses by death, taking into account even the unusual early mortality by war and fever, and no tabular view of the population has ever yet indicated any thing but a healthy and harmonious state of society among them. If figures, therefore, are proper data upon which to form a conclusion, surely no candid mind could hesitate long to decide in the light of the above illustration, which state of things in

the comparison, is most favourable to the development of the social, moral, and political condition of the African race.

In a reported speech of a gentleman connected with the Maryland Colonization Society, we find a more particular account of the origin and circumstances of Simleh Balla's visit to this country, than that contained in the last chapter, and as it contains some special colonization history, and is interesting on other accounts, we will gratify the reader by the following extract. "Simleh Balla was the head man, or chief warrior of King Freeman, one of the most powerful, sagacious, and artful kings in all the region of the coast of Africa. Of this king, the Maryland Colonization Society purchased a part of the territory on the coast of Africa, now called Maryland in Liberia. This purchase was effected at a very dear rate, according to King Freeman's estimate of such matters, though in truth on very reasonable terms. The first condition he made in his terms of sale was twenty puncheons of rum. This condition, however, was firmly resisted by the agents of the society, and King Freeman was not only induced to abandon it on the ground that the society could not traffic in so ruinous an article, but was prevailed on to discontinue the use of it among his people. The value of this article was fully made up in things more serviceable to the king and his people, and the purchase effected. It was obvious, however, that the king had been induced in his own mind to make this sale of his territory, with the hope of aggrandizing his kingdom from the superior wealth and intelligence of the colonists. But it was not long before feelings of a different character began to mingle with his reflections, and give direction to his purposes. The superior intelligence of the colonists, which first inspired him with a desire to make them his neighbours, from a view to his own profit, began now to assume a different aspect, and excite in him a fear that all this appearance of honesty and benevolence on the part of the colonists, might only be with the ultimate view of supplanting him in his kingdom. The anxiety of his mind, under these corroding reflections, may well be imagined. He anxiously sought to ascertain the truth with regard to the motives of the colonization enterprise, and the real object in seeking to be neighbours to him. *Why come so far?* was a question full of interest to him. He listened with profound attention to every explanation of this matter that could be

given. He heard with peculiar interest the accounts of America; the wisdom and power of the nation, the splendour of their buildings, and the magnificence of their public works in general, and, above all, the kindness of the people in sending back the Africans to the land of their fathers. These relations affected the king sensibly, but could not quiet his alarm, and only subjected his mind to still more painful alternations. In this state of mind, conversing freely on one occasion with his chief warrior, he said to him, "Balla, 'pose you go to 'Merica—you got my eyes—you got my mout—you got my ears. You see—you 'peak—you hear for me, you come back, tell me. What you see, I see—what you 'peak, I 'peak—what you hear, I hear. Den, all these things we hear be true, we be all 'Mericans—have 'Merica book, and all be good like dem." To this, according to Balla's own account of it, he said, "I go." His particular friends, and especially his four wives, vehemently beset him to relinquish his purpose for fear of being murdered in America. To them he replied, "I go if I die." Balla is described as being physically among the finest specimens of man—large, full, and just proportions of body—free, open, and intelligent countenance, with a quick, penetrating eye, and alert manner of moving his head—as altogether a man of remarkable physical presence. He spoke in Baltimore, in broken English, receiving ideas with great rapidity, and making such improvement as indicated a very superior order of intelligence. The first sight of the city was confounding, and when he viewed it from the top of the monument, he was overwhelmed with emotion, and exclaimed, "Man no make all dis, God make him." His impressions on receiving the first correct ideas of God and the Bible, were remarkably natural and striking. His attention while one was attempting to convey to his mind an idea of the power and majesty of God, was intense. "Hah!" said he, "does God 'peak to you in dat book—let me hear him." He listened with an interest deep and profound, and at last made an exclamation which cannot be reduced to language, after which he asked this pertinent question—"Why he no send African man dat book too?"

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE COLONY IN 1838.

AT the twenty-second annual meeting of the society, held at Washington in December, 1837, the Hon. James Garland, Esq., of Virginia, addressed the meeting in an eloquent speech, of which the following extract contains the prefatory remarks. "Mr. President—I come from a slaveholding State, and from the midst of a slaveholding people. I was once a member of a colonization society auxiliary to this. I was its warm friend and ardent advocate, until the fanatical spirit of the Northern abolitionists manifested itself in a tone and in a strength, which threatened the personal security, as well as the rights of property, of the Southern people. I then became jealous; I strongly suspected that this society, looking beyond its professed objects, was secretly abetting the schemes of these fanatical crusaders, and encouraging them in their warfare upon the institutions and domestic rights of the South. With these suspicions I came here to be a spectator—a spectator, did I say?—not a spectator only, but a close observer of your operations, that I might determine for myself, whether or not my jealousy was justified by your proceedings, and whether my suspicions were well-founded in fact. The noble and patriotic sentiments I have heard advanced upon this occasion, both at the meeting last evening, and at this, by many gentlemen of the North, who are supporters and members of your society; the determined spirit which they evince, to defend the constitutional rights and domestic institutions of the South against lawless and fanatical violence, satisfy me that my jealousy and my suspicions were unjust, being unfounded in point of fact. I take pleasure in repairing the injury which I have done the society. I feel entirely convinced, that the only object of the society is that which it professes—the colonization of the free people of colour in Africa—an object which the philanthropists of the North and South may cordially unite in promoting. And I now con-

fess, that the only feeling of regret which I experience, is that of seeing not one Southern citizen participating in the deliberations of the society, except yourself, sir."

Not only had the virulence of abolition-hostility to colonization, which broke out anew at this period, thus brought the society into disparagement at the South, but it had also obstructed its progress at the North; and the Board, in their report of this year, lament the embarrassed condition of their finances, and state that these, and other causes, had reduced the receipts into the treasury, since the last annual meeting, much below those of several former years. In these circumstances, the society deemed it advisable to direct their whole energies to the labour of restoring the altered state of their finances. Accordingly no emigrants were sent to the colony during the year 1838, by the parent society.

Early in the present year, the managers consulted with many enlightened friends of colonization, who were members of Congress, then in session, on the exigencies of the cause, and on the adoption of measures for its advancement. Several public meetings in the national metropolis were, in consequence, held, and an address to the people of the United States, signed by many distinguished senators and representatives from different sections of the Union, inviting aid to the society, and assigning in brief but emphatic terms the reasons of the invitation, was extensively circulated. An appeal, emanating from sources so high in public confidence, could not fail to produce salutary results. But these were perceptible chiefly in an awakened interest throughout the United States, in the objects of the institution, and a disposition in quarters hitherto unfriendly, to listen to arguments in its behalf. The immediate pecuniary result was confined to the District of Columbia; and, though highly honourable to the patriotism and generosity of the contributors, was, of course, inadequate as a measure of relief from existing difficulties. That extensive benefit, in this respect, would have speedily ensued, had competent agents been despatched to the several States, was quite apparent. Vigorous and persevering efforts were accordingly made, as there had often before been, to obtain such agents; in every instance the compensation offered was as liberal as the nature of the service, and the condition of the society justified; and in a few cases it was deemed judicious to propose extraordinary inducements, in

order to attract to the service of the cause, talents and influence, of which the value had been tested in other situations. These overtures were met generally by hesitation; sometimes by rejection; and yet oftener, after a partial acceptance, they were ultimately declined; an indecision which accumulated embarrassments on the action of the Board.

At this critical juncture in the affairs of the society, the cause found a friend and benefactor in Judge Samuel Wilkinson, of Buffalo, in New York. This gentleman generously volunteered his personal services and aid to the Board to help them to extricate the society from its pressing embarrassments. He nobly offered to take the personal superintendence of its pecuniary concerns, and went so far as to pledge a portion of his own property as security for his fidelity. Judge Wilkinson was accordingly appointed general agent of the society for the whole Union, with authority, under instructions from the Board, to commission, instruct, or remove such agents as he might deem necessary; to fix the amount and the mode of their compensation; to receive and apply to the payment of the debts of the society, the sums which might be collected by himself, or the agents of his appointment; and to adopt and execute such other measures in aid of the great object of the society, as he might deem expedient; it being understood that he should keep the Board regularly and fully informed of his proceedings. Doubts existed as to the competency of the Board to delegate such essential portions of the trust which had been confided to them; but a crisis was believed to have arrived which necessitated, and therefore justified, measures of unusual strength. Representations of Judge Wilkinson's high character for integrity, of his energy and ability as a man of business, of his extensive acquaintance throughout the Union, and of his disposition to make extraordinary personal sacrifices in behalf of the cause, determined the Board, that if so liberal a confidence could properly be reposed in any individual, a fitter depository of it could no where be found. Judge Wilkinson accepted the appointment, declining any compensation for his services, and promptly proceeded to the execution of his duties.*

Before Judge Wilkinson accepted this appointment, he had conceived a plan whereby he hoped fully to test the

* Annual Report, January, 1839, Vol. XV. African Repository.

capability of black men for independent exertion and self-reliance, in the conducting and management of enterprises, and at the same time to make this a means of educating them to these qualities. He proposed to raise subscriptions for the purchase of a ship, to be manned entirely with black men, and to ply as a packet between Liberia and this country. "The first idea of this project," says he, "was suggested to me by observing that few coloured men in any section of our country are prosecuting any extensive business, but they are generally engaged in subordinate capacities, and in performing the most menial services. Feeling a great desire for the elevation of the coloured man, I embraced every opportunity afforded by several visits to the Southern and South-western States of making myself acquainted with the condition of both slaves and free people of colour, and their susceptibility of elevation in this country. I found among the slaves as skilful mechanics as our country affords. The Dover Iron Works, among the most extensive in America, are carried on by slaves, from digging the ore, and cutting the wood for coal, to refining the iron, and rolling it into bars and plates, and the extensive and complicated machinery kept in the most perfect order. The mechanic labour on the plantations in the Southern States is usually performed by slaves. They are in fact the blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, weavers, and shoemakers, of the country, and their work is performed with skill and expedition. I am satisfied that the coloured man is as capable of acquiring trades as the white man, and that the reason he is so seldom found in the Middle and Eastern States carrying on mechanic business, is not for want of ability to acquire the knowledge and skill, but on account of the difficulties and discouragements incident to his condition, and which are alike applicable to all coloured men who seek to elevate themselves in this country. The merchant will not employ them as clerks; the mechanic will not employ them as journeymen; should he perchance find such employment, he applies for board and is refused—other workmen will not eat with him; thus he meets at the very outset in life with difficulties which he cannot surmount. He may have education, and mechanic skill; of what avail are they so long as neither can be profitably employed? He has no one to take him by the hand and help him onward—his heart sinks with discouragement—he must either steal, beg, or accept of menial employ-

ment—and instead of being surprised that so great a majority are thus employed, it is a wonder that more are not vagabonds. It may be said that all these difficulties proceed from the wicked prejudices of a wicked world—be it so—their effects on the coloured man are none the less calamitous, and ages may roll away before these prejudices are corrected, and generations of coloured men may pass away to the grave, while their professed friends are setting the world right. My project offers *present relief.*”

This project was submitted to the Board at their annual meeting in 1838. A vessel was to be purchased, to be sold to such free persons of colour as would agree to man her with coloured seamen, and navigate her as a regular packet between the United States and Liberia; and payment was to be made by the conveyance in her of emigrants from this country to the colonial settlements in Africa. The plan was received with general and warm approbation. It was received with signal marks of favour at the North, where it was formally recommended to the public, in an address, signed by distinguished Christians, philanthropists, and business men. Subscriptions to the amount of forty-four hundred dollars were speedily sent in; three thousand dollars by the New York Colonization Society, one thousand dollars by the New Jersey State Colonization Society, and four hundred dollars by individuals. On his own private responsibility, generously pledged, Judge Wilkinson immediately purchased for six thousand dollars, the ship *Saluda*, of three hundred and eighty-four tons burthen, a fast sailer, in good order, with accommodations for one hundred and fifty passengers, and well adapted to run as a packet-ship to Liberia.

Elliott Cresson, Esq., ever the ardent friend of African colonization, and already the liberal benefactor of the society, both by his pecuniary contributions and his gratuitous services in Great Britain, felt himself impelled by the urgent necessities of the cause, again to enter the field. This gentleman now visited New England, and was every where well received; and met with considerable success in raising funds, but more in arousing the spirit of colonization, which in those regions had become dormant.

The secretary of the society was also active in promoting the good cause in the Eastern States; and from the success of these efforts, it was rendered manifest, that all that was neces-

sary to collect funds in abundance, was to have a sufficient number of good agents in the field.

In New Jersey, a new impetus was given to colonization, by a convention of delegates from different parts of the State, which met at Trenton, established a State Colonization Society, and adopted various measures for promoting the cause, which were attended with signal success. That success is to be attributed, in part, to the able and indefatigable labours of William Halsey, Esq., who at considerable personal sacrifice, withdrew from the practice of a lucrative profession, and devoted himself to the service of colonization.

In Maryland, the only State of the Union which has hitherto made the colonizing principle part of its permanent policy, legislative aid enabled the society to act with conspicuous vigour and effect during this year. An expedition was sent in May, and another in November, to the colony at Cape Palmas. The last carried out a new accession of missionaries. They had, at this time, in and near the settlement, three regular missionary stations, of different denominations; indeed so eminently provided with schools and missionary operations was Cape Palmas at this time, that it began to be called the "Serampore of Africa." From the report of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Fund for Colonizing Purposes, and the society's report, it appears, that one hundred and forty new emigrants had been sent to this colony in the present year, making in all, nine expeditions; that the entire population of Maryland in Liberia amounted to four hundred persons; and that their colony was in a very prosperous and promising condition. By the former report it appears that two hundred and four slaves had been manumitted in the state of Maryland, during the past year, and that the whole number manumitted since the passage of the colonization law in 1831, was fifteen hundred and eighty-one. Throughout the entire South and South-west also, the colonization spirit was reviving. In Mississippi an annual sum of fourteen thousand dollars had already been subscribed for the benefit of the state society, in establishing its colony at Sinoe, under the general control of the parent society. The Louisiana state society also adopted measures preliminary to the establishment of another settlement.

The emigrants by the Emperor arrived in the early part of

February, after a prosperous voyage. The *Liberia Herald* thus notices their arrival. "These people have all been bred to farming, and we hope they will prove an important accession to the agricultural interests of the colony. The physicians of the colony being united and unequivocal in their verdict in favour of the superior healthfulness of the inland settlements over that of Monrovia, these emigrants have all been placed at Caldwell and Millsburg, an event which will put this opinion to the test. Our opinion is that either place is healthful. There is no earthly occasion that coloured people should die in establishing themselves in Africa. Let them only avoid the actual and obvious causes of disease, (which is neither more difficult, nor more necessary to be done here, than in all countries,) and they may live their three-score years and ten, and if they should have on their arrival, good cheer and plenty, they may even attain their four-score years."

In the early part of the year 1838, the Bassa Cove settlement received an accession of seventy-two emigrants, who came in the barque *Marine*, from Wilmington, North Carolina. This expedition was got up under the agency and superintendence of Mr. Buchanan. The emigrants were collected by this gentleman from different counties in the state of North Carolina. Forty of them were formerly the slaves of Mr. Elliston, of Elizabeth, in that State, who at his death provided by will for their emancipation, and left a considerable sum of money in the hands of his heir, to be appropriated to removing and settling them in some country where they might enjoy their freedom in undisturbed security. It was found that the county records did not contain a copy of the will; and in the absence of all legal claim upon the heir of Mr. Elliston, the only alternative was to appeal to his benevolent feelings and sense of justice. "This," says Mr. Buchanan to the society, "I am happy to say was not made in vain. As soon as he became acquainted with the character of the colony, and the unequalled advantages to be secured to his people by placing them under your patronage, he nobly resolved to give them up. For he had not failed to comply before with the generous intentions of their former master, through a selfish desire to profit by their continued servitude, but from an honest doubt whether their condition would be improved by a removal to the free States. In Liberia, he saw that freedom would not be to them an un-

meaning name, but a real blessing, and he hesitated not to confer it. He promised, also, to appropriate fifteen hundred dollars, as an outfit to them, on the sailing of the vessel." Several of the emigrants in the *Marine* were volunteers from among the free coloured people. At the close of a meeting held by the agent with some of these persons, a large number came forward and enrolled their names; others declared their intention to become citizens of the young republic, as soon as they could make the necessary preparations. One of them, a very respectable mechanic, of considerable property and great influence, expressed much regret that he was prevented by a large job of work on hand, from accompanying the present expedition, and declared that he should avail himself of the next opportunity to remove with his family to Bassa Cove.

A number of highly respectable emigrants were collected in the counties of Bladen and Brunswick; one of these, James Brown, from the peculiar circumstances of the family, deserves particular mention. The following interesting account of him is from Mr. Buchanan. "Brown was the favourite servant of an excellent lady, who had reared him, from a child, under her personal inspection. The interest which had led her to take special care of his infancy, and to watch with parental diligence over his early education, had grown with his maturing years into a firm and confiding attachment, and in her declining years he was her constant attendant, her adviser, her friend, and the staff of her old age. Under the good influence of his pious mistress, James, too, had become a Christian, and in the strict integrity of his character, and the faithful discharge of every duty, he illustrated the holy principles of his faith, and obtained the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. But his wife and children were slaves. He had married, early in life, the slave of a neighbouring planter, and now, when he saw his interesting family growing up about him, his cup of happiness was embittered by the reflection, that the wife of his bosom and the children of his care, were in bondage, and might at any moment be torn from him, by the will of another, and separated to a returnless distance. He heard of Liberia; and he immediately besought his mistress to intercede for the freedom of his family, and to send them and him to that country. At first, the feelings of the good old lady were wounded, and she wept at his supposed ingratitude in wishing to leave her; but when she

understood the full scope of his request, her generous heart responded to it, and she at once promised to use her influence in effecting the object of his wishes. In a few days, she announced to him her complete success in procuring the freedom of his wife and six children. Then having provided amply for their comfort on the voyage, she presented him with four hundred dollars, as an outfit, and prepared to bid him a final adieu. But this was a trial almost beyond her strength. The noble determination which had hitherto supported her, at the moment of its consummation, gave way, and, for a time, she indulged her grief in a flood of tears. But again the heroine triumphed over the woman; and she gave them a parting blessing as they left her to join the expedition at Wilmington. A gentleman who was present, told me, he never witnessed a scene of such touching interest, as the parting of that grateful family with their protector and friend."

It was in this expedition that Lewis Sheridan, a coloured man, who had acquired considerable property in North Carolina, and who bore the reputation of being a man of extraordinary mercantile ability, embarked. It was known at the time, however, that he went not as a decided friend to colonization, but more from dissatisfaction with certain State laws that had been lately passed. He located himself at Bexley in the Bassa Cove settlement, where he refused at first to subscribe to the provisional laws of the society, but afterwards yielded the point when he found that he could not persuade the colonists to join with him in a petition to have them altered; and commenced a farm of six hundred acres, upon which he employed over a hundred labourers. The only derogatory letter ever received in this country from a colonist, proceeded from Mr. Sheridan, soon after his arrival, and was extensively published in abolition papers. We shall take no further notice of this letter, except to refer our readers to the letter itself, and the answers to it of Governor Matthias and the Rev. Mr. Seyes, who happened to be in this country at the time, as found in Vol. XV. of the *African Repository*, pp. 33-44; and except to state, that the probable explanation of it is, that it was composed while the author was not only in a state of mental but of physical disease, and while momentarily suffering under the very natural feeling of wounded pride and mortification, arising from the fact, that Mr. Sheridan, as a colonist, was not received and treated with

all that deference with which he used to be looked up to by the people of colour in his own neighbourhood in North Carolina; and that it is altogether a thing of which Mr. Sheridan has long since deeply repented.*

In the month of March, the Mississippi State Society sent out an expedition by the brig Mail, from New Orleans, consisting of thirty-seven emigrants. These were a fine set of men, collected from that State, under the agency of Mr. Finley. A farewell meeting was held upon the deck of the vessel, and a final address made to the departing emigrants, by the agent. The farewell scene between the emancipated slaves and their friends, was one of tender interest. "One person," says a spectator, "whom we remarked particularly, was an aged man, with grey locks carefully combed over his bald crown, and a general appearance of self respect which comported well with his dignified deportment and brawny proportions, which gave together quite the impression of a patriarch, as he stood with head uncovered, surrounded by a group of the younger emigrants, listening with profound attention to their final instructions. But his own children, we were told, were not present. He has for several years endeavoured to persuade them to go to Africa, setting before them all the advantages which they would derive from the change. But less enterprising than himself, they have declined doing so, and he has at last resolved to leave them and visit the country himself, and persuade them subsequently by letter, if possible, to follow him. He is a man of considerable property, and has assisted several families besides his own in acquiring their freedom." Twenty-six of these emigrants had been set free by Mr. Anketell, who had taken much pains to prepare them for freedom and usefulness. The whole expedition was well provided with clothes, tools, and farming utensils. Working animals were purchased for them at the Cape de Verd Islands, and they commenced, immediately upon their arrival, with great cheerfulness the improvement of their farms, which they found already laid out for them. An agent had been employed to prepare houses, clear land, and plant vegetables, so that the emigrants, on their arrival, found good quarters, and an abundance of cassada, rice, and potatoes.

Their town, Greenville, is on the Sinoe river, five miles from

* This man died a few months ago.

its mouth, and about two miles in a direct line from the sea. This settlement is deemed as healthy as any part of the state of Mississippi, and the land is rich. The territory purchased by the Mississippi society is narrow on the ocean, widening as it runs back, and contains over one hundred square miles.

An event occurred in the autumn of this year which cast a gloom over the infant, but prosperous settlement of Greenville, and in some measure, disturbed the peaceful relations existing between the colonists and the natives. About the 10th of September the Governor left Greenville for Monrovia on business, as well as for his health. On his way he attempted to visit Bassa Cove. Landing about two miles below the settlement, he was robbed and murdered by the natives. The Governor seems to have placed too much confidence in a native whom he had with him, and to whom he had exposed the fact of his having a large sum of money about him. The faithlessness of this fellow in disclosing the circumstance of the money, no doubt occasioned the murder. This outrage led to a war between the natives and the settlers of Bassa Cove, who had one or two of their people killed, several wounded, and some of their horses destroyed. Previous to the news of this outbreak, the most cheering intelligence had been received from the Bassa Cove settlement, of their health, their temporal and spiritual prosperity.

In May the schooner *Columbia*, Captain Franklin, carried out thirty-six emigrants to Cape Palmas; making the tenth expedition of the Maryland Colonization Society to their settlement. At the same time the Board of Managers of that society held a meeting, and resolved to proceed at once to the business of procuring and establishing a regular packet to their colony. The fall expedition of the Maryland society brought out fifty-three emigrants by the *Oberon*, with Dr. McDowall, now the Cape Palmas physician, and Dr. S. F. McGill, his assistant, a coloured man, graduated at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire.

About this time the State Colonization Society of Virginia proposed planting a new colony, to be called the "New Plantation." Like the Maryland society, their managers, in their report, approve of the principle of independent State action. Some of the evils anticipated by many of the friends of the American Colonization Society in the establishment of separate

settlements in Liberia, independent of each other, and under distinct governments, began now to be realized. In reference to this subject Lieutenant-Governor Williams, in a communication dated May 8th, 1838, wrote as follows: "I regret to say, our neighbours of Bassa Cove and Edina seem to entertain the most hostile feelings towards the old colony, and every thing connected with it. They have manifested such a disposition as will, if continued, lead to serious difficulties between the settlements. The policy which the colonizationists are now pursuing is assuredly a bad one, and will inevitably defeat the object they aim to accomplish. Nothing can be conceived more destructive to the general good, than separate and conflicting interests among the different colonies. And this consequence will certainly follow the establishment of separate and distinct sovereignties contiguous to each other. If societies must file off, and have separate establishments, their very existence depends upon their union by some general and well settled relations. They might be so far separated as to have peculiar local and internal regulations, but they should be controlled by general laws, and general supervision, and be so connected as to move on to one object in harmonious operation." The editor of the *Liberia Herald* expresses his views on the same subject, in these words: "The formation of colonies along the coast, is beyond doubt, the surest way of breaking up the slave trade, as far as their influence may extend. But while we view with much satisfaction, the success of the colonization scheme, and the formation of new settlements, we would observe, that we deem it highly necessary that the several, and all the colonies now in existence, and those that may hereafter be formed, should be under the guidance of general laws; such a connexion would promote union, without which they could never prosper. Each settlement independently, should have its own laws and regulations for its internal government, like the several States of the Union, in America, and like them should be bound and cemented together by one general government, and by one common interest. Such a union, of so much vital importance to the future prosperity and peace of the whole, would elevate the character of the colonies in a degree to which they could not otherwise attain. By it moreover, their strength would be increased, as well as their permanency, according to a common but true saying, "*united we stand.*"

Instead of a few isolated settlements, often at variance with each other from selfish motives and conflicting interests, they would then present to the view of the beholder a number of small settlements, or States if you please, forming a rising republic in Africa of one people and of one language, after the model of the great union of America."

Some of the Dey people, residing on the Little Bassa, had forcibly taken colonial property from persons to whom its transportation to Edina, had been entrusted. On satisfaction being demanded for this outrage, the Deys readily agreed to pay for the property taken, also, to pay a debt due by them to the colonial agent, and to secure the payment in four months, pledged a portion of their lands embracing the mouth of the Little Bassa. The time of payment having expired, a commissioner was appointed to remind the Deys of their promise; but only a renewal of it was obtained. The colonization agent, acting in accordance with the spirit of his instructions to treat the natives with all consistent lenity, pursued persuasive measures to induce this tribe to comply with their engagements, for eighteen months without success, when he sent two commissioners to endeavour to bring them to an explicit settlement, who were instructed to make every exertion to conclude the matter amicably. But this, so far from arriving at any satisfactory termination, served only to manifest the most hostile feelings on the part of the natives. "Such equivocations and shameless disregard of all agreements," says Lieutenant-Governor Williams, "the character and well being of the colony forbade me to pass without a prompt and decided expression of disapprobation. Accordingly, in April, I despatched other commissioners, accompanied by an armed escort of seventy men, under the command of Colonel J. J. Roberts, to renew the endeavour of an amicable adjustment, and in the event of failing to do so, to take forcible and formal possession of the country pledged, in the name and behalf of the American Colonization Society. On the arrival of the commissioners at Bassa, they were for eight days amused by the same course of equivocation and evasion, which in this whole affair had marked the conduct of the natives, and on the eighth day they took formal possession in the name and on the behalf of the American Colonization Society, in right of the agreement entered into by the natives in relation to the debts. With

regard to the justness of the method in which possession was taken, there can be no question. The land had been forfeited eighteen months anterior to this event, by an agreement entered into by the chiefs and the headmen in solemn palaver. The only object in treating thus with them, was to prevent any future impression, if possible, that it had forcibly been taken away from them. After the matter had proceeded to such lengths, and demands had been made by this government, there was no alternative. To suffer them to equivocate, and to violate every agreement, would have been interpreted by them as weakness on our part, and would have certainly led to insult and aggression. As soon as the natives became convinced of a determination on the part of the Americans to enforce an observance of their agreement, they prepared to retire from the country. Fear, and fear alone prevented them in the last instance, from meeting the commissioners. Conscious of the unjustness of their own intentions, and of the impropriety of their own past conduct, no assurances of friendly dispositions could lull their suspicions so far as to allow them to place themselves in the power of the Americans.

“The Bassa people have all the treachery and dishonesty of the other adjoining tribes, and much greater numerical strength, and more personal bravery. A portion of the Dey country, lying on the north of the St. Paul’s, and of which the Board had ordered a purchase to be made, has also fallen into the hands of the colony. A shocking murder and destruction of property was committed in that country, on the person and property of an American settler, David Logan. This outrage, though committed by Mandingoes, and with whom in the affair the Deys had probably no connexion, was of too gross and daring a nature to be passed unnoticed. A palaver of the chiefs and headmen was called at King Willey’s in that country, and satisfaction demanded. They protested innocence, and declared that they were ignorant of the affair only from report. They were, however, reminded that it was a gross violation of a compact subsisting between them and the colony, by which they are bound to extend protection to all Americans in their territory, not only from the violation and imposition of their own people, but from all others; and further, that all matters of dispute in which Americans are parties, shall be referred to the Cape for adjudication. They were required to refund the

amount of property destroyed, and to deliver up the murderers; all to be performed within six months, which they readily agreed to, and pledged a portion of their country as security. We have every evidence that, at the time they hypothecated the land, they had very little either of intention or desire to perform the stipulations. They were willing to settle the matter by ceding a portion of their land. Severer terms we did not feel justified in imposing, and less severe, we did not think would secure respect for the lives and property of our people."

On the reception of these despatches from Lieutenant-Governor Williams, the Board directed an inquiry to be instituted into all the facts and circumstances of the transactions, called for copies of the contracts between the chiefs concerned and the colony, and in the mean time instructed Mr. Williams to refrain from taking possession of the territory pledged and forfeited, and to refund the amount of property destroyed.

By the same despatches of the Lieutenant-Governor, it appears that the native wars in the vicinity of the colonies continued to rage with unabated fury. Jenkins, a chief of the Gorahs, had made an irruption into a town of the Dey tribe, and captured and murdered about two hundred persons. This was nearly the last town of any consequence left in the possession of that tribe. The Gorahs seemed determined on the extermination of that unfortunate people; "and," says Mr. Williams, "there is every probability they will effect their purpose. Should they succeed in extinguishing the Deys, I cannot at present say by whom the country will be inhabited—whether by the Gorahs or Condahs. In either case, I fear we shall have troublesome, restless neighbours. The Condahs are already occupying a portion of the country, and it is reported there are now several barricades from the coast to Bo-porah. If this be correct, the Gorahs will find in the end that they have conquered a country, but not for themselves."

After the arrival of the last expedition, the Governor writes: "I am sorry that the sugar mill did not come. I have about six acres of promising thrifty sugar cane, which I am apprehensive will be lost for want of a mill to grind it. I am more anxious to succeed in manufacturing this cane, for the purpose of demonstrating the practicability of cultivating and manufacturing the article with comparative ease, and thereby giving an impulse to the business, than for the benefit to be derived

from it in this case. I am continuing to enlarge the sphere of cultivation on the Public Farm. On this subject I am happy to inform you there is an astonishing improvement in the colony. The spirit of agriculture is still on the increase; and each succeeding month finds greater encroachments by the hand of cultivation on the surrounding forest."

The reports of the different missions speak encouragingly of the progress of religion both in the colony and among the natives. "The society at New Georgia," says the Rev. Mr. Seyes, "prosperes, and the school is doing well. At a meeting of several days' continuance at this place, it was hoped that many souls were converted; and among them several natives. Our hearts yearned over them, while we adored the goodness of that God who thus convinceth us of a truth, 'that he is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.' A sweeping reformation has also gone through the town of Caldwell. Old hardened sinners, of whom their fellow citizens had but a faint hope, have humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, repented and forsaken their sins, and are now rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. Besides this, several natives have also been made the happy partakers of God's converting grace. Here let me remark, for the purpose of undeceiving a certain part of our friends in America, that though some of our native converts are right *out of the bush*, yet that many of them are individuals who have been residing in the families of the colonists, have been taught by them the knowledge of the Christian's God—have witnessed their pious examples, which have proved to them, savours of life unto life, and owe, in a great measure, their salvation to them as instruments in the hand of God. Away, then, with the notion, that the colonization scheme does nothing for the native African—that the missionary enterprise is confined to the emigrants, and that the natives benefit nothing by it. Let me stop the mouths of these gainsayers, by proclaiming the names of Johnson, Williams, Davis, Devaney, Philips, Tulliver, White, Willis, &c. &c., American colonists, in whose families native boys and girls have grown up under godly instruction and pious example, and are now converted to Christianity, and members of Christian churches in Liberia. Let me add, that in this respect salvation has come too to the mission houses within your mission in Africa, and boys attached

to our families and institutions have been born of God. Millsburg—what shall I say about this spot? The wilderness is blossoming as the rose. The solitary place is becoming glad, and rejoicing for them who have been sent to cultivate the hitherto barren field, and to diffuse light amid the gross darkness. And, thank God, the darkness is comprehending the light. O, sir, think what the Lord has done for us here. A society of eleven members, as reported little more than a year ago, has now grown to sixty-three. The White Plains Manual Labour School has been owned and blessed of God. We have among us converted to God, Africans, named J. O. Andrew, N. Bangs, John Clark, P. P. Sanford, &c. &c., and these already begin to recommend this holy religion to others.” We might follow this report throughout all the settlements in the colony, in all which the same hopeful appearances are manifest in their religious aspect.

From the letters of Dr. Taylor to the Board, we make the following extracts. “I have the extreme satisfaction to inform the Board that there is nothing like the indisposition among the people in this place (Millsburg, which had previously been without a regular physician) that existed when I came here in February last. There are on my sick list at the present time, in a community of one hundred and ninety-six persons, seven patients; out of this number, only two are of the company that came out with me. Two are old persons, for whom medicine will do little or no good. Two, an infant and its mother with a cold—and the seventh a man who was so unfortunate as to have his arm fractured. There is one singular fact which experience has taught me since I have been in Africa; and this fact is exactly the reverse of what has been the generally received opinion, both in America and Africa. The fact is this; that, if a man would enjoy perfect health in this country, he must take just twice as much exercise as would preserve health in the United States. I am fully persuaded that this is a true statement, from what I have experienced in my own case and what I have observed in others. The rains are now going off—we have a shower daily and nocturnally—the evenings and mornings are so delightful, that persons cannot content themselves in the house, who are in health. There is not a shadow of doubt, but that this place is vastly more suitable for acclimation, than any other colony in Liberia. My

patients are all convalescent—my patient, with fractured humerus, is doing well. In my treatment of the diseases here, I am guided entirely by the circumstances and situation of my patients. I prescribe for symptoms, not for names. Thanks to Dr. Lindsley for so deeply impressing my mind with the importance of this principle. If I was only an efficient botanist, I have a field before me that would serve me to explore during the balance of my life. A natural historian would find matter here to occupy his mind and pen, as long as he could live. I do not think that I have seen a greater variety of birds in the United States in twenty-nine years, than I have seen here in the short space of eight months. Morality increases astonishingly. Since I have been in Millsburg about sixty members have been added to the church. Was it not that an expedition is expected daily, and that it is the intention of the Lieutenant-Governor to send as many to Millsburg as possible, I think I should come over with them, just to convince many who stand in their own light, opposing the scheme of colonization. I want to let the people with whom I am connected, and for whom I feel interested, know that it is not here as some would have them think it is. I think that if the bitter opponents of the colonization scheme would only come to Millsburg and look at the prospect, and see that all that is wanting to make this a splendid place, and the people independent, is means, they could but say, I will give my support to this enterprise. Though I advocate the elevation of the man of colour in America, I am now convinced that this is the place where he can enjoy real freedom. With regard to the morality of this whole community, it is very good and greatly on the increase. Religion is flourishing. During the year there has been an accession to the Methodist church alone, of one hundred and sixty-one members. On the night of the 8th of January, there was a missionary meeting held, at which there were twelve preachers who belong to the Liberia Annual Conference. At this meeting, by subscription and collection, I think more than one hundred dollars were secured for the missionary cause in Africa.”

At a colonization meeting held in the city of Newark, New Jersey, Mr. Brown, of Liberia, made an interesting address. He was listened to with the deepest attention, and there was that about him which declared him to be, not only a man of

talent, but a man of sincerity and truth. He gave a cheering account of the social and moral condition of the people. He averred over and over again, that he knew of no settlements in this country, and he had travelled extensively, so free from open vice and immorality, or which enjoyed superior moral and religious advantages. His heart had been affected with the amount of intemperance and profaneness everywhere exhibited through our villages, but he had never seen a drunken man in Liberia—not one; and a profane word was rarely heard. “The truth is,” said he, “that men are dependent there upon their *moral character*.” The popular sentiment is a more effectual restraint upon vicious character, than the statute book, and when emigrants come in, they soon find that it is disreputable to violate the rules of decency and order.

“There is one subject in reference to Africa,” said Governor Matthias at a meeting in New York, “in which the people of this country have most erroneous ideas. I mean the climate. Many persons imagine that the thermometer always ranges much higher in Africa than in the United States, but such is not the fact. It is never higher than 86 or lower than 72, and tempered by a pleasant sea breeze, which so mitigates the heat, that with the thermometer at 86 the climate is delightful. Every one who possesses health, must enjoy life in Africa. Much had been said in relation to the unhealthiness of that portion of the country occupied by the colony. In answer to these objections he had brought with him a medical report of the mortality in Bassa Cove and Edina. From this report it appeared that from August 1837 to April 1838, the deaths did not average more than one per month, with the exception of the month of March, during which there were five deaths, three of which were of children only a year old. Amongst all the deaths which occurred during the period referred to, there was but one case of fever, and no case of a death occurring from disease peculiarly incident to the climate.” Governor Matthias next adverted to the manners and behaviour of the colonists, and said that the first time he opened the court at Bassa Cove, he was utterly astonished at the perfect order and formality with which every thing was conducted by the coloured clerk, sheriff, and jury; and that when the trials were over, several of the audience approached him and congratulated him on his appointment, in a manner which would have

been creditable to any people, no matter what their colour or country. In relation to the religious habits of the colonists, he could say, that in no part of the world was the Sabbath more respected. It was not only respected by the colonists, but even the natives had learned to respect it."

A letter of Dr. Goheen, a very respectable and well educated physician, attached to the Methodist mission at Monrovia, exhibits the most satisfactory evidence of the good character, contentment, and improvement of the settlers, as wonderful as it must be gratifying to every humane and Christian heart. It was remarkable in the case of Dr. Goheen that he entirely escaped every touch of the acclimating fever. This was quite unprecedented in the history of any white man that ever remained for any length of time in the country. Mr. Seyes explains the fact, when he says, "that while we attribute his exemption from disease, primarily to the kind interposition of a gracious Providence, it would be injustice in me, and an injury to those who come after, to withhold the fact, that such is the extremely temperate and abstemious life of Dr. Goheen, *in all things*; such his lynx-eyed vigilance at every minutiae which might invite disease, and his great self-denial in the use of what may be termed only the common comforts of life, that I wonder not 'the pestilence which walketh at noonday,' can find no spot in his system on which to rest even the sole of its foot." It may be well for white persons hereafter visiting Africa, to keep this in mind. We know that it was the same strictness of attention to diet to which the first missionaries to Cape Palmas attributed, under God, their health and preservation; and that they adopted such a regimen, not only after they had touched the shores of Africa, but by way of anticipation for a considerable period before they embarked from this country, and while on the passage.

Says Dr. Goheen: "It is a source of great pleasure to me to be able to inform you that all the colonies are in a prosperous condition. The vigorous exertions and anxious devotedness which characterize the efforts of the citizens to elevate and establish themselves permanently, in the possession of privileges, moral and political, almost amount to enthusiasm.

"The people are industrious and persevering in their attempts to gain a comfortable livelihood, temperate and economical in their habits, and appear to be really enjoying life.

"It is a mistaken idea, that among the colonists there are contentious and dissatisfied spirits, who long for the 'flesh pots of Egypt,' and desire to turn back and enjoy the 'proud man's contumely' in America. No, no; there are here no restless persons, nor any who would give up their possessions in Africa for any station, no matter however elevated, in the country where they cannot have equal rights, but must ever be looked upon as the dark and degraded sons of Ham. Many to whom I have put the question—would you prefer to return to America, and live bondmen as you have been? have replied in substance—no, sir, we would rather remain here, possessed of half the privileges and happiness that we now have, than go back and be reported freemen in any of the States.

"I have inquired diligently, and I have yet to find the first man who would leave Liberia for a residence in America, on any terms.

"This account you will find fully corroborated by the numerous letters written by the colonists, and sent to their afflicted brethren throughout the Union. I am aware that it is not credited by some; but if men are not themselves the best judges of their own enjoyments and feelings, and are not to be believed when they thus publicly testify of the blessings and comforts which they possess, I ask, what portion of this community is it that is better qualified to decide?"

Again, observes Dr. Goheen:

"It is utterly impossible for you to form a correct estimate of the amount of good that has resulted from the means thus far expended, unless you were here to observe with your own eyes the changes wrought. The man who was a slave in America is here a free citizen; the plebeian and the servant there, the lord of the soil here; there the degraded child of affliction, here the claimant and the occupant of the highest office in the gift of a free people. Here there are colonists of all professions and trades; governors, divines, lawyers, physicians, and mechanics. Here are those who possess wealth and live at ease; here the inhabitants enjoy all the comforts and luxuries of a soil the most fertile, well watered, and best timbered, that I have ever seen. And here permit me to ask, why do you colonization folks, in every address that you make, speak of the burning sands and barren shores of Africa? Because in the vast continent of Africa the Zahara desert is found? Where is the continent

that has no desert? Is there not a great desert within the territory of the United States? England, and other European nations, get all their ship-building and other timber from Africa. The coast from Senegambia, southward, presents an almost impregnable forest, which contains a much greater variety of trees than you have in the States, and also a sufficiency to supply the world for centuries. But, to return: there is here every possible inducement to prompt and stimulate the emigrant to action; a rich soil, a great variety of vegetables, and a ready market. The authorities of this town have recently established a market, which overflows with the products of the country. The comforts possessed by the farmers, mechanics, and merchants, far surpass the opinion that you would form of them, unless you could be present, to be received into houses splendidly furnished, and well provided with all the luxuries that are usually found in the possession of citizens of refined and populous towns.

"The moral and religious state of society, is very good; this is emphatically a church-going community. In this town we have a 'Moral Friendship Society,' a 'Union Sisters of Charity Society,' a 'Female Benevolent Society,' a 'Missionary Society,' a flourishing 'Temperance Society;' and to the above list, we have recently added a 'Liberia Lyceum.' The Lyceum is well attended, and promises to bestow much lasting good upon the citizens.

"From the above facts, it is evident, that your cause is a good one, and has been blessed and prospered by heaven's hand; it has found favour in the sight of God and man; it is fraught with considerations the most ennobling; it demands from every well-wisher of the human family his suffrage, and appeals directly for assistance to all Christian believers in the coming millennium."

Governor Russwurm, of Cape Palmas, concerning the new code of laws which had been with great care prepared for that colony, writes: "We are all much pleased with the new code of laws. The powers of the judges are well defined, and will save, among an ignorant community, much contention. I have not heard even a murmur against the code, though it strikes at the root of many preconceived opinions." He added: "The people are civil and orderly; no properly established law of the colony has ever met with open opposition; no violence has ever

been threatened to the lawful authorities. No instance of riot or general uncontrollable excitement has occurred, and no instance of open quarrelling or fisticuffs has come to my knowledge, directly or indirectly, since the first establishment of the colony."

The four settlements of Monrovia, Bassa Cove, Greenville, and Maryland, contained in all ten villages. The population had increased to five thousand, of which three thousand five hundred were emigrants from this country, and the remainder natives of Africa, mostly youth, who had come into the colonies to learn "'Merica fash," and make themselves "white men," by conforming to the habits of civilization, and becoming subject to their laws.

The commerce of the colony, though in its infancy, was already extensive. From eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars was exported annually, in camwood, ivory, palm oil, and hides; and an equal or greater amount of the manufactures and productions of Europe and America, brought into the colonies in return. Monrovia had a considerable coasting trade by means of small vessels built and owned by her own citizens; not less than twelve or fifteen of these, averaging from ten to thirty tons burthen, manned and navigated by the colonists, being constantly engaged in a profitable trade along seven hundred miles of coast.

The harbour of Monrovia was seldom clear of foreign vessels; more than seventy of which, from the United States, England, France, Sweden, Portugal, and Denmark, annually touching there.

Of the Temperance Society, formed in 1834, more than one-fifth of the entire population had become members. At Bassa Cove, and Cape Palmas, the sale and use of ardent spirits were prohibited by law. In the other colonies, the ban of public opinion as effectually prohibited dram-drinking, so that no respectable person would indulge an appetite so disreputable.

The number of churches had increased to eighteen: Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian. There were forty clergymen in the colonies, and all the churches not only regularly supplied with preaching, but religious meetings weekly held in the native villages.

Seven hundred of the colonists, or one-fifth of the whole population, were professed Christians, in good standing with

the several churches with which they stood connected. Sunday schools, and Bible classes, were established generally in the churches, into which, in many cases, the native children were gathered with those of the colonists.

There were ten week-day schools in all the settlements, supported generally by education and missionary societies. The teachers in most cases were coloured persons.

In some places, as at Bassa Cove, literary societies had been formed, on the plan of village lyceums in this country. With some were connected museums for the collection of natural curiosities.

At Bassa Cove and Monrovia there were public libraries for the use of the people. The one at the former place numbered about fifteen hundred volumes.

The colonies have a well organized and efficient militia. The officers and men exhibited a degree of enthusiasm in the performance of their duty seldom witnessed elsewhere; and on field-days their neat and orderly appearance, their thorough discipline, and the promptness and precision of their evolutions, commanded the admiration of observers, who had seen more famous soldiery. They had also a number of volunteer corps, regularly uniformed and equipped.

The government of the colony had now for a long time devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Williams. With the efficiency of his labours the Board were fully satisfied; and they frequently renew the expression of their general satisfaction with the ability, prudence, and economy of his administration. He was ever a faithful and laborious man, and it was well for the general interests of the colony that the departure of the last Governor left its affairs in the hands of one, who by his experience and ability was so well qualified to superintend them. But it was the opinion of the Board that the time had not yet arrived when the interests, present and prospective, of the colony would permit it to remain permanently under the government of a colonist. We took notice in our last chapter of the arrangement entered into between the directors of the different colonial establishments on the coast, with the exception of that of the Maryland State Society, by which they agreed to form themselves into an united government under the general direction of the parent society, under the name and style of the "Commonwealth of Liberia." At a succeeding meeting of the Board

and delegates, this plan was consummated, and a temporary arrangement was also made with the Mississippi society, whereby their late colony was received into the commonwealth. Under the new arrangement a general Board of Directors was established and appointed, and Thomas Buchanan, Esq., was appointed Governor of the commonwealth. About the same time Mr. Buchanan received his commission from the United States government, as agent for the recaptured Africans in Liberia. He embarked on board the society's ship *Saluda*, which also carried out some emigrants to the colony from New York and Norfolk. He was provided by the society with a large quantity of trade goods, agricultural implements, a sugar mill, &c.; also, means of obtaining, at the Cape de Verd islands, a supply of working animals for the colony. Government at the same time ordered a vessel to the coast from which the colony was furnished with a much needed supply of arms, ammunition, cannon, naval boats, and stores.



CHAPTER XXXII.

COMMONWEALTH OF LIBERIA UNDER GOVERNOR BUCHANAN.

With the year 1839 commences a new era in the history of the American Colonization Society. The Board announced with confidence, that there never had been a time, in the history of colonization, when there was so much to encourage the friends of this noble enterprise. In every section of the country a new and efficient interest was awakened. An increased spirit and activity began to show itself in all directions. The demand for knowledge, in the public, was greater, and there was a larger number of agents in the field, than had been at any previous time. This demand was answered, especially, by the eloquent and indefatigable Gurley, in Ohio, and other parts of the West and South-west, and by the philanthropic Cresson in New England. These ancient and well-

tried friends to the cause, and to humanity, were again in the field, silencing the rage of malignants, stopping the mouths of gainsayers, and every where by their arguments and their eloquence multiplying new and stimulating the old friends, in the cause. The attention of commercial men began, also, to be aroused to the importance of the colonies in view of their inexhaustible resources of commercial profit. It was shown that although the British government had expended more than thirty millions of dollars on the Sierra Leone colony, they still thought themselves fully recompensed in securing the trade of middle Africa, that a very large amount of British shipping was already employed in it, that large quantities of British goods were carried into the interior by colonists and native merchants, the most valuable and portable articles of produce being received in return, consisting of ivory, gums, and gold dust. In addition to these articles, a very large coasting trade was carried on in cam-wood, palm oil, teak, and other wood for ship building, besides an unknown variety of the most beautiful and valuable woods for ornamental furniture. Mr. Elliott Cresson, examined before a committee of the House on the foreign slave trade, in February, 1839, stated in answer to the question, "What will be the commercial and political advantages to the United States, from an intercourse with the colony of Liberia?" "Among the valuable articles of export, wax and spices are obtained in large quantities. The India rubber tree grows wild in the neighbouring woods, and ostrich feathers have been exported largely. Hides could be obtained in any quantities; so could rose wood, lance wood, and palm wood, and live oak of the best quality. One merchant in Philadelphia last year imported from the colony a quantity of pea or ground nuts, from which he realized the profit of twelve thousand dollars. Cotton, of a very good staple, is found there, and cultivated with great advantage as there is no frost there. And the articles desired in return, are those produced by American manufactures and agriculture."

In view of the almost unlimited resources of trade as offered by the African continent, commercial men might find it very much to their advantage to consult the chapters in Sir T. F. Buxton's work on the African Slave Trade and its Remedy, and Kennedy's Report, Twenty-seventh Congress, on African colonization, slave trade, and commerce. "It is very possible,"

says one of the most enlightened statesmen of our country, "in fifteen or twenty years, the commerce of Liberia will employ a greater amount of American tonnage, than is now employed in the trade carried on with all the northern powers of Europe, to whom we send ministers and agents, and of whose favour and proceedings we are so jealous on account of that trade." "The Americans," says the *Westminster Review*, "are successfully planting free negroes on the coast of Africa; a greater event probably in its consequences than any that has occurred since Columbus set sail for the new world."

The health of Governor Buchanan suffered severely for several months after his arrival at the colony; but this did not prevent him from entering immediately upon the arduous and complicated duties of his office. The day after his inauguration he commenced the tour of the colonies, and set himself at once to correcting whatever defects were apparent in the colonial system, and placed its administration upon such a footing, that from this time, if never before since the days of Ashmun, we perceive a dignity and order connected therewith which constrains us to yield it that respect and homage which it is natural for us to yield to every regular government. No one can read the despatches, or watch the measures of Governor Buchanan, without feeling at once that he beholds the evidences of a truly great and remarkable character. Almost his first public act was the seizure of a vessel under American colours that had long been hovering on the coast under circumstances which clearly evinced that she was a slaver, and sending her home for trial. This was a bold step, and one exposing himself to much personal risk; "but," says he in explaining this transaction to the General Agent at home, "could you see, my dear sir, as I see, the multiplied miseries that this devilish traffic is daily inflicting upon this unhappy country, you would, like me, forget every pecuniary consideration in your desire to destroy it. At this moment the whole country along the northern bank of the St. Paul's river is involved in bloody wars. Whole districts are laid waste; towns are burned. The old and the young who are unfit for the market, are butchered, and hundreds and thousands are driven in chains to the coast, or compelled to fly the country. Within the past month, a whole tribe, including several kings, have fled their country and come to us for protection. But I cannot tell you the ten-

thousandth part of the evil. Fire, famine, blood, and chains, are the necessary elements of the slave trade, and every conceivable combination of these elements are daily produced in this wretched land. O, my country! how enormous is thy guilt in this matter—how deep thy debt to poor Africa!”

By the same promptness and decision was Governor Buchanan actuated in reference to another measure connected with the same subject, and involving a question equally dubious and equally hazardous, at which ordinary minds would have faltered. We will narrate the circumstances of this occurrence in his own words.

“Little Bassa, as you are aware, has been for years the theatre of considerable business, carried on both by the colonists and foreigners, and the subject of colonial jurisdiction over the country has been the theme of much discussion here and in America. But, though the right of soil claimed by the government here last year was questioned by the Board, (and, in my opinion, justly,) I believe they have never forbid the right of jurisdiction, which has been clearly acknowledged as belonging to the colony in several treaties with the native princes and headmen. On my arrival here in April last, I assumed the right of our jurisdiction over the territory along the seaboard, *as to foreigners especially*, as indisputable, and ordered a slaver who had established himself there, to leave within a given time on pain of having his property confiscated. This trader had been some months here, and had been ordered away in November previous by Mr. Williams, the acting governor, and again a short time before my arrival, both of which orders he treated with contempt. To my message, however, he saw fit to return a very courteous answer, promising obedience, but alleging the want of a suitable vessel to remove his goods, and requesting time for that purpose. I replied that suitable time would be granted on condition that he desisted from the further prosecution of his business, and again positively forbade his buying or selling slaves while he remained there. About the same time an English trader established what is here called a factory for regular trade, and put a small amount of goods ashore in charge of a native factor. Him also I ordered off, and threatened the seizure of his goods in case of refusal. He treated my message with great rudeness, and positively refused to leave. The slaver in the mean time having obtained renewed assurances of pro-

tection from the native princes, began to enlarge his operations, by extending his baracoon, adding to his stores, and making every arrangement for a large and permanent establishment. And to my further remonstrances he now paid no attention, feeling himself too strong and well backed to fear my authority. In this juncture I could not hesitate as to the course to be adopted, and determined at once to maintain the rights of the colony at all hazards. My arrangements were soon made, and, without any previous intimation of my design, I ordered a military parade on the 18th ultimo at 7 o'clock, P. M. When the men were assembled, I stated to them briefly what had occurred, and declared my intention of proceeding immediately against those foreign violators of our laws. To my call for forty volunteers who were willing to hazard their lives in defence of the government, a ready response was given, and I had the pleasure of soon seeing my number more than complete. The next day I despatched an order to New Georgia for twenty-five volunteers, to be ready that evening if required, to join the Monroviens. These faithful fellows, (recaptured Africans,) who are ever ready at the call of their adopted country for any service, turned out to the number of thirty-five, and reported themselves ready for instant duty. I then chartered two small schooners, which, with the government schooner Providence, were to proceed with a supply of ammunition by sea, and be ready on the arrival of the land force to cooperate in such manner as might appear advisable.

"These measures were taken on Friday and Saturday, (the first intimation of the expedition having been given on Thursday evening,) and on Monday morning, the 22d ultimo, at 9 o'clock, the men took up the line of march under command of Mr. Elijah Johnson, (the veteran hero of the memorable defence of Monrovia,) and in a couple of hours afterwards the little fleet put to sea in gallant style, though a strong head wind and heavy current prevented their passing the Cape that day.

"Mr. William N. Lewis, the marshal of the colony, was charged with the direction of the expedition, and in the execution of my orders, (which were strictly of a civil character,) was only to employ the assistance of the military force in the last extremity. In my addresses to the men I took the greatest pains to impress upon them the idea, that the expedition was not for war or plunder, but solely to sustain a civil officer in the

discharge of an important duty. And I enjoined upon them the duty of orderly deportment, obedience to their officers, and the strictest discipline, particularly in reference to the property and feelings of the natives through whose country they might pass. When the men were formed in line, and ready to march, I found the number had swelled to about a hundred, so great was the enthusiasm in favour of the expedition.

“The wind continued unfortunately to blow up the coast the whole of Tuesday, and on Wednesday morning, to my consternation, I saw our small vessels putting back around the Cape, having been about sixty hours in vain attempting to get to sea. You may imagine my feelings at that moment; I can never describe them. The worst apprehensions for the fate of the expedition filled my mind. Thus deprived of the assistance of the schooners, their small supply of ammunition and provisions would soon be exhausted in an emergency, and they might be left in the midst of enemies without the means of resistance or retreat. It was at this moment of gloomy forebodings that Sir Francis Russel arrived and put the fine, fast sailing schooner *Euphrates* (a captured slaver,) into my possession. My plan was adopted on the instant, and, landing her captain and crew, I went on board with arms, ammunition, &c., and proceeded immediately in person to Little Bassa. Within two hours and a half of the time I received her papers, I had her under way in her new service, from the harbour. At daylight on Friday morning, the 26th ultimo, we were at anchor off Little Bassa, and before we could distinguish objects through the early dawn on shore, I despatched a canoe to learn the state of affairs, and to acquaint our people with the news of my arrival. In a few moments the opening day began to reveal a scene of thrilling and fearful interest. In the midst of a small opening in the forest about a hundred and fifty yards from the beach stood the baracoon, a circular palisade fence about ten feet high, enclosing some half dozen houses of native construction, from the sides of which we could distinctly see the flashes of guns following each other in quick succession, while from the woods around a continuous blaze burst forth toward the baracoon from every quarter. Here was war in open view closely and fiercely waged; but of every thing else we could only form conjectures. Whether our friends were in the baracoon or the woods—the besieged or the besiegers—was matter of the most anxious

doubt. Soon, however, we were relieved from one source of anxiety by the return of the Krooman, who had landed a short distance below the baracoon, and obtained information from the Kroomen there of the progress of the battle. His first words were, when within hailing distance, "Dem live for fight dare now. 'Merica man had baracoon—countrymen lib woods all round—fish men stay brack. Pose you go shore, Gobeno, you catch prenty balls." It was now a matter of some doubt what course to pursue. The Euphrates was well known as a slaver, and should we attempt to land in a body, our own people taking us for Spaniards coming to reinforce the enemy, would certainly fire on us, and perhaps retreat from the baracoon. To convey information to them, then, and learn their position and wants was an object of the first interest. An American seaman volunteered to carry a letter to the baracoon. I told him it was a mission of danger. He answered, "Never mind, I will go." Accordingly, I despatched him with a note to the commander of our force ashore. As I had foreseen, the appearance of the Euphrates had caused great alarm among our people, and when they saw a second canoe from her landing a white man, it was at once concluded that it was for the purpose of concerting measures with the natives for a combined attack on the baracoon. Consequently, Mr. E. Johnson made a sally from the baracoon to cut off the white man, and, most providentially, he had just landed and fallen among the enemy, who, discovering his real character, were about to despatch him with their knives, when Johnson's party rushed furiously upon them and compelled them to a hasty flight. The fellow who held the sailor, and who was busy with his knife at his throat, was shot down, and the poor sailor was thus happily released at the last moment. After the canoe left with my letter, I became so impatient to give those ashore our assistance, that I could not wait the return of the canoe, but, having watched her till she was beached, and knowing if successful she would have conveyed information to our friends before we could reach the shore, I mustered our little party in two boats and pushed off. The canoe returned first after we had started. The Kroomen seemed highly excited, and told us they had been fired upon in landing, proof of which was given by a ball hole through both sides of the canoe. As we approached the shore we could observe distinctly the movements and position of the

combatants. Both sides of the narrow path leading to the baracoon were lined with natives concealed by the close bushes, and the surrounding wood seemed literally alive with them. Along the path thus guarded by a watchful and savage enemy we had to pass; it was a fearful gantlet, but no man faltered. We kept boldly onward to the shore, each man with a loaded musket on his knee. When about fifty rods from the beach, a small party of five or six came out of the woods to fire at us, but without waiting their salute, I rose in the stern sheets, and taking deliberate aim fired into the group, upon which they scattered instantly without firing a gun. In landing I got cap-sized, but, though nearly drowned, I held on to my musket and carried it ashore safely.

“The revulsion of feeling among those in the baracoon from the greatest alarm at the approach of a supposed enemy to sudden joy on finding a reinforcement of friends with supplies of ammunition, and having command of the harbour, was, as may be supposed, extreme. Caps were thrown up, and loud and repeated huzzas greeted me as I crossed the threshold of the baracoon. For a moment all seemed to forget the presence of the enemy, and even the shower of balls which came rattling around them were unheeded in their eager rejoicings. But it was only for a moment; each man again rushed to his post and engaged with new zeal in returning with interest the heavy fire from the woods.

“I now ordered the houses without the palisade to be destroyed. Of these there were some fifteen or twenty which had hitherto afforded a fine cover to the natives. This work was accomplished with great promptitude, though the men were exposed to a galling fire while engaged at it. I then directed Mr. Johnson to take a party of thirty or forty men and make a sally into a thicket of wood from which we were most severely annoyed, and drive the natives from it. This duty he performed with his accustomed bravery, and cleared the woods, when a party of axemen followed and soon levelled it, so that we now had a considerable space on three sides clear of bushes and houses. The enemy kept up a continuous fire throughout the day from different points, though whenever we charged upon them they fled precipitately. At two different times I headed parties in these charges, and made excursions of nearly a mile through the woods and along the beach. We burned

two small towns which were deserted, but could not get near enough the enemy to do him much injury.

“Soon after my arrival at the baracoon, (as we had now quiet possession of the path to the beach,) I ordered the Kroo-men to commence shipping the property seized by the marshal; and this work was continued industriously all day, while the rest were as industriously fighting and guarding the Kroo-men in their labour. At dark we drew up the boats and canoes within the barricade, and closed the gates, when the firing ceased on both sides, and our wearied men were permitted a little rest, which was taken, however, upon their arms.

“The next morning at sunrise the battle was renewed by our indefatigable enemy, who gave us thus early a full salute from a dozen places at once. I occupied the upper story of a native built house, the walls and partitions of which were of matting, and afforded no other protection than that of concealment. At every discharge from the enemy their slugs and balls rattled through and through it like hail.

“This morning, Mr. E. Johnson led a party through the woods into an open rice field, where he encountered a considerable party of natives, and after a brief contest routed and drove them off, but not without sustaining some injury. He received himself two wounds, and three of his men were wounded, some in two or three places, but none seriously. An examination being now made of the state of our ammunition, I was astonished to find the stock growing low, so immense had been the consumption of this article during the last four hours. Fearing a scarcity, should the fight be continued much longer, as seemed probable, I determined to return to Monrovia for more. Accordingly, about noon I embarked in the government schooner Euphrates and sailed for this place. I arrived here at eleven o'clock that evening, and immediately gave orders to get the necessary supplies. The next morning our town presented an un-Sunday-like appearance. Drums were beating, soldiers gathering, the boats were plying on the water, and all was bustle and excitement both in doors and out. So great was the expedition used in the despatch of business, that at two o'clock, p. m., we had on board forty more volunteers, two field pieces, fourteen thousand ball cartridges, with all the necessary et ceteras, and were again weighing anchor for the scene of action.

“The reason of my taking such a reinforcement of men was, that information which I thought could be relied on had been given me on Sunday morning, that Lang, the Englishman whose factory at Little Bassa we had destroyed, had obtained the cooperation of the Prince of Tradetown, and was on his way to join the natives at Little Bassa. The character of Lang rendered this probable, and so many other circumstances concurred to corroborate the information that I could not doubt it. Every thing depended, then, upon our reaching the battle ground and making our arrangements first. Contrary winds, however, prevented our getting there until Tuesday morning, when lo ! about a mile before us appeared a large brig standing directly into the anchorage ground. Those of our party who knew Lang’s brig declared it to be her, and of course we had nothing to expect but a battle with her at once. I ordered the six-pounder to be cleared away for action, and the men mustered to man the boats for boarding. All was ready in a few minutes for the action, which seemed inevitable, when we had the pleasure to see the brig turning her head towards the leeward and soon afterwards she was out of sight. Whether it was Lang or not I have as yet not learned ; we saw no more of him. On landing I found the fighting had not been renewed after I left, and immediately I despatched messengers to Prince and Bah Gay, the two chief princes of the country, demanding the instant surrender of the slaves, (which on the approach of our party had been carried off by the slaver to the natives,) and requiring them to come in and make peace within twenty-four hours or expect my severest chastisement. These messengers returned in the evening, bringing word that Bah Gay and Prince would both meet me on the beach the next day with the slaves, and comply fully with all my terms. Having now completed the shipment of all the goods found at the baracoon, and sent our wounded on board the schooner, I proceeded to complete our arrangement for the homeward march so soon as the treaty should be concluded. The next day a white flag was displayed on the beach about half a mile from the baracoon, (now named ‘*Fort Victory*.’) I sent a small party out to meet it, who on returning informed me that Bah Gay was waiting some distance further up the beach, but was afraid to approach nearer. I immediately marched out with an escort of seventy men to meet his majesty, who, after a good deal of

delay, came forth from the bush where he had been secreted all the morning. About three hundred warriors attended him as a body guard, but in the midst of this host he exhibited the strongest indications of fear. Before saying a word he put into my possession two slaves, (one had been sent in the evening previous,) and informed me that the rest, ten in number, were in possession of Prince. After some conversation, in which he deplored in the strongest terms his folly in making war upon the Americans, he submitted to the terms of peace which I dictated, and signed a treaty which I wrote on the moment upon a drum head, acknowledging our jurisdiction over the country, pledging himself never to deal in slaves again, and agreeing to make full compensation for all the property destroyed by his people belonging to our traders during the war.

"The chief headman and about thirty of Prince's people were present, who declared most solemnly that Prince was on his way to the beach with the slaves. I told them if he came that day he should have peace, otherwise I should regard him as an enemy, and take the earliest opportunity of carrying war into his country.

"We then marched back to Fort Victory with our freedmen in the centre of the column. In the evening another slave was brought in with a message that Prince would be at the beach at daylight the next morning with the rest. Morning came, however, without bringing his majesty, and, after waiting till after sunrise, I ordered the encampment to be broken up, and the march to be commenced, and with the four freedmen went on board the schooner. After seeing the troops well under way, we weighed anchor and proceeded to Monrovia."

On the 1st of August the *Saluda* sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, with thirty-nine emigrants for the colony at Monrovia. The return of this vessel brought the most cheering news from all the colonies. The Episcopal mission at Cape Palmas, had been greatly enlarged, and a letter of the Rev. Mr. Payne gives a delightful account of the state of religion in that settlement. The Annual Report of the Methodist Conference also speaks of the great moral and religious prosperity within their bounds.

At home, a proposition was maturing for pushing the influence of the colony into the interior, by means of a public highway, and thus eventually obtaining a site for a mountain colony.

A letter from Captain Bell, of the United States brig *Dolphin*, contains a large amount of valuable and highly interesting information respecting the colonies. He observes, "that the most intelligent among the colonists are those who had been longest in the colony, and were formerly slaves. The editor of the *Liberia Herald*, (a man of talent and education,) the colonial secretary, the lieutenant-governor, the storekeeper of the colony, (a place of great responsibility,) were slaves; and old Colonel Johnson, the hero of five wars and many encounters with the natives, was also a slave. This last person was one of the first settlers, and, with eighteen men, defeated upwards of one thousand, during the time of Ashmun. This was the turning point of the settlement; a defeat would have exterminated every man, woman, and child in the colony."

Says Lieutenant Paine, "my opinion of the importance of the colonies, is quite changed from a nearer view of their actual state and capacities. I had supposed them weak, and their influence limited. I found them exercising a moral influence calculated to do more for the cause of humanity than I had believed possible, from the restricted means of the society in the United States."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WARS WITH THE NATIVES.

WE have spoken in a former chapter of the wars which were raging among the native tribes. The Dey tribe was particularly unfortunate in these wars, and the remnant of this miserable people being expelled from their country, took refuge in the colony. A number of them were living on some of the colonists' farms, near Millsburg, peaceable and safe as they supposed, under the protection of the colony, when suddenly a savage chief by the name of Gatoomba burst upon them,

wounded four in a dreadful manner, and carried twelve into slavery. The whole number, about twenty, would have been killed or captured, had not the people of Millsburg, providentially been alarmed by the reports of the guns, and gathered hastily to the rescue. As soon as the report of the alarm drum was heard, the marauders fled precipitately. An express was sent immediately to Governor Buchanan, informing him of this outrage, who immediately hastened to Millsburg; and as the people feared another attack from the dreaded Gatoomba, he took immediate measures to guard against it. The gun carriages were put in order, and an additional supply of small arms and ammunition were sent up, while the strictest watch was established in the environs of the town. Governor Buchanan, also, sent messengers to Gatoomba, with a letter demanding an explanation of his hostile conduct, and asking him to come to Millsburg and hold a palaver. To this message an insulting answer was received, and an intimation from the chief that he was prepared for war, and though he did not intend attacking the Americans, he would not allow them to interfere with him. Governor Buchanan was at Millsburg on the receipt of this reply, but he immediately returned home, assembled some of the principal officers of government, laid the matter before them, and stated his impressions, that Gatoomba, flushed with his recent success, would make a descent upon Millsburg, and that the only way to protect that place, as well as to vindicate the character and authority of the colony, was to anticipate him, and march without a moment's delay to attack him in his town. All the officers agreed with Governor Buchanan in this decision, but thought it better to send another message to him in hopes the difficulty would be accommodated without bloodshed. Without going farther into the detail of this negotiation, five messengers were sent to the town of Gatoomba, but as they approached the gate of his baracoon they were fired upon, and three of them were taken prisoners. In the mean time the Legislative Council assembled, and Governor Buchanan laid the whole matter before them, and a unanimous resolution was passed, approving of the course which had been adopted, and placing all the resources of the colony at his disposal.

Things remained in this state until the 8th of March, when suddenly Gatoomba burst upon Heddington, and would have

murdered all in the place, if they had not been in a measure prepared for it.

Governor Buchanan after the first assault had the precaution to send up to Heddington some muskets and a good supply of ball-cartridges, which were placed in the hands of the missionary, Mr. Brown, and at the moment of attack they were all loaded in his chamber. Two Americans from Caldwell, by the name of Demery and Harris, were fortunately living in Mr. Brown's family at the time.

On one side of the town was a large open field of cassadas, near which Mr. Brown's house stood. Here the attack was made about daylight, by some three or four hundred savages, led on in person by the cannibal Gotorah. As they marched through the cassadas, the whole field seemed darkened with them, and they set up a yell that made the whole forest resound. Demery and Harris quietly stepped out of the house and took their stand by the side of the picket fence, which surrounded the house, where with the most admirable coolness they awaited the terrible onset. The enemy came pressing on like a furious torrent, without order or caution, certain of glutting their fiendish passions in the blood of their victims; but when they had almost reached the fence their course was suddenly checked by the deadly discharge of Demery and Harris's muskets, which stretched several of the leading warriors on the ground. Before they could recover from their surprise, Brown opened upon them from an upper window, and for some minutes kept up a regular stream of fire upon the crowded and confused mass, which did great execution. Nor were his two brave associates idle after their first timely discharge. Scorning the protection of the house, they stood in the open yard, exposed to a perfect storm of slugs, spears, and arrows, and loaded and fired with great rapidity and precision. One of them happened to have a bag of buck-shot, which they poured into their muskets by handfuls, and the effect upon a crowd of human beings, at the distance of ten or fifteen yards, when every ball and shot must have told, may be imagined! Several times the savages gave ground under this tremendous fire, but as often returned with increased fury to the onset. At length, when the action had continued nearly an hour, and the little party at the house was almost exhausted and nearly destitute of ammunition, Gotorah made a desperate rush upon

them, at the head of his best warriors, towards one end of the house; he tore off some of the palings with his own hands, leaped the fence and pushed his way within ten feet of the door, where Harris stood alone and *without his gun*, which being discharged, and the enemy too near to reload, he had thrown down for the purpose of seizing an axe, which he supposed stood behind him; as he threw his hand backward to seize the weapon, only hoping to sell his life the more dearly, he struck a gun, which a moment before had been placed there by a wounded native of the town, and which most providentially, had a heavy charge of slugs and ball. With the eagerness of desperation he clutched it and wheeling, poured the whole contents into the body of Gotorah, who fell to the ground a mangled and hideous corpse. This decided the contest; the death of this famous leader struck a panic into the rest, and they made but few and feeble efforts afterwards to continue the fight.

At the time of this encounter, Governor Buchanan was at Bassa Cove, and an express was sent for him to return; on his arrival he found that the place had been fortified and a guard of thirty men placed, a renewal of the attack being dreaded.

The people of the upper settlements were thrown into a great state of alarm in consequence of this battle, and because it was reported that Gatoomba with a large force was about to make a descent upon Millsburg, and take vengeance for the death of Gotorah and his warriors who had fallen at Heddington. Governor Buchanan, from the circumstances of the case, deemed it his duty to bring the affair to a speedy termination; and he determined to make a sudden descent upon Gatoomba's stronghold, which was distant about twenty miles from Millsburg.

On Monday morning the 23d of March, he commenced preparations for his march, and on the next day he embarked nearly two hundred men, with arms, ammunition, and a week's provision, in boats for Millsburg. "Every thing," says Governor Buchanan, "was in readiness for the march, and the order was given to move at daylight the next morning, when news was brought me that a powerful chief from Bo Poro was at Mam-ma Town, at the mouth of St. Paul's river, with a large party of armed men. Whether his purpose was friendly or otherwise it was impossible to ascertain; but as there was considerable ground to suspect the latter

feeling, I thought it imprudent to leave him so near Monrovia in our absence. It was now ten o'clock in the evening, and I countermanded the order for the morning march, and started off myself with twenty armed men for Mam-ma Town, which we reached just at the dawn of day. The chief readily consented to accompany me to the camp, and to remain there during my absence on the expedition. Accordingly, we again embarked, the chief Go-no-nomina in company, and after a pull of six hours reached Millsburg. Thus we were detained twenty-four hours. Friday morning the 29th, we took up the line of march about sunrise from Millsburg: our whole force amounted to three hundred men and one piece of artillery. From this number are to be deducted some sixty Kroomen, employed as baggage carriers, and about forty native allies, who proved, instead of being useful, the greatest burden; so that the whole number of effective fighting men was two hundred. After dragging the cannon about six miles with incredible labour, through swamps and over creeks, we found it was delaying the march, and wearing out the men to such a degree that the object of the expedition would probably be sacrificed if we persevered in carrying it with us. It was accordingly drawn aside, and concealed in the thick bushes, and we proceeded without it. The rain fell in torrents throughout the forenoon, and we were all drenched and thoroughly fatigued, when at 2 p. m. we reached the ruins of an old walled town, that had been destroyed by Gatoomba in one of his old robbing excursions. There were several little huts standing, and as the ground was high I determined to encamp for the night, in order that the men might refresh themselves for the fatigues of the coming day.

"Our fires were kindled, guards posted, and after getting such a dinner as we could, the whole camp was soon disposed to rest. The next morning long before daylight we stood to our arms, and with the first gray light the line was formed and we resumed our march. The path was so narrow that we had to follow each other in single file—but to give you an idea of the other difficulties is out of the question. The rains of the two preceding days had swollen the streams and flooded the swamps, and the chief alternations of the route, were mud to the knees, and water to the waist. However, we struggled on as we best might, making only one halt about ten o'clock to get a morsel of breakfast, and give the men a moment's rest.

“It was about three hours after this, as we were ascending a long hill from a deep muddy ravine, that the enemy commenced the attack upon our front, from an ambuscade prepared by felling trees across the path where it made an abrupt angle. The first fire brought the brave Captain Snetter of the rifle corps, to the ground, mortally wounded—but his men rushed gallantly forward and dislodged the savages so quick that the march of the line was scarcely checked. As we could no longer hope to conceal our approach, the music was ordered to strike up, and we advanced more cheerily to the sound of the drum and fife. The remainder of the way, nearly six miles, they continued to annoy us from front to rear, the thick close wood giving them every advantage to shoot at us, while they were entirely concealed from view. I can conceive nothing more disheartening to the bravest men, than thus to be exposed to the fire of an unseen enemy, in a wild forest, where there is no chance of defence or retaliation. However, though several were wounded, not a murmur was heard, and the men continued silently and rapidly to push on to the point where the great struggle was to take place. At length the line was halted, and the word came from the front that we were near the town. The order of battle was then commenced, and we again moved on. In a few minutes a tremendous roar of musketry from the front announced our vicinity to the barricade. I ran up from the centre with my aids, Colonel William Lewis and General Roberts, to the margin of the open field, where we found two companies of the first division, under Colonel Johnson, warmly engaged with a party in ambush on their right, and also in front with the people of the town, who had opened a heavy fire from the port holes of the walls with muskets and swivels. By this time a third company had got clear of the woods and joined the combat. As soon as I saw the position of affairs, I ordered General Roberts to lead off two companies, as they came up to the left; and if possible, surround the town. He immediately put himself at the head of Captain Yates’ company of infantry, the only one that at the moment seemed available, and made a rush through the field, and around an angle of the wall towards the opposite side of the town. Yates and his men most gallantly seconded the General in this daring movement, under a heavy fire. The enemy seeing this rapid dash at his rear gate, became panic struck, and abandoning the contest, fled from the town, with the greatest precipitation, to the

woods; and we entered victorious at almost the same moment. I was with this little band, and had the honour of entering the barricade among the first. So sudden and unexpected was the capture of the town, that the men on the opposite side continued the fire, and for some minutes we were in great danger from their bullets. Captain Charles Johnson, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Richardson, of the rifle corps, were seriously injured in the engagement; also a young man from Caldwell, mortally. It is impossible to express my admiration of the courage and good conduct of all engaged in this most important expedition. I might specify many who fought under my own eye as having distinguished themselves, but this would be unjust to the large number who, in other parts of the field, acquitted themselves equally well. One word I must say of the wounded, however; they fell in the front rank with their faces to the fire, fighting bravely."

By this bold and energetic measure, Governor Buchanan entirely prostrated the strength of Gatoomba. These hostilities, which terminated in favour of the colony, caused the whole of the chiefs of the Dey tribes to come into the colony, and beg for renewed assurance of protection. This was willingly given to them, and, as a guaranty, the whole of their country was purchased lying on the north side of the St. Paul's river, from its mouth to within three or four miles of Millsburg, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles, and extending back from thirty to fifty miles.

Some have expressed the opinion that Governor Buchanan was not justified in this expedition against Gatoomba; that the circumstances did not warrant such decided measures. Mr. Pinney, in a letter to a friend, has answered these objections, and proved that the honour and even the existence of the colony depended upon these energetic measures. He says, "I answer unhesitatingly, that if war is ever justifiable for the protection of the unoffending and defenceless, this was peculiarly so. It was in the strictest sense a war of self-defence. Having just returned from Liberia myself, and having an intimate acquaintance with the facts of the case, and the causes which originated the war, I have a better ground for my opinion than any can possess, who have only seen the statements and letters lately made public. The facts are briefly these: Two powerful tribes north of Monrovia, and in the interior, the Codoe and

Gonlat, have been engaged five years in continual war with each other—partly originating in a desire of conquest, and partly from avarice, which could only be satiated by making slaves. Their distance from the colony, for a long time, prevented any other interference of the colonial authorities than the occasional effort to become peace-makers. But in the course of the war, they gradually approached the territories of the colony, by robbing, and plundering, and carrying into slavery the defenceless inhabitants of the Dey country. Thousands of these have either been murdered, or carried away captive, and the small remnant have either fled into the colony of Liberia, or on to the banks of the St. Paul's next it, for safety and protection. Their cruel persecutors and conquerors took possession of this country, and thus became the neighbours of the colony. This occurred about one year ago, and the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, a coloured man, in a most able article written at that time, predicted the probability of a severe contest between them and the colony, which stood as the only bulwark between them and the weak remnant of the Deys, Queahs, and Bassas, upon whom they were ready to fall in a continuance of their conquest and warfare. In a few months, the impatience of one of their chiefs, Gatoomba, led him to venture an attack, not upon the colonists, but upon a small village of the poor Deys, who had settled in the outskirts of Millsburg. This attack was made without provocation and by surprise; it was made about daylight; it was made in the territories of the colony, and resulted in taking twelve captives, who were soon after sold into slavery, besides mortally wounding and maiming several others. The colonists in Millsburg hastened to the scene of murder and robbery as soon as possible, else the whole village might have been taken away. Governor Buchanan upon learning these facts, immediately sent a messenger to Gatoomba to demand the release of the captives, and reparation for the wrong done to the colony. The reply was one of insult and scorn. The governor was told that Gatoomba had a war to fight, and he wanted no colonial interference; and intimated an attack upon the natives of King Tom's Town, or Heddington, where the Methodist mission was then in successful operation under Mr. Brown, some of whom he claimed as runaway slaves.

“Upon receiving this reply, Governor Buchanan immediately sent arms and ammunition to Heddington and Millsburg—

called out the militia of Monrovia and Caldwell, and proceeded to Millsburg to build a fort. While there a council of war was called, and it was determined not to make an attack upon Gatoomba until another message of a peaceful character had been sent. Accordingly, two interesting young men were sent to this monster of cruelty, *and both were murdered in cold blood.* Governor Buchanan then, in hopes that the king, to whom Gatoomba owed allegiance, would interfere and punish, still put off the day of vengeance, until a messenger could go to Boporo, the capital of the Condo country, and ascertain his sentiments.

“Who, in view of these facts, will censure the colonists as having provoked a war? Who can fail to see that they have been a shield for the remnant of a murdered and innocent tribe? Who will say they ought to have refused the poor Dey people a shelter and a home, or, that having received them, they ought to have stood by passive, while these defenceless people were murdered and carried into captivity?”

Governor Buchanan, for the purpose of getting Gatoomba into his power, interdicted all trade between the colony and the country lying north of the St. Pauls, and a rigid embargo was kept up for nearly nine months. But this measure did not have the effect intended; for a universal law prevails among the natives, against betraying a headman into the power of an enemy; yet to save appearances, Gatoomba was driven from his town, and forced to skulk in the woods, without a house to shelter himself from the rains, or the means of subsistence, except what the palm trees and wild yams afforded him. To this wretched and vagabond condition was the powerful chief of Sooce reduced, in consequence of his attack upon the colony. When Governor Buchanan became convinced that he could not accomplish his object in this way, he took measures to have the embargo removed in such a way as to prevent suspicion that he had been defeated in his purpose. Accordingly, he compromised the affair, by demanding five bullocks as a reparation for the injury done to the colony, which the natives joyfully paid, and trade was again opened. Governor Buchanan found great difficulty in maintaining his position with regard to the embargo for such a length of time, as it was directly against the interests of the merchants, and most of the people of the country; but the result was favourable to the colony:

and the fact of having compelled a nation so powerful and distant, to pay an indemnity for the aggressions of their allies, and to receive as a boon, the permission to trade with the colony, greatly increased their influence in the country.

A difficulty yet more painful than war in such circumstances with savages, arose in the bosom of the colony. For obvious reasons the goods necessary for the several missionary establishments had been made by law duty free. The missionary labours of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been early and very zealously directed to Liberia. Goods adapted to purposes of trade, were the best means of remitting from their treasury in this country, to their missionaries there. A difference of opinion soon sprang up between the head of the mission and the Governor. It was contended on the one hand, that all the goods necessary in any way to carrying on the mission, should be admitted free of duty; and on the other, that only those supplies for the personal use of the missionaries, were included in the privilege. Because the expenditures of the mission amounted in the aggregate to a large sum, and were met by the sale or barter of such commodities, the greater part of the trade would by this means come into the hands of the missionaries, and they would thus be able to undersell the colonial merchants, of whom duties were required. The Governor adhered firmly to his interpretation of the law, and there is much reason to regret that his decision was not submitted to; as in the controversies which followed, many painful things were done and said. The colonists took part in it, and a serious rupture was for a time feared. It would not be wise to enter into statements, which, however true, might provoke reply, after peace has been restored, but justice to Governor Buchanan requires us to say, that the American Colonization Society sustained him in his course throughout, and by emphatic recorded resolutions, approved, without qualification, of all his measures. His motives and character, though assailed in the heat of party, came bright and pure through the ordeal. His friends who loved him before, found only reason to love him the more, and cherish his memory with the greater reverence and esteem, for having shared with his divine Master in the baptism of undeserved reproach.

The American Colonization Society sent out two expeditions to Africa this year. The ship *Saluda* left Norfolk on the 14th

of February, with one hundred and eighteen emigrants, and a full cargo of trade goods and provisions. The Rev. Mr. Minor and lady and the Rev. Mr. Smith went out to join the Episcopal mission at Cape Palmas. Dr. Goheen of the Methodist mission, was also a passenger. This vessel arrived at Monrovia on the 17th of March; most of the emigrants were taken to Bexley, where comfortable log cabins had been built for them; the rest remained at Bassa Cove.

The *Saluda* sailed again on her second trip this year, but after being out but a short time she sprung a leak, and was compelled to put into Delaware Bay and proceed up to Philadelphia. During her stay in Philadelphia, undergoing repairs, the emigrants were visited by whites and blacks representing the horrors of Liberia: but the impressions made upon them were unknown, even to the captain, until a few days before he was to sail, when one man and his wife left the ship. All the others appeared to be contented, until the ship was about to haul off to recommence her voyage, when several others went ashore. After being out about two hundred leagues, she sprung another leak and was compelled to put into New York. A new barque, the *Hobart*, was immediately chartered, and sailed about the middle of September, and arrived at Monrovia after a long voyage of fifty-seven days.

Towards the close of the year 1839, Governor Buchanan was thrown into some perplexity, with respect to the case of some slave ships which had been brought and delivered up to him by officers of the British navy. He was in doubt what he should do with them, and even whether he was authorized to receive them. In one of his despatches he says, "I hope some definite instructions may be given me, both by the society and the government, in relation to these most embarrassing cases. I cannot bear to see these pirates escape when brought into my power, but it perplexes me beyond measure to know how to act."

In the beginning of this year, (1840) the United States brig *Dolphin*, Captain Bell, arrived on the coast, which gave great joy to the colony. The *Liberia Herald* says on this occasion, "We hail her arrival as an epoch in our history, and look forward with confidence to a steadily progressive improvement in our colony. The *Grampus* is hourly expected to join her, and probably another vessel will be added to the list. We are

pleased with the gentlemanly deportment of Captain Bell and his officers, who seem in turn to be pleased and gratified at the improvement made in the colony. We wish them success in their enterprise, and do most sincerely hope they may be spared to return to their happy country, and the bosom of their families. We may consider the gun that announced this arrival, the knell of slavery on this part of the coast."

The *Grampus*, Captain Payne, arrived in the beginning of April. These vessels cruised off the coast, for the purpose of preventing the prosecution of the slave trade under American colours, which had been greatly complained of by the British squadron, and at the commencement of the rainy season they returned to the United States for supplies. From the report of the commanding officers, it appears that the slave trade is carried on principally under Portuguese colours, procuring their cargoes from slave stations on the coast, which are under the protection of native chiefs, who furnish slaves, and receive in return goods manufactured in England expressly for the purpose. And the officers express the opinion, that so long as these stations are permitted to exist, and this barter is carried on, all attempts to arrest this traffic will but aggravate the disease.

A war broke out this year in the neighbourhood of Bassa Cove, between Bob Grey and Joe Harris on one side, and the natives at New Cesters and the Fishmen of the Cove on the other. It appears that the two chiefs, Grey and Harris, were accused by the people of New Cesters of being inimical to the people of the country, because they sold land to the Americans, and countenanced the establishment of the settlement, thereby throwing obstacles in the way of the slave trade generally, and actually causing it to be broken up at Bassa Cove. This war was originated by a man named Theodore Canot, a Florentine by birth, but a naturalized citizen of the United States. He was the owner of the slave factories at New Cesters, and was afraid that they would be broken up by the people of the colony. Governor Buchanan upon hearing of the attack upon Grey and Harris sent a messenger to Prince, of New Cesters, demanding the reason of the attack. In his despatches to the Society he says, "No truth is more certain than that sooner or later we must fight the slavers or surrender the high principles on which we have planted ourselves. As long as they remain

in the neighbourhood, they will annoy and injure us through the medium of the savages, whom they possess such abundant means to influence. For my own part, I care not how soon the collision may come; it would be much less hazardous, and infinitely more agreeable to fight them, than to be exposed to these repeated conflicts in the outskirts of the colony with the natives."

About the middle of November, Captain Denman, of the British navy, landed in his boats at New Cesters, with about two hundred men, and took possession of the place. The Spaniards made no resistance, but fled into the woods; they took with them most of their slaves, amounting to two or three thousand, but left all of their other property, which was taken possession of and destroyed by the captors. In the month of December, Governor Buchanan received a letter from Lieutenant Seagram, commanding Her Britannic Majesty's brig *Termagant*, informing him that he had completed an arrangement with Canot, by which it was agreed that he should deliver up all his slaves to Seagram to be carried to Sierra Leone, and thenceforth to abandon the slave trade entirely. Another part of the agreement was that Canot should remain at New Cesters, and carry on business as a regular trader under the sanction and protection of the English government. In regard to this agreement Governor Buchanan says, "If Seagram made this agreement by authority, it would seem that his government intends occupying that place. This would be a dismembering of our territory, by cutting off our Northern settlements from Sinou and Cape Palmas. Can it be possible that a great nation would descend to such a wicked and contemptible thing? I cannot think it."

A fair view of what the slave trade was at this time, is given by Captain Bell, of the United States navy. In a letter to a friend, he says: "From the best information that could be obtained, there are now, and have been for several years past, shipped from Africa, upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand slaves per annum. This appears incredible to those who have not examined into the subject, but when it is considered that *sixty-two* vessels carrying, or prepared to carry, upon an average three hundred each, were sent into Sierra Leone last year, in addition to those sent to the Cape of Good Hope, and captured in the West Indies and on the Coast of Brazil, and

that not more than one in six is captured, as I was credibly informed, it will be found to fall within the above estimate.

“In consequence of the chance of capture, the poor negroes suffer ten-fold more misery than in the early stages of the traffic; they crowd them in small, fast sailing vessels, at the rate of two, and sometimes even four to the ton, with a slave deck but *two feet two inches* high; as was the case with a slaver lately sent into Sierra Leone. So dreadful is their situation that one in ten dies in crossing the ocean; consequently, *twenty-five thousand* human beings are thus destroyed in a year.

“Previous to the settlement of Liberia, the mouths of the rivers St. Paul, Mesurado, and St. John were the greatest marts for slaves on the windward coast. Thousands came annually down those streams for transportation; now those rivers are used by the husbandmen to bring their produce to Monrovia, Grand Bassa, and Edina, and the negro paddles his canoe in safety under the protection of the benevolent institutions founded by the Colonization Society. When these facts are so well known, is it not strange that the British Government, who appear so anxious to stop this traffic, do not use other means for this purpose? It will occur to every one, that the only effectual way (on this part of the coast at least) to destroy this vile trade, is to break up the slave stations. As far as I could learn, there are but two, between Cape St. Ann, and Cape Coast Castle—one at Gallinas, and the other at New Cesters. One hundred resolute men landed at either of those places, would break up the whole concern in a few hours; under present circumstances, such are the immense profits, it never will stop. Pedro Blanco, who is one of the principal slave dealers at Gallinas, as well as others in the trade, say, that if they can save *one* vessel in *three*, the business is still profitable. This can easily be believed; for I was informed, when at the Gallinas a few days ago, that slaves could be purchased for less than twenty dollars a piece *in trade*, and the price for them in Cuba is about three hundred and fifty dollars cash. A short time before I came on the coast, the ship Venus of Havana, took on board at Gallinas nine hundred, and about eight hundred were landed in Cuba, and after paying for the vessel and all expenses, she cleared two hundred thousand dollars.

“The slave stations are generally owned by Spaniards or Portuguese, who pretend to place themselves under the protection of the negro king in their vicinity. They furnish him with muskets, ammunition, &c., which makes him more powerful than the chiefs around him, on whom he makes war. He attacks their towns, puts to death all the old persons and small children, and the rest are brought to the coast and sold to his employers. Here they are placed in slave baracoons (or prisons,) ready to ship when a vessel arrives. At Gallinas there are now five thousand waiting for opportunities to send off. A slaver anchors in the evening, takes on board three or four hundred that night, and is off with the land breeze in the morning. If she can run twenty miles without molestation, she is beyond the usual cruising ground of men-of-war, and safe until she arrives in the vicinity of the West Indies, where her chance of capture is very small.”

The health of the colony during this year, was remarkably good, except in the case of the emigrants who went out in the Saluda. Of these forty-two died; no adequate cause can be given for this great mortality. They were all provided with comfortable quarters immediately on landing, and every possible attention paid to them during their illness. The subject of education was attracting more attention than in former years. Governor Buchanan encouraged the colonists to establish primary schools in the several districts and settlements in the colony, by paying a portion of the salaries of the teachers. Instruction in the higher branches of education was given in a free school supported by the Methodist mission at Monrovia. It is an interesting fact, that the Methodists established this year on the St. Paul's, a manual labour school. The colony also made advances in agriculture, and in the raising of stock. Nineteen thousand coffee trees were planted out, and more attention was given to farming their lands. Instead of the common timber of the country being used, hedges of lemon and lime trees were planted, which formed a substantial and durable fence.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE COLONY IN 1841.

ON the 24th of February, 1841, the United States sloop of war Cyane, arrived at Monrovia, and Commander Latimer kindly took Governor Buchanan on board, and together they visited Bassa Cove, Sinou, and Cape Palmas. The following letter from Commander Latimer to the Secretary of the Navy is worthy of attention: "The arrival of this ship on the 24th of February, at Cape Mesurado, town of Monrovia, was hailed by the colonists with great pleasure. I paid a visit with Governor Buchanan, under whose judicious and able guidance the colony is directed, to the towns of Caldwell, on the St. Paul's, and New Georgia, on the Stockton river. The latter is settled by liberated African slaves, recaptured by our cruisers, and returned to their country by the government. I found both places in a very prosperous and flourishing state; each family occupying a comfortable house, and the grounds around under good cultivation, with an abundance of the comforts of life; and all cheerful, and perfectly contented with their situation, and not an emigrant expressed a desire to leave his adopted country and return to the United States. Besides the grounds around their houses, which supply them with a superabundance for their immediate wants, farms in the rear of the settlements are cultivated to some extent, and sugar-cane has been successfully introduced, and the cultivation of it is increasing.

"I will here remark, that all the recaptured Africans have embraced the Christian faith, and some have married with the emigrant women, and feel themselves very superior to the natives around them. They have the same privileges as the emigrants, are enrolled in the militia, have a vote at the elections, and each man has his musket; they have a school, and a

competent person to teach their children, and some of the adults have learned to read, and have adopted in all respects the customs of the emigrants.

“On ascending the Stockton, we stopped at Bushrod Island, on which the public farm is situated, and where the sugar-cane, cassada, sweet potato, plantains, bananas, and Indian corn are all growing with the greatest luxuriance. I found a mill, &c. erected for grinding cane, which had been in operation one season, and was found to answer the purpose very well. We returned in the evening to Monrovia, much delighted with our visit, and my most sanguine expectations very far exceeded.

“The town of Monrovia is finely situated on the peninsula which joins the cape to the main land. Its position is high, sloping gradually on the north side to the Mesurado river, along the banks of which the storehouses are built. It commands a fine prospect of the sea to the south, and Mesurado bay on the north, and has a population of about eight hundred persons. I was gratified to find the most strict observance of religious worship, and that great attention is paid to the education of their children. The inhabitants are intelligent, and generally engaged in mercantile pursuits; but the business of the place is on the decline, principally owing to the want of articles for exportation—camwood, palm oil, and ivory being the only commodities they offer in the way of trade, which are obtained from the natives, and not in great abundance. Many have accumulated a handsome property, and have retired from the mercantile business, and are turning their attention to agriculture. Coffee of the finest kind grows wild in the forest, and they are now rearing plants from the seed for their plantations, and in time sugar and coffee will become staples of the colony.”

A union of the American Colonization Society and the Mississippi State Colonization Society was effected this year. The following are the articles of agreement, entered into between the Rev. Mr. McLain, the authorized agent of the American Colonization Society, of the one part, and the executive committee of the Mississippi State Colonization Society, of the other part.

It has been mutually agreed and determined as follows, viz:

1. That any and all land purchased, or hereafter to be pur-

chased, by the American Colonization Society north of the river Sinou, and south of the river Cesters, shall be transferred to the Mississippi State Colonization Society, at its original cost, so as to extend their territory ultimately to those limits, when it may be deemed necessary by them.

2. That all freed slaves, or free coloured people from the state of Mississippi, shall be entitled to a settlement within the territory of Mississippi in Liberia, they, or the persons sending them out, desiring it.

3. That all funds arising from collections, legacies, donations, or other contributions within the state of Mississippi, shall be applied to defraying the expenses of sending out emigrants from said State to said territory, and other expenses incident thereto: *Provided*, That all salaries of agents and expenses in said State, shall be first deducted from the amount collected.

4. That the citizens of Mississippi in Liberia, shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities secured by the constitution of the commonwealth of Liberia, and shall be governed by the same laws.

5. That without surrendering or infringing the right of appointing their own chief Magistrate for their own colony, reserved by the Mississippi State Colonization Society, in their acceptance of the constitution of the American Colonization Society, and acceded to by the said American Colonization Society, for the purpose of greater economy, and efficiency under present circumstances, the Mississippi State Colonization Society depute to the Governor of Liberia, for the time being, and until otherwise ordered, all executive power in relation to their colony, with full authority to appoint a deputy or resident agent, who shall receive instructions from, and be held responsible to, said Governor.

6. That said Governor shall forward to the Mississippi State Colonization Society, a quarterly account of all disbursements made by him or deputy agent, for the benefit of the said colony of Mississippi in Liberia.

7. While exercising these functions, the Governor of Liberia is to receive no separate or additional salary. But he shall be, and hereby is authorized to stipulate for a suitable compensation in the way of salary, for his deputy or resident agent.

8. That the Mississippi Colonization Society will pay a *pro rata* part of the salary to the Governor of Liberia, in propor-

tion to their representation in the Colonial Council, or their aggregate population.

9. That a travelling agent, for the state of Mississippi, (and Louisiana, if they wish it,) shall be appointed by the American Colonization Society, with the advice and consent of the Mississippi State Colonization Society, who shall hold the funds raised by him, subject to the order of the American Colonization Society, and shall make an annual report to the Mississippi State Colonization Society, of the amount collected, and of the general prosperity of the cause throughout the State.

On the 5th of July, the squadron composing the Niger expedition entered the harbour of Monrovia. Governor Buchanan in a despatch, says, "This long looked for expedition, as it entered our harbour, presented a beautiful and novel appearance. The three steamers and store-ship, were nearly in a line as they approached, and with the steam up and all sails set, they made a gallant show. Captain Trotter, Commander Allen, and a number of the officers and gentlemen of the scientific corps, came on shore, and dined at my house, and spent the afternoon. The next morning I went on board the 'Albert,' with General Roberts, the Secretary, Dr. Day, and Mr. Perkins, and breakfasted with Captain Trotter and his associate commissioners. In the evening of that day, they weighed anchor, and sailed for Cape Coast Castle."

Governor Buchanan regretted that they could not remain longer and acquire some knowledge of the practical results of the scheme of colonization. Captain Trotter and all his officers, expressed themselves highly pleased with the aspect of things in the colony. "The idea of our maintaining a government," says Governor Buchanan, "independent of the United States, and without its patronage, was what they could scarcely credit; they were greatly surprised at the evidence of the efficiency and success of our institutions. One of the gentlemen asked what we would do without the protection of the United States, in case we were attacked by the natives? I replied, that we had suffered many attacks already, and had succeeded in protecting ourselves, and hoped still to do so, without further aid than the favour of God. They had heard of our conflicts with the natives and slavers, but in some way had attributed the success of the colonists to the United States. It is surprising how little

is known in England about the colony, even among that class who take a deep interest in all that concerns Africa. With all its simplicity, it is to them a subject very difficult of comprehension. The European ideas of colonies and colonial governments are so totally inapplicable to Liberia, that a person trained in those ideas, finds himself completely at fault here, and is forced to become a learner on a subject with which he had supposed himself perfectly conversant. There is no where visible the strong arm of the mother country—the signs of her patronage are wanting—the PEOPLE alone, in their weakness and simplicity, are the government. This is what the European can neither understand nor tolerate; but it is, under God, the great secret of our success, and it is what will yet raise Liberia to an eminence among the nations of the earth, and make her the effective agent in the emancipation of Africa. We cannot, I fear, hope for any co-operation in our plans of action from Englishmen, until they improve in their political creed, and learn to put more trust in men.”

Four expeditions were sent out during the year 1841 to Liberia. The first was the brig *R. Groning*, which sailed from Norfolk on the third of February. It carried out forty-one emigrants of the most promising description. In this ship went out the Rev. Orin K. Canfield and Jonathan P. Alward, with their wives, as missionaries of the Presbyterian Board to the Kroomen, and Cecilia Vantine, a coloured woman as teacher. After a tedious voyage of forty-one days, the vessel arrived at Monrovia. The next expedition of the year was the bark *Union*, a fine vessel of three hundred tons burden. This vessel sailed from New Orleans on the thirteenth day of May, carrying out forty-three emigrants, all of them well supplied with cooking utensils, household furniture, and implements of husbandry. She arrived at Monrovia on the 30th of June, and the emigrants were immediately placed in houses, hired for the purpose. It was the usual custom to place the emigrants in their own houses as soon as they arrived; but this was rendered inexpedient on account of the illness of Dr. Day, who was unable to attend to any number of sick persons, unless under the most favourable circumstances; and in order to secure his attendance it was necessary to procure quarters for them in the town.

The third expedition of this year was the schooner *Regulus*.

She sailed from Norfolk on the 18th of June. This vessel was purchased by the society for the use of the colony, and was intended to run between the different settlements of the colony. She carried out but one emigrant, but a large amount of goods for the colony, and for the purpose of purchasing territory.

The last expedition of the year was an unfortunate one to the society. They had engaged a merchantman, the *Saluda*, at great expense, and made provisions for a large number of emigrants; but circumstances occurred, over which the society had no control, which prevented all but six of those who were expected from going. As passengers in this ship, were the Rev. Mr. Sawyer and lady, missionaries of the Assembly's Board, destined to Settra Kroo, Dr. Johnson, Rev. Mr. Roberts, Judge Benedict, Mr. Savage, and Mrs. Oliver, colonists, and Simon Peter, a native African, and a convert to Christianity, all of whom had been on a visit to this country.

The *Regulus* arrived at the colony too late to effect the object for which she had been sent out, viz. to purchase the tracts of land in which Gallinas and New Cesters are situated. They found that the slave traders and others interested, had excited the natives of these two places in such a manner that no treaty could be made with them. Nevertheless, Governor Buchanan, through the agency of J. Brown, Esq., was enabled to purchase the tracts on the coast, known as the Grand Boutaw, Little Boutaw, and Blue Barre—a distance on the sea of fifty miles, and extending indefinitely inland. This transfer made for a valuable consideration, subjected the native inhabitants to the laws of the colony, and annulled all their laws and customs which were contrary to the customs of the colony.

At the close of this year the colony were called upon to mourn the loss of Thomas Buchanan, their Governor. His death was brought about by exposure in attending to the interests of the colony. J. J. Roberts, the Lieutenant-Governor, in his official despatch to this country, gives the following account of his death. "No sooner had the Society's vessel arrived (23d July) than Governor Buchanan determined to visit the leeward settlements, and on the afternoon of the 24th he departed, in apparent good health, on board the schooner *Regulus*, for Marshall, where he arrived the following day. Immediately after his arrival at that place he was attacked with fever, which continued at intervals for several days. He unfortunately left

this place without taking with him any quinine, nor could any be procured at Marshall. He determined, nevertheless, to continue his voyage, and on the 31st in attempting to reach the schooner, was much exposed to rain, and was thoroughly drenched in the surf, which brought on another paroxysm of the fever with redoubled violence. During the passage to Bassa Cove he suffered very much from sea sickness, which, added to the fever, made him very uncomfortable. He arrived at Bassa on the morning of the 1st of August, and was confined to his bed until the 7th, when he again found himself convalescent. He immediately commenced the discharge of his various duties, which he found exceedingly arduous, and, notwithstanding his late illness, he persisted in a course of unwarrantable zeal, which soon prostrated him again. After a few days' relaxation he partially recovered, and again resumed his duties. It was too much for his shattered constitution; he sunk under it, and, alas! he is gone.

"The death of Governor Buchanan has cast a gloom over Liberia. The commonwealth deeply mourns his loss. He was a man in all respects calculated to take care of the interests of this infant republic, and that his place can be easily supplied is doubtful. In the administration of his government he was firm and decided, dealing justice to all without partiality to any."

He died on the 3d of September, at the government house at Bassa. Dr. Day, in a letter to the Hon. S. Wilkison, in speaking of Governor Buchanan's death says: "All that remains of him, except the glory of his benevolent and devoted career, lies entombed in the government grounds at Bassa, beneath some stately trees shading the house built by him five or six years ago. While the green turf flourishes, and the south sea breezes spread the perfumes of flowers planted on the spot sacred to his ashes, may his memory abide in the heart of every Liberian, and his praises diffuse a sacred love for his name in the bosom of every coloured man, to whose cause he was so wholly and ardently devoted. Bound as he was to his motherland by ties that bind a son to a much loved and widowed mother and half orphan sisters and brother, he thought not the sacrifice too great to forsake all for the love of the cause in which he was embarked. What was his self-dedication to the glorious work of fostering the germ of Africa's redemption, we

learn from a scrap of his, penned on his first voyage to this country in December, 1835. "The God who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, can also temper the rays of a tropical sun to a northern constitution. *But though he slay me, yet will I trust in him. The work is his to which I go, and is worthy of all sacrifice.*"

THE END.









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